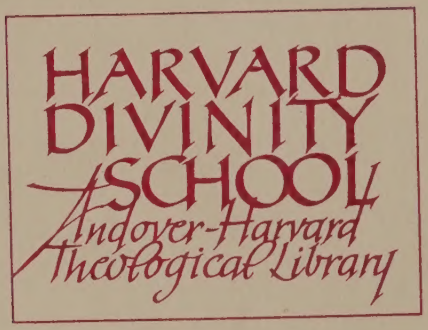


WITHDRAWN BY
HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL
LIBRARY

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

VOL. I.

EUXINUS
PONTUS
MESOPOTAMIA
ARABIA
PETRÆA
MARE CASPIUM
MARE MEDITERRANEUM

Reference.
The Roman Empire and its Provinces shown bounded by a thick line thus:-
Names of Provinces in thick letters thus:- BRITANNIA
A. ALPES PENNINAE
B. ALPES COTTIAE
C. ALPES MARITIMAE
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
in 180 A.D.
Walker & Boutall sc.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

EDWARD GIBBON

EDITED IN SEVEN VOLUMES

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX

BY

J. B. BURY, M.A.

HON. LITT.D. OF DURHAM; HON. LL.D. OF EDINBURGH

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ST. PETERSBURG

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

VOL. I.

METHUEN & CO.

36 ESSEX STREET, W.C.

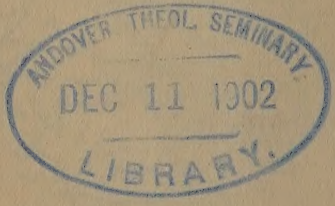
LONDON

1900

New Edition

C

DG
311
.G5
1900
v.1



53,247

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR

It is not my intention to detain the reader by expatiating on the variety, or the importance of the subject, which I have undertaken to treat; since the merit of the choice would serve to render the weakness of the execution still more apparent, and still less excusable. But, as I have presumed to lay before the Public a *first* volume only[1] of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, it will perhaps be expected that I should explain, in a few words, the nature and limits of my general plan.

The memorable series of revolutions, which, in the course of about thirteen centuries, gradually undermined, and at length destroyed, the solid fabric of human greatness, may, with some propriety, be divided into the three following periods:

I. The first of these periods may be traced from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, when the Roman monarchy, having attained its full strength and maturity, began to verge towards its decline; and will extend to the subversion of the Western Empire, by the barbarians of Germany and Scythia, the rude ancestors of the most polished nations of modern Europe. This extraordinary revolution, which subjected Rome to the power of a Gothic conqueror, was completed about the beginning of the sixth century.

[1] The first volume of the quarto, which is now contained in the two first volumes of the octavo, edition.

II. The second period of the Decline and Fall of Rome, may be supposed to commence with the reign of Justinian, who by his laws, as well as by his victories, restored a transient splendour to the Eastern Empire. It will comprehend the invasion of Italy by the Lombards; the conquest of the Asiatic and African provinces by the Arabs, who embraced the religion of Mahomet; the revolt of the Roman people against the feeble princes of Constantinople; and the elevation of Charlemagne, who, in the year 800, established the second, or German Empire of the West.

III. The last and longest of these periods includes about six centuries and a half; from the revival of the Western Empire till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks and the extinction of a degenerate race of princes, who continued to assume the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, after their dominions were contracted to the limits of a single city; in which the language, as well as manners, of the ancient Romans had been long since forgotten. The writer who should undertake to relate the events of this period would find himself obliged to enter into the general history of the Crusades, as far as they contributed to the ruin of the Greek Empire; and he would scarcely be able to restrain his curiosity from making some enquiry into the state of the city of Rome during the darkness and confusion of the middle ages.

As I have ventured, perhaps too hastily, to commit to the press a work, which, in every sense of the word, deserves the epithet of imperfect, I consider myself as contracting an engagement to finish, most probably in a second volume,[1] the

[1] The Author, as it requently happens, took an inadequate measure of his growing work. The remainder of the first period has filled *two* volumes in quarto, being the third, fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the octavo edition.

first of these memorable periods; and to deliver to the Public the complete History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines to the subversion of the Western Empire. With regard to the subsequent periods, though I may entertain some hopes, I dare not presume to give any assurances. The execution of the extensive plan which I have described would connect the ancient and modern history of the World; but it would require many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance.

BENTINCK STREET,
February 1, 1776.

P.S.—The entire History, which is now published, of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire in the West abundantly discharges my engagements with the Public. Perhaps their favourable opinion may encourage me to prosecute a work, which, however laborious it may seem, is the most agreeable occupation of my leisure hours.

BENTINCK STREET,
March 1, 1781.

An Author easily persuades himself that the public opinion is still favourable to his labours; and I have now embraced the serious resolution of proceeding to the last period of my original design, and of the Roman Empire, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-three. The most patient reader, who computes that three ponderous volumes[1] have been already employed on the events of four centuries, may, perhaps, be alarmed at the long prospect of nine hundred years. But it is not my intention to expatiate with the

[1] [Containing chaps. i. to xxxviii.]

same minuteness on the whole series of the Byzantine history. At our entrance into this period, the reign of Justinian and the conquests of the Mahometans will deserve and detain our attention, and the last age of Constantinople (the Crusades and the Turks) is connected with the revolutions of Modern Europe. From the seventh to the eleventh century, the obscure interval will be supplied by a concise narrative of such facts as may still appear either interesting or important.

BENTINCK STREET,
March 1, 1782.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE NOTES[1]

Diligence and accuracy are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself; if any merit indeed can be assumed from the performance of an indispensable duty. I may therefore be allowed to say that I have carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject which I had undertaken to treat. Should I ever complete the extensive design which has been sketched out in the preface, I might perhaps conclude it with a critical account of the authors consulted during the progress of the whole work; and, however such an attempt might incur the censure of ostentation, I am persuaded that it would be susceptible of entertainment as well as information.

At present I shall content myself with a single observation. The Biographers, who, under the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, composed or rather compiled, the lives of the emperors, from Hadrian to the sons of Carus, are usually mentioned under the names of Ælius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. But there is so much perplexity in the titles of the MSS., and so many disputes have arisen among the critics (see Fabricius Biblioth. Latin. l. iii. c. 6) concerning their number, their names and their respective property, that for the most part I have quoted them without distinction, under the general and well-known title of the Augustan History.

[1] [Which in the first quarto edition of vol. i. were printed at the end of the volume.]

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST OCTAVO EDITION

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is now delivered to the public in a more convenient form. Some alterations and improvements had presented themselves to my mind, but I was unwilling to injure or offend the purchasers of the preceding editions. The accuracy of the corrector of the press has been already tried and approved; and perhaps I may stand excused if, amidst the avocations of a busy writer, I have preferred the pleasures of composition and study to the minute diligence of revising a former publication.

Bentinck Street,
April 20, 1783.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTO EDITION

I now discharge my promise, and complete my design, of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second; and includes a review of the Crusades and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first volume, twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, "of health, of leisure and of perseverance". I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

It was my first intention to have collected under one view the numerous authors, of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this history; and I am still convinced that the apparent ostentation would be more than compensated by real use. If I have renounced this idea, if I have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist,[1] my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such a catalogue. A naked list of names and editions would not be satisfactory either to myself or my readers: the characters of the principal Authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they

[1] See Dr. Robertson's Preface to his History of America.

describe; a more copious and critical enquiry might indeed deserve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, that I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head; that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and that, if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon visit the banks of the lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landskip, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a people of easy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and society. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country; and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward for my labours. Were I ambitious of any other Patron than the Public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman, who, in a long, a stormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy: who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth: but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear that my readers, perhaps, may enquire whether, in the conclusion of the present work, I am now taking an everlasting farewell. They shall hear all that I know myself, all that I

could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or silence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce, in my most secret thoughts, on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that twelve ample octavos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the Public; that, in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful Author has much more to lose, than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing some skill and facility must be acquired; and that in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse of independence I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee: next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the Author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applaud either active industry or philosophic repose.

DOWNING STREET,
May 1, 1788.

P.S.—I shall embrace this opportunity of introducing two

verbal remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often as I use the definitions of *beyond* the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c., I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople: without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the local, but variable, situation of the reader or the historian. 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of Oriental, origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version a faithful copy of the original. But this rule, which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relaxed; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language and the taste of the interpreter. Our alphabets may be often defective: a harsh sound, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen; and some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalized in the vulgar tongue. The prophet *Mohammed* can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper appellation of Mahomet: the well-known cities of Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of *Haleb*, *Demashk* and *Al Cahira:* the titles and offices of the Ottoman empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years; and we are pleased to blend the three Chinese monosyllables *Con-fu-tzee* in the respectable name of Confucius, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of Mandarin. But I would vary the use of Zoroaster and *Zerdusht*, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia: since our connexion with India, the genuine *Timour* is restored to the throne of Tamerlane: our most correct writers have retrenched the *Al*, the superfluous article, from the Koran; and we escape an ambiguous termination by adopting *Moslem* instead of Musulman, in the plural number. In these, and in a thousand examples, the shades of distinction are often minute; and I can feel, where I cannot explain the motives of my choice.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME

CHAPTER I

he Extent and Military Force of the Empire, in the Age of the Antonines

D.		PAGE
	Introduction	1
	Moderation of Augustus	1
	Imitated by his Successors	3
	Conquest of Britain, the First Exception to it	3
	Conquest of Dacia, the Second Exception to it	5
	Conquests of Trajan in the East	6
	Resigned by his Successor Hadrian	7
	Contrast of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	7
	Pacific System of Hadrian and the two Antonines	8
	Defensive Wars of Marcus Antoninus	8
	Military Establishment of the Roman Emperors	9
	Discipline	10
	Exercises	11
	The Legions under the Emperors	12
	Arms	12
	Cavalry	13
	Auxiliaries	14
	Artillery	15
	Encampment	15
	March	16
	Number and Disposition of the Legions	16
	Navy	17
	Amount of the whole Establishment	18
	View of the Provinces of the Roman Empire	18
	Spain	19
	Gaul	19
	Britain	20
	Italy	20
	The Danube and Illyrian Frontier	21
	Rhætia	22
	Noricum and Pannonia	22
	Dalmatia	22
	Mæsia and Dacia	22
	Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece	23
	Asia Minor	23
	Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine	24

A.D. PAGE

Egypt ... 25
Africa ... 25
The Mediterranean with its Islands ... 26
General idea of the Roman Empire ... 26

CHAPTER II

Of the Union and Internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines

Principles of Government ... 28
Universal Spirit of Toleration ... 28
Of the People 28
Of Philosophers ... 30
Of the Magistrates ... 31
In the Provinces ... 32
At Rome ... 32
Freedom of Rome ... 33
Italy ... 34
The Provinces ... 35
Colonies, and Municipal Towns ... 35
Division of the Latin and the Greek Provinces ... 37
General Use of both the Greek and Latin Languages ... 39
Slaves ... 39
Their Treatment ... 39
Enfranchisement ... 40
Numbers ... 41
Populousness of the Roman Empire ... 42
Obedience and Union ... 43
Roman Monuments 43
Many of them erected at Private Expense ... 43
Example of Herodes Atticus ... 45
His Reputation ... 45
Most of the Roman Monuments for Public Use ... 46
Temples, Theatres, Aqueducts ... 46
Number and Greatness of the Cities of the Empire ... 48
In Italy... ... 48
Gaul and Spain ... 48
Africa ... 49
Asia ... 49
Roman Roads ... 50
Posts 50
Navigation ... 51
Improvement of Agriculture in the Western Countries of the Empire ... 51
Introduction of Fruits, &c. 52
The Vine... ... 52
The Olive ... 52
Flax ... 53
Artificial Grass ... 53
General Plenty ... 53
Arts of Luxury ... 53

PAGE

Foreign Trade 54
Gold and Silver 55
General Felicity 56
Decline of Courage 56
——— of Genius 57
Degeneracy 58

CHAPTER III

Of the Constitution of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines

Idea of a Monarchy 59
Situation of Augustus 59
He reforms the Senate 60
Resigns his usurped Power 60
Is prevailed upon to resume it under the Title of Emperor or General 61
Power of the Roman Generals 62
Lieutenants of the Emperor... 63
Division of the Provinces between the Emperor and the Senate 63
The former preserves his Military Commands, and Guards, in Rome itself 64
Consular and Tribunitian powers 64
Imperial Prerogatives 65
The Magistrates 66
The Senate 67
General Idea of the Imperial System 68
Court of the Emperors 68
Deification 68
Titles of Augustus and Cæsar 70
Character and Policy of Augustus 70
Image of Liberty for the People 71
Attempts of the Senate after the Death of Caligula 71
Image of Government for the Armies 72
Their Obedience 72
Designation of a Successor 73
Of Tiberius 73
Of Titus 73
The Race of the Cæsars, and Flavian Family 74
96 Adoption and Character of Trajan 74
117 Of Hadrian 75
Adoption of the elder and younger Verus 75
138-180 Adoption of the two Antonines 76
Character and Reign of Pius 76
——————— of Marcus 77
Happiness of the Romans 78
Its precarious Nature... 78
Memory of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian 79
Peculiar Misery of the Romans under their Tyrants 79
Insensibility of the Orientals 79
Knowledge and free Spirit of the Romans 80
Extent of their Empire left them no Place of Refuge 81

CHAPTER IV

The Cruelty, Follies, and Murder of Commodus—Election of Pertinax His attempts to reform the State—His Assassination by the Prætorian Guards

A.D. PA

Indulgence of Marcus ... ...
To his wife Faustina ... ...
To his son Commodus ... ...
180 Accession of the Emperor Commodus ... ...
Character of Commodus ... ...
His Return to Rome ... ...
183 Is wounded by an Assassin ... ...
Hatred and cruelty of Commodus towards the Senate ... ...
The Quintilian Brothers ... ...
186 The Minister Perennis ... ...
Revolt of Maternus ... ...
The Minister Cleander ... ...
His Avarice and Cruelty ... ...
189 Sedition and Death of Cleander ... ...
Dissolute Pleasures of Commodus ... ...
His Ignorance and low Sports ... ...
Hunting of Wild Beasts ... ...
Commodus Displays his skill in the Amphitheatre ... ...
Acts as a Gladiator ... ...
His Infamy and Extravagance ... ...
Conspiracy of his Domestics ... ...
192 Death of Commodus ... ...
Choice of Pertinax for Emperor ... ...
He is acknowledged by the Prætorian Guards ... ...
193 And by the Senate ... ...
The Memory of Commodus declared infamous ... ...
Legal Jurisdiction of the Senate over the Emperors ... ...
Virtues of Pertinax ... ...
He endeavours to Reform the State I
His Regulations I
His Popularity I
Discontent of the Prætorians I
A Conspiracy Prevented I
193 Murder of Pertinax by the Prætorians I

CHAPTER V

Public Sale of the Empire to Didius Julianus by the Prætorian Guar —Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, a Septimius Severus in Pannonia, declare against the Murderers Pertinax—Civil Wars and Victory of Severus over his three Rivals Relaxation of discipline—New Maxims of Government

Proportion of the Military Force to the Number of the People I
The Prætorian Guards I
Their Institution I
Their Camp I

PAGE
Strength and Confidence 104
Their specious Claims 105
They offer the Empire to Sale 105
3 It is purchased by Julian 106
Julian is acknowledged by the Senate 106
Takes possession of the Palace 107
The public Discontent 107
The Armies of Britain, Syria, and Pannonia, declare against Julian 108
Clodius Albinus in Britain 108
Pescennius Niger in Syria 109
Pannonia and Dalmatia 111
3 Septimius Severus 111
Declared Emperor by the Pannonian Legions 111
Marches into Italy 112
Advances towards Rome 112
Distress of Julian 113
His uncertain Conduct 113
Is deserted by the Prætorians 113
Is condemned and executed by Order of the Senate 114
Disgrace of the Prætorian Guards 114
Funeral and Apotheosis of Pertinax 115
93-197 Success of Severus against Niger and against Albinus ... 115
Conduct of the two Civil Wars 116
Arts of Severus 116
Towards Niger 116
Towards Albinus 117
Event of the Civil Wars 118
Decided by one or two Battles 118
Siege of Byzantium 119
Death of Niger and Albinus 120
Cruel Consequences of the Civil Wars 120
Animosity of Severus against the Senate 120
The Wisdom and Justice of his Government 121
General Peace and Prosperity 121
Relaxation of Military Discipline 122
New Establishment of the Prætorian Guards 122
The Office of Prætorian Præfect 123
The Senate oppressed by Military Despotism 124
New Maxims of the Imperial Prerogative 124

CHAPTER VI

e Death of Severus—Tyranny of Caracalla—Usurpation of Macrinus —Follies of Elagabalus—Virtues of Alexander Severus—Licentiousness of the Army—General State of the Roman Finances

Greatness and Discontent of Severus 126
His wife the Empress Julia 126
Their two sons, Caracalla and Geta 127
Their mutual Aversion to each other 127
Three Emperors 128

A.D.
208 The Caledonian War ... ...
Fingal and his Heroes ... ...
Contrast of the Caledonians and the Romans ... .
Ambition of Caracalla ... ...
211 Death of Severus, and Accession of his two sons ... ...
Jealousy and Hatred of the two Emperors ... ...
Fruitless Negotiation for dividing the Empire between them ...
212 Murder of Geta ... ...
Remorse and Cruelty of Caracalla .. ..
Death of Papinian ... ...
213 His Tyranny extended over the whole Empire ... ...
Relaxation of Discipline ... ...
217 Murder of Caracalla ... ...
Imitation of Alexander ... ...
Election and Character of Macrinus ... ...
Discontent of the Senate ... ...
———— of the Army ... ...
Macrinus attempts a Reformation of the Army ... ...
Death of the Empress Julia ... ...
Education, Pretensions, and Revolt of Elagabalus, called at first Bassianus and Antoninus ... ...
218 Defeat and Death of Macrinus ... ...
Elagabalus writes to the Senate ... ...
219 Picture of Elagabalus ... ...
His Superstition ... ...
His profligate and effeminate Luxury ... ...
Contempt of Decency, which distinguished the Roman Tyrants
Discontents of the Army ... ...
221 Alexander Severus declared Cæsar ... ...
222 Sedition of the Guards, and Murder of Elagabalus ... .
Accession of Alexander Severus ... ...
Power of his Mother Mamæa ... ...
His wise and moderate Administration ... .
Education and Virtuous Temper of Alexander ... ...
Journal of his Ordinary Life ... ...
222-235 General happiness of the Roman World ... ...
Alexander refuses the name of Antoninus ... ...
He attempts to reform the Army ... ...
Seditions of the Prætorian Guards, and Murder of Ulpian ...
Danger of Dion Cassius ... ...
Tumults of the Legions .. ..
Firmness of the Emperor ... ...
Defects of his Reign and Character ... ...
Digression on the Finances of the Empire ... ...
Establishment of the Tribute on Roman Citizens ... ...
Abolition of the Tribute ... ...
Tributes of the Provinces ... ...
—— of Asia ... ...
—— of Egypt, Gaul, Africa and Spain ... ...
—— of the Isle of Gyarus ... ...
Amount of the Revenue ... ...
Taxes on Roman Citizens instituted by Augustus ... ...
1. The Customs ... ...

PAGE

II. The Excise 162
III. Tax on Legacies and Inheritances 162
Suited to the Laws and Manners 163
Regulations of the Emperors 164
Edict of Caracalla 164
The Freedom of the City given to all Provincials, for the purpose of Taxation 164
Temporary Reduction of the Tribute 165
Consequences of the universal Freedom of Rome 165

CHAPTER VII

Elevation and Tyranny of Maximin—Rebellion in Africa and Italy, under the Authority of the Senate—Civil Wars and Seditions—Violent Deaths of Maximin and his Son, of Maximus and Balbinus, and of the three Gordians—Usurpation and Secular Games of Philip

The apparent Ridicule and solid Advantages of hereditary Succession 167
Want of it in the Roman Empire productive of the greatest Calamities 168
Birth and Fortunes of Maximin 169
His Military Service and Honours 169
Conspiracy of Maximin 170
Murder of Alexander Severus 170
Tyranny of Maximin 171
Oppression of the Provinces 173
Revolt in Africa 174
Character and Elevation of the two Gordians 175
They solicit the Confirmation of their Authority 176
The Senate ratifies the Election of the Gordians 177
Declares Maximin a public Enemy 178
Assumes the Command of Rome and Italy 178
Prepares for a Civil War 178
Defeat and Death of the two Gordians 179
Election of Maximus and Balbinus by the Senate 180
Their Characters 180
Tumult at Rome 181
The younger Gordian is declared Cæsar 181
Maximin prepares to attack the Senate and their Emperors ... 182
Marches into Italy 183
Siege of Aquileia 183
Conduct of Maximus 184
Murder of Maximin and his son 185
His Portrait 185
Joy of the Roman World 186
Sedition at Rome 186
Discontent of the Prætorian Guards 187
Massacre of Maximus and Balbinus 188
The third Gordian remains sole Emperor 189
Innocence and Virtues of Gordian 189
Administration of Misitheus 190

A.D.		PA
242	The Persian War	I
243	The Arts of Philip	I
244	Murder of Gordian	I
	Form of a Military Republic	I
	Reign of Philip	I
248	Secular Games	I
	Decline of the Roman Empire	I

CHAPTER VIII

Of the State of Persia after the Restoration of the Monarchy by Artaxerx

	The Barbarians of the East and of the North	I
	Revolutions of Asia	I
	The Persian Monarchy restored by Artaxerxes	I
	Reformation of the Magian Religion	I
	Persian Theology, two Principles	I
	Religious Worship	2
	Ceremonies and moral Precepts	2
	Encouragement of Agriculture	2
	Power of the Magi	2
	Spirit of Persecution	2
	Establishment of the Royal Authority in the Provinces	2
	Extent and Population of Persia	2
	Recapitulation of the War between the Parthian and Roman Empires	2
165	Cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon	2
216	Conquest of Osrhoene by the Romans	2
230	Artaxerxes claims the Provinces of Asia, and declares War against the Romans	2
233	Pretended Victory of Alexander Severus	2
	More probable Account of the War	2
240	Character and Maxims of Artaxerxes	2
	Military Power of the Persians	2
	Their Infantry contemptible	2
	Their Cavalry excellent	2

CHAPTER IX

The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians, in the Time the Emperor Decius

	Extent of Germany	2
	Climate	2
	Its Effects on the Natives	2
	Origin of the Germans	2
	Fables and Conjectures	2
	The Germans ignorant of Letters	2
	—————— of Arts and Agriculture	2
	—————— of the Use of Metals	2
	Their Indolence	2
	Their Taste for Strong Liquors	2
	State of Population	2

PAGE
German Freedom ... 223
Assemblies of the People ... 224
Authority of the Princes and Magistrates ... 225
More Absolute over the Property, than over the Persons of the Germans ... 225
Voluntary Engagements ... 226
German Chastity ... 227
Its Probable Causes ... 227
Religion ... 229
Its Effects in Peace ... 229
——— in War ... 230
The Bards ... 230
Causes which checked the Progress of the Germans ... 231
Want of Arms ... 231
——— Discipline ... 232
Civil Dissensions of Germany ... 233
Fomented by the Policy of Rome ... 233
Transient Union against Marcus Antoninus ... 234
Distinction of the German Tribes ... 235
Numbers ... 236

CHAPTER X

Emperors Decius, Gallus, Æmilianus, Valerian, and Gallienus—The General Irruption of the Barbarians—The Thirty Tyrants

8-268 The Nature of the Subject ... 237
The Emperor Philip ... 237
9 Services, Revolt, Victory, and Reign of the Emperor Decius ... 238
0 He marches against the Goths ... 239
Origin of the Goths from Scandinavia ... 239
Religion of the Goths ... 240
Institutions and Death of Odin ... 240
Agreeable, but uncertain Hypothesis concerning Odin ... 241
Emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia into Prussia ... 241
——— from Prussia to the Ukraine ... 242
The Gothic Nation increases in its March ... 243
Distinction of the Germans and Sarmatians ... 244
Description of the Ukraine ... 244
The Goths invade the Roman Provinces ... 245
0 Various Events of the Gothic War ... 246
1 Decius revives the office of Censor in the Person of Valerian ... 247
The Design Impracticable, and without Effect ... 248
Defeat and Death of Decius and his Son ... 249
1 Election of Gallus ... 250
2 Retreat of the Goths ... 250
Gallus purchases Peace by the Payment of an annual Tribute... 250
Popular Discontent ... 251
3 Victory and Revolt of Æmilianus ... 251
Gallus abandoned and slain... 252
Valerian revenges the Death of Gallus ... 252
Is acknowledged Emperor ... 252
Character of Valerian ... 253

A.D.		PAGE
253-268	General Misfortunes of the Reigns of Valerian and Gallienus	25
	Inroads of the Barbarians	25
	Origin and Confederacy of the Franks	25
	They invade Gaul	25
	Ravage Spain	25
	Pass over into Africa	25
	Origin and Renown of the Suevi	25
	A mixed body of Suevi assume the name of Alemanni	25
	Invade Gaul and Italy	25
	Are repulsed from Rome by the Senate and People	25
	The Senators excluded by Gallienus from the Military Service	25
	Gallienus contracts an Alliance with the Alemanni	25
	Inroads of the Goths	25
	Conquest of the Bosphorus by the Goths	26
	The Goths acquire a Naval Force	26
	First Naval Expedition of the Goths	26
	The Goths besiege and take Trebizond	26
	The Second Expedition of the Goths	26
	They plunder the Cities of Bithynia	26
	Retreat of the Goths	26
	Third Naval Expedition of the Goths	26
	They pass the Bosphorus and the Hellespont	26
	Ravage Greece, and threaten Italy	26
	Their Divisions and Retreat	26
	Ruin of the Temple of Ephesus	26
	Conduct of the Goths at Athens	26
	Conquest of Armenia by the Persians	26
	Valerian marches into the East	26
260	Is defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia	26
	Sapor overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia	27
	Boldness and Success of Odenathus against Sapor	27
	Treatment of Valerian	27
	Character and Administration of Gallienus	27
	The Thirty Tyrants	27
	Their real Number not more than nineteen	27
	Character and Merit of the Tyrants	27
	Their obscure Birth	27
	The Causes of their Rebellion	27
	Their violent Deaths	27
	Fatal Consequences of these Usurpations	27
	Disorders of Sicily	27
	Tumults of Alexandria	27
	Rebellion of the Isaurians	28
	Famine and Pestilence	28
	Diminution of the Human Species	28

CHAPTER XI

Reign of Claudius—Defeat of the Goths—Victories, Triumph and Death of Aurelian

268	Aureolus invades Italy, is defeated, and besieged at Milan	28
	Death of Gallienus	28

A.D.		PAGE
	Character and Elevation of the Emperor Claudius	285
268	Death of Aureolus	286
	Clemency and Justice of Claudius	287
	He undertakes the Reformation of the Army	287
269	The Goths invade the Empire	288
	Distress and Firmness of Claudius	289
	His Victory over the Goths	289
270	Death of the Emperor, who Recommends Aurelian for his Successor	290
	The Attempt and Fall of Quintilius	291
	Origin and Services of Aurelian	291
	Aurelian's successful Reign	292
	His Severe Discipline	292
	He concludes a Treaty with the Goths	293
	He resigns to them the Province of Dacia	294
270	The Alemannic War	295
	The Alemanni invade Italy	297
	They are at last vanquished by Aurelian	297
271	Superstitious Ceremonies	298
	Fortifications at Rome	299
271	Aurelian suppresses the two Usurpers	300
	Succession of Usurpers in Gaul	300
271	The Reign and Defeat of Tetricus	301
272	Character of Zenobia	302
	Her Beauty and Learning	302
	Her Valour	303
	She revenges her Husband's Death	303
	She reigns over the East and Egypt	304
272	The Expedition of Aurelian	305
	The Emperor defeats the Palmyrenians in the Battles of Antioch and Emesa	305
	The State of Palmyra	306
	It is besieged by Aurelian	307
273	Aurelian becomes Master of Zenobia and of the City	307
	Behaviour of Zenobia	308
	Rebellion and ruin of Palmyra	309
	Aurelian suppresses the Rebellion of Firmus in Egypt	309
274	Triumph of Aurelian	310
	His Treatment of Tetricus and Zenobia	311
	His Magnificence and Devotion	312
	He suppresses a Sedition at Rome	313
	Observations upon it	313
	Cruelty of Aurelian	314
275	He marches into the East, and is Assassinated	315

CHAPTER XII

Conduct of the Army and Senate after the Death of Aurelian.—Reigns of Tacitus, Probus, Carus and his Sons

	Extraordinary Contest between the Army and the Senate for the Choice of an Emperor	317
275	A peaceful Interregnum of Eight Months	318

A.D.		PAGE
	The Consul assembles the Senate	319
	Character of Tacitus	319
	He is elected Emperor	320
	He accepts the Purple	321
	Authority of the Senate	321
	Their Joy and Confidence	322
276	Tacitus is acknowleged by the Army	323
	The Alani invade Asia and are repulsed by Tacitus	323
276	Death of the Emperor Tacitus	324
	Usurpation and Death of his Brother Florianus	324
	Their Family Subsists in Obscurity	325
	Character and Elevation of the Emperor Probus	326
	His Respectful Conduct towards the Senate	326
	Victories of Probus over the Barbarians	328
277	He delivers Gaul from the Invasion of the Germans	329
	He carries his Arms into Germany	330
	He builds a Wall from the Rhine to the Danube	331
	Introduction and Settlement of the Barbarians	332
	Daring Enterprise of the Franks	333
279	Revolt of Saturninus in the East	334
280	——— of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul	335
281	Triumph of the Emperor Probus	335
	His Discipline	336
282	His Death	336
	Election and Character of Carus	337
	The Sentiments of the Senate and People	338
	Carus defeats the Sarmatians and marches into the East	339
283	He gives Audience to the Persian Ambassadors	339
283	His victories and extraordinary Death	340
	He is succeeded by his two Sons, Carinus and Numerian	341
284	Vices of Carinus	341
	He celebrates the Roman Games	343
	Spectacles of Rome	343
	The Amphitheatre	344
	Return of Numerian with the Army from Persia	346
	Death of Numerian	347
284	Election of the Emperor Diocletian	348
285	Defeat and Death of Carinus	349

CHAPTER XIII

The Reign of Diocletian and his three Associates, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius—General Re-establishment of Order and Tranquillity—The Persian War, Victory, and Triumph—The New Form of Administration—Abdication and Retirement of Diocletian and Maximian

285	Elevation and Character of Diocletian	350
	His Clemency in Victory	351
286	Association and Character of Maximian	352
292	Association of two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius	353
[293]	Departments and Harmony of the four Princes	354
	Series of Events	355

A.D.		PAGE
287	State of the Peasants of Gaul	355
	Their Rebellion	356
	And Chastisement	356
287	Revolt of Carausius in Britain	357
[286]	Importance of Britain	357
	Power of Carausius	358
289	Acknowledged by the other Emperors	358
294	[293] His Death	359
296	Recovery of Britain by Constantius	359
	Defence of the Frontiers	360
	Fortifications	360
	Dissensions of the Barbarians	361
	Conduct of the Emperors	361
	Valour of the Cæsars	361
	Treatment of the Barbarians	362
	Wars of Africa and Egypt	363
296	Conduct of Diocletian in Egypt	363
[295]	He suppresses Books of Alchymy	365
	Novelty and Progress of that Art	365
	The Persian War	366
282	Tiridates the Armenian	366
286	His Restoration to the Throne of Armenia	367
	State of the Country	367
	Revolt of the People and Nobles	367
	Story of Mamgo	368
	The Persians recover Armenia	368
296	War between the Persians and the Romans	369
	Defeat of Galerius	369
	His Reception by Diocletian	370
297	Second Campaign of Galerius	371
	His Victory	371
	His Behaviour to his Royal Captives	371
	Negotiation for Peace	372
	Speech of the Persian Ambassador	372
	Answer of Galerius	373
	Moderation of Diocletian	373
	Conclusion of a Treaty of Peace	373
	Articles of the Treaty	374
	The Aboras fixed as the Limits between the Empires	374
	Cession of five Provinces beyond the Tigris	375
	Armenia	375
	Iberia	376
303	Triumph of Diocletian and Maximian	376
	Long Absence of the Emperors from Rome	377
	Their Residence at Milan	378
	——— ——— at Nicomedia	378
	Debasement of Rome and of the Senate	379
	New Bodies of Guards, Jovians and Herculians	379
	Civil Magistracies laid aside	380
	Imperial Dignity and Titles	381
	Diocletian assumes the Diadem, and introduces the Persian Ceremonial	382
	New Form of Administration, two Augusti and two Cæsars	383

A.D.		Page
	Increase of Taxes	384
	Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian	385
	Resemblance to Charles V.	385
304	Long Illness of Diocletian	386
	His Prudence	386
	Compliance of Maximian	387
	Retirement of Diocletian at Salona	387
	His Philosophy	388
313	His Death	389
	Description of Salona and the adjacent Country	389
	Of Diocletian's Palace	390
	Decline of the Arts	391
	——— of Letters	391
	The new Platonists	392

CHAPTER XIV

Troubles after the abdication of Diocletian—Death of Constantius—Elevation of Constantine and Maxentius—Six Emperors at the same time—Death of Maximian and Galerius—Victories of Constantine over Maxentius and Licinius—Reunion of the Empire under the Authority of Constantine

305-323	Period of Civil Wars and Confusion	394
	Character and Situation of Constantius	394
	Of Galerius	395
	The two Cæsars, Severus and Maximin	395
	Ambition of Galerius disappointed by two Revolutions	397
274	Birth, Education, and Escape of Constantine	397
306	Death of Constantius and Elevation of Constantine	399
	He is acknowledged by Galerius, who gives him only the title of Cæsar, and that of Augustus to Severus	400
	The Brothers and Sisters of Constantine	400
	Discontent of the Romans at the Apprehension of Taxes	401
306	Maxentius declared Emperor at Rome	402
	Maximian reassumes the Purple	403
397	Defeat and Death of Severus	403
	Maximian gives his daughter Fausta, and the Title of Augustus, to Constantine	404
	Galerius invades Italy	405
	His Retreat	407
307	Elevation of Licinius to the Rank of Augustus	407
	Elevation of Maximin	408
308	Six Emperors	408
	Misfortunes of Maximian	408
310	His Death	410
[311]	Death of Galerius	410
	His Dominion shared between Maximin and Licinius	411
306-312	Administration of Constantine in Gaul	412
	Tyranny of Maxentius in Italy and Africa	412
312	Civil War between Constantine and Maxentius	414
	Preparations	415
	Constantine passes the Alps	417

A.D.		PAGE
	Battle of Turin	417
	Siege and Battle of Verona	418
	Indolence and Fears of Maxentius	420
312	Victory of Constantine near Rome	421
	His Reception	423
	His Conduct at Rome	424
313	His Alliance with Licinius	425
	War between Maximin and Licinius	425
	The Defeat of Maximin	426
	His Death	426
	Cruelty of Licinius	426
	Unfortunate Fate of the Empress Valeria and her Mother	427
314	Quarrel between Constantine and Licinius	429
	First Civil War between them	430
314	Battle of Cibalis	430
	Battle of Mardia	431
	Treaty of Peace	432
315-323	General Peace and Laws of Constantine	432
322	The Gothic War	435
323	Second Civil War between Constantine and Licinius	436
	Battle of Hadrianople	437
	Siege of Byzantium and Naval Victory of Crispus	438
	Battle of Chrysopolis	439
	Submission and Death of Licinius	440
324	Reunion of the Empire	441

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR

Gibbon is one of those few writers who hold as high a place in the history of literature as in the roll of great historians. He concerns us here as an historian; our business is to consider how far the view which he has presented of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire can be accepted as faithful to the facts, and in what respects it needs correction in the light of discoveries which have been made since he wrote. But the fact that his work, composed more than a hundred years ago, is still successful with the general circle of educated people, and has not gone the way of Hume and Robertson, whom we laud as "classics" and leave on the cold shelves, is due to the singularly happy union of the historian and the man of letters. Gibbon thus ranks with Thucydides and Tacitus, and is perhaps the clearest example that brilliance of style and accuracy of statement—in Livy's case conspicuously divorced—are perfectly compatible in an historian.

His position among men of letters depends both on the fact that he was an exponent of important ideas and on his style. The appreciation of his style devolves upon the history of literature; but it may be interesting to illustrate how much attention he paid to it, by alterations which he made in his text. The first volume was published, in quarto form, in 1776, and the second quarto edition of this volume, which appeared in 1782, exhibits a considerable number of

Changes in the second edition of the first volume

variants. Having carefully collated the two editions throughout the first fourteen chapters, I have observed that, in most cases, the changes were made for the sake not of correcting mis-statements of fact, but of improving the turn of a sentence, rearranging the dactyls and cretics, or securing greater accuracy of expression. Some instances may be interesting.

Instances

	First edition.	*Second edition.*
P. 2.	Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he *satisfied himself with* the restitution of the standards and prisoners which *were* taken in the defeat of Crassus.	Instead of exposing h person and his legions the arrows of the Parthia he *obtained, by an honou able treaty*, the restitutio of the standards a prisoners which *had be* taken in the defeat Crassus.
P. 10.	The peasant or mechanic, imbibed the useful prejudice . . . that, although the prowess of a private soldier, *might* escape the notice of fame, *it would be in his power* to confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated.	The peasant, or m chanic imbibed the usef prejudice . . . that a though the prowess of private soldier *must oft* escape the notice of fam his own behaviour mig sometimes confer glory disgrace on the compan the legion, or even th army, to whose honours was associated.
P. 52.	The olive, in the western world, *was the companion as well as the symbol of peace.*	The olive, in the weste world, *followed the progre of peace of which it w considered as the symbol.*
P. 59.	The *general* definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, &c.	The *obvious* definitio of a monarchy seems to that of a state, &c.
P. 62.	*On the most important occasions*, peace and war were seriously debated in the senate.	*The most important resol tions of* peace and w were seriously debated the senate.

	First edition.	*Second edition.*
P. 87.	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers, *added* new *weight* to the advocates of monarchy.	The present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers *supplied new arguments* to the advocates of monarchy.
P. 70.	However the latter [*i.e.* the name Cæsar], was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could *claim so noble an extraction.*	However the latter was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could *allege any hereditary claim to the honours of the Julian line.*
P. 73.	Which . . . had *just finished* the conquest of Judæa.	Which . . . had *recently achieved* the conquest of Judæa.
P. 106.	To ascend a throne *streaming* with the blood of so near a relation.	To ascend a throne *polluted* with the *recent* blood of so near a relation.
P. 110.	Severus, who *had sufficient greatness of mind to adopt* several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy.	Severus, who *afterwards displayed the greatness of his mind by adopting* several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy.

These are a few specimens of the numerous cases in which erations have been made for the purpose of improving language. Sometimes, in the new edition, statements couched in a less positive form. For example:—

P 9.	The legions themselves *consisted* of Roman citizens.	The legions themselves *were supposed to consist* of Roman citizens.
P. 77.	And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than *suited* the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor.	And he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy in a more public manner than *was perhaps consistent with* the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor.

There are also cases, where something is added which without changing the general sense, renders a statement fuller more picturesque, or more vivid. Thus:—

	First edition.	*Second edition.*
P. 24.	A sandy desert skirted along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.	A sandy desert, *alik destitute of wood and wate* skirts along the doubtfu confine of Syria, from th Euphrates to the Red Sea
P. 48.	The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps and been felt even in the woods of Britain.	The spirit of improve ment had passed the Alp and been felt even in th woods of Britain, *whic were gradually cleared awa to open a free space fo convenient and elegant habita tions.*
P. 57.	The sciences of physic and astronomy were cultivated *with some degree of reputation;* but if we except the inimitable Lucian, *an* age of indolence passed away without *producing* a single writer of genius, *who deserved the attention of posterity.*	The sciences of physi and astronomy were *suc cessfully* cultivated *by th Greeks; the observations o Ptolemy and the writings o Galen are studied by thos who have improved thei discoveries and correcte their errors;* but if w except the inimitabl Lucian, *this* age of indo lence passed away withou *having produced* a singl writer of *original* geniu *or who excelled in the arts o elegant composition.*

Gibbon's autograph annotations to the first chapter of his work

It may be noticed in this connexion that at a late period Gibbon set to work to revise the second edition but did not get further than p. 32 of the first volume. His own copy with autograph marginal notes was exhibited last year, on the occasion of the Gibbon Centenary, by th

[1] It is stated that there are also unimportant annotations in vols. i and vi.

yal Historical Society, and is to be seen in the British
seum. The corrections and annotations are as follows :—
'To describe the prosperous condition of their empire." P. 1 = 1 of this edition
ad *times* for *empire*.
'And afterwards from the death of Marcus Antoninus."
e following note is entered : "Should I not have given the
tory of that fortunate period which was interposed between
iron ages? Should I not have deduced the decline of
Empire from the Civil Wars that ensued after the Fall of
ro, or even from the tyranny which succeeded the reign of
gustus? Alas! I should: but of what avail is this tardy
owledge? Where error is irreparable, repentance is use-
."
'To deduce the most important circumstances of its P. 2 = 1
line and fall: a revolution which will ever be remembered,
d is still felt by the nations of the earth." These words
erased and the following are substituted: "To prosecute
decline and fall of the empire of Rome: of whose
guage, religion and laws the impression will be long pre-
ved in our own and the neighbouring countries of Europe".
which an observation is appended: "*N.B.* Mr. Hume
d me that, in correcting his history, he always laboured
reduce superlatives, and soften positives. Have Asia and
rica, from Japan to Morocco, any feeling or memory of the
man Empire?"
On the words "rapid succession of triumphs," note:
Excursion I. *on the succession of Roman triumphs*".
On "bulwarks and boundaries," note: "Incertum metû P. 3 = 3
per invidiam (Tacit. Annal. i. 11). Why must rational
vice be imputed to a base or foolish motive? To what
se, error, malevolence, or flattery shall I ascribe the un-
rthy alternative? Was the historian dazzled by Trajan's
quests?"
'On the immortality and transmigration of soul" (compare P. 6 = 5

footnote). Note: "Julian assigns this Theological cause, o whose power he himself might be conscious (*Cæsares*, p. 327) Yet I am not assured that the religion of Zamolxis subsiste in the time of Trajan; or that his Dacians were the sam people with the Getae of Herodotus. The transmigratio of the soul has been believed by many nations, warlike as th Celts, or pusillanimous like the Hindoos. When speculativ opinion is kindled into practical enthusiasm, its operatio will be determined by the praevious character of the man o the nation."

P. 7 = 6 "On their destroyers than on their benefactors." Note "The first place in the temple of fame is due and is assigne to the successful heroes who had struggled with adversity who, after signalizing their valour in the deliverance of thei country, have displayed their wisdom and virtue in foundatio or government of a flourishing state. Such men as Mose Cyrus, Alfred, Gustavus Vasa, Henry IV. of France, &c."

"The thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of th most exalted [characters . . . but he] lamented with a sig that his advanced age, &c." All included within the bracket is erased, and the following substituted: "the most exalte minds. Late generations and far distant climates may im pute their calamities to the immortal author of the Iliad The spirit of Alexander was inflamed by the praises o Achilles: and succeeding Heroes have been ambitious t tread in the footsteps of Alexander. Like him the Empero Trajan aspired to the conquest of the East; but the Roma lamented with a sigh," &c.

P. 11 = 9 "A just preference was given to the climates of the nort over those of the south." Note: "The distinction of Nort and South is real and intelligible; and our pursuit is termin ated on either side by the poles of the Earth. But th difference of East and West is arbitrary and shifts round th globe. As the men of the North, not of the West, th

gions of Gaul and Germany were superior to the *South-*
astern natives of Asia and Egypt. It is the triumph of
ld over heat; which may, however, and has been sur-
ounted by moral causes."

"A correspondent number of tribunes and centurions." P. 15 = 12
ote: "The composition of the Roman officers was very faulty.
It was late before a Tribune was fixed to each cohort.
x tribunes were chosen for the entire legion which two of
em commanded by turns (Polyb. l. vi. p. 526, edit. Schweig-
aeuser), for the space of two months. 2. One long sub-
rdination from the Colonel to the Corporal was unknown.
cannot discover any intermediate ranks between the Tribune
nd the Centurion, the Centurion and the manipularis or
rivate leginary [*sic*]. 3. As the tribunes were often
ithout experience, the centurions were often without educa-
on, mere soldiers of fortune who had risen from the ranks
o immitior quia toleraverat, Tacit. Annal. i. 20). A body
qual to eight or nine of our batallions might be commanded
y half a dozen young gentlemen and fifty or sixty old
rgeants. Like the legions, our great ships of war may
em ill provided with officers: but in both cases the deficiency
corrected by strong principles of discipline and rigour."

"As in the instance of Horace and Agricola." These P. 17, foot-note 53 = 14, footnote 55
ords are erased. Note: "quod mihi pareret legio Romana
ribuno (Horat. Serm. l. i. vi. 45), a worthy commander of
ree and twenty from the school of Athens! Augustus
as indulgent to Roman birth, liberis Senatorum . . . militiam.
spicantes non tribunatum modo legionum sed et praefecturas
arum dedit (Sueton. c. 38)."

"A league and a half above the surface of the sea." Note: P. 32, foot-note 86 = 26, footnote 94
More correctly, according to Mr. Bouguer, 2500 toises
Buffon, Supplement, tom. v. p. 304). The height of Mont
lanc is now fixed to 2416 toises (Saussure, Voyage dans les
lpes, tom. i. p. 495): but the lowest ground from whence

it can be seen is itself greatly elevated above the level of t sea. He who sails by the isle of Teneriff, contemplates t entire Pike, from the foot to the summit."

The moral of the Decline and Fall

But Gibbon has his place in literature not only as t stylist, who never lays aside his toga when he takes up h pen, but as the expounder of a large and striking idea in sphere of intense interest to mankind, and as a powerf representative of certain tendencies of his age. The gui ing idea or "moral" of his history is briefly stated in h epigram: "I have described the triumph of barbarism a religion". In other words, the historical development human societies, since the second century after Christ, was retrogression (according to ordinary views of "progress" for which Christianity was mainly to blame. This conclusi of Gibbon tended in the same direction as the theories Rousseau; only, while Rousseau dated the decline from t day when men left Arcadia, Gibbon's era was the death Marcus Aurelius.

Its contribution to the Philosophy of History

We are thus taken into a region of speculation where eve traveller must make his own chart. But to attempt to deny general truth in Gibbon's point of view is vain; and it is feeb to deprecate his sneer. We may spare more sympathy th he for the warriors and the churchmen; but all that has sin been added to his knowledge of facts has neither reversed n blunted the point of the "Decline and Fall". Optimism temperament may shut the eyes; faith, wedded to some "one i creasing purpose" which it shrinks from grasping, may dive from the path of facts. But for an inquirer not blinded religious prepossessions, or misled by comfortable sophistri Gibbon really expounded one of the chief data with which t philosophy of history has to reckon. How are we to defi progress? how recognize retrogression? What is the end relation to which such words have their meaning, and

here a law which will explain "the triumph of barbarism nd religion" as a necessary moment in a reasonable rocess towards that end, whatever it may be? Answers ave been given since Gibbon's day, engaging to the intellect, ut always making some demand on the faith—answers r which he would have the same smile as for Leo's Dogmatic Epistle. There is certainly some reason for hinking these questions insoluble. We may say at least that he meaning of the philosophy of history is misapprehended ntil it is recognized that its function is not to solve problems ut to transform them.

Gibbon's treatment of Christianity

But, though the moral of Gibbon's work has not lost its eaning yet, it is otherwise with the particular treatment of hristian theology and Christian institutions. Our point f view has altered, and, if Gibbon were writing now, the tone f his "candid and rational inquiry" would certainly be ifferent. His manner would not be that of sometimes open, ometimes transparently veiled, dislike; he would rather assume n attitude of detachment. He would be affected by that erely historical point of view, which is a note of the present entury and its larger tolerances; and more than half disarmed y that wide diffusion of unobtrusive scepticism among educated eople, which seems to render offensive warfare superfluous. he man of letters admires the fine edge of subtle sarcasm, ielded by Gibbon with such skill and effect; while the istorian is interested in an historical standpoint of the last entury. Neither the historian nor the man of letters will ny longer subscribe, without a thousand reserves, to the heological chapters of the "Decline and Fall," and no iscreet inquirer would go there for his ecclesiastical history. et we need not hide the fact that Gibbon's success has in a arge measure been due to his scorn for the Church; which, ost emphatically expressed in the theological chapters, has, s one might say, spiced his book. The attack of a man,

equipped with erudition, and of perfectly sober judgmen on cherished beliefs and revered institutions, must alwa excite the interest, by irritating the passions, of men. Gibbon classical moderation of judgment, his temperate mood, w responsible, as well as foreign education and the influen of French thought, for his attitude to Christianity and Mahometanism. He hated excess, and the immoderatio of the multitude. He could suffer the tolerant piety a learned abbé or "the fat slumbers of the Church"; bu with the religious faith of a fanatical populace or the ardo of its demagogues his reason was unable to sympathize. In th spirit of Cicero or Tacitus he despised the superstitions of th vulgar, and regarded the unmeasured enthusiasm of th early Christians as many sober Churchmen regard th fanaticism of Islam. He dealt out the same measure to th opposite enthusiasm of Julian the Apostate.[2] His wo was all the more effective, because he was never dogmat himself. His irony should not be construed as insincerit but rather as showing that he was profoundly—or might say, constitutionally—convinced of the truth of tha sceptical conclusion which has been, in a different spiri formulated precisely by the Bishop of Oxford; "there is r room for sweeping denunciations or trenchant criticisms i the dealings of a world whose falsehoods and veracities a separated by so very thin a barrier".

to be partly explained by his temperament

His reasonable scepticism

Thus Gibbon's attitude to religion, while it was conditione by the intellectual atmosphere of Europe in that age, wa also the expression of the man. When Dean Milman spok of his "bold and disingenuous attack on Christianity,"[3] h made one of those futile charges which it would be im possible to prove and impossible to disprove; such imput

Milman's libel

[2] The influence of Gibbon's picture of Julian can be discerned in Ibsen "Emperor and Galilaean".

[3] In a footnote to the Autobiography.

ns as are characteristic of theologians in the heat of con-
oversy and may be condoned to politicians in the heat of
ctioneering, but in an historical critic are merely an im-
rtinence.

Ulterior purposes and "party spirit" in the writing of history

It has sometimes been remarked that those histories are most
adable which are written to prove a thesis. The indict-
ent of the Empire by Tacitus, the defence of Cæsarianism
Mommsen, Grote's vindication of democracy, Droysen's
vocacy of monarchy, might be cited as examples. All these
iters intended to present the facts as they took place, but
wrote with prepossessions and opinions, in the light of
hich they interpreted the events of history. Arnold
liberately advocated such partiality on the ground that "the
st is reflected to us by the present and the partyman feels the
esent most". Another Oxford Regius Professor remarked
at "without some infusion of spite it seems as if history
uld not be written". On the other side stands the formula
Ranke as to the true task of the historian: "Ich will bloss
gen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist". The Greek History of
shop Thirlwall, the English Constitutional History of
shop Stubbs himself, were written in this spirit. But the
ost striking instances perhaps, because they tread with such
ght feet on the treacherous ashes of more recent history,
e Ranke and Bishop Creighton. Thucydides is the most
cient example of this historical reserve. It cannot be said
at Gibbon sat down to write with any ulterior purpose, but,
we have seen, he allowed his temperament to colour his
story, and used it to prove a congenial thesis. But, while
put things in the light demanded by this thesis, he
lated his facts accurately. If we take into account the vast
nge of his work, his accuracy is amazing. He laboured
nder some disadvantages, which are set forth in his own
lemoirs. He had not enjoyed that school and university
aining in the languages and literatures of Greece and

Arnold's view

Ranke's view

Gibbon's prepossessions and accuracy

Rome which is probably the best preparation for histori

Imperfect knowledge of Greek

research. His knowledge of Greek was imperfect; he w very far from having the "scrupulous ear of the well-flogg critic". He has committed errors of translation, and w capable of writing "Gregory of Nazianzen". But such sli are singularly few. Nor is he accustomed to take light quotations at second hand; like that famous passage Eligius of Noyon—held up by Arnold as a warning—whi Robertson and Hallam successively copied from Moshei where it had appeared in a garbled form, to prove exactly t opposite of its true meaning.

An emendation in Gibbon's text

From one curious inaccuracy, which neither critics n editors seem to have observed, he must I think be acquitte In his account of the disturbances in Africa and Egypt in t reign of Diocletian, we meet the following passage (cha xiii., p. 363):—

> "Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage. Achille at Alexandria, and even the Blemmyes, renewed, rather continued their incursions into the Upp Egypt."

Achilleus arose at this time (295-6 A.D.) as a tyrant Alexandria; but that he made either at this date or at a previous date an incursion into the Upper Egypt, there not a trace of evidence in our authorities. I am convinc however that this error was not originally due to the auth but merely a treacherous misprint, which was overlooked him in correcting the proof sheets, and has also escap the notice of his editors. By a slight change in punctu tion we obtain a perfectly correct statement of the situation:

> "Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage, Achille at Alexandria; and even the Blemmyes renewed, rather continued, their incursions into the Upp Egypt".

have no doubts that this was the sentence originally meant
d probably written by Gibbon, and have felt no scruple
extirpating the inveterate error from the text.[4]

Gibbon's debt to Tillemont

Gibbon's diligent accuracy in the use of his materials
nnot be over-praised, and it will not be diminished by
ving the due credit to his French predecessor Tillemont.
ne *Histoire des Empereurs* and the *Mémoires ecclésiastiques*,
borious and exhaustive collections of material, were
ldressed to the special student and not to the general
ader, but scholars may still consult them with profit. It
interesting to find Mommsen in his later years retracting
ne of his earlier judgments and reverting to a conclusion of
illemont. In his recent edition[5] of the Laterculus of
olemius Silvius, he writes thus :—

> "L'auteur de la Notice—peritissimi Tillemontii verba sunt (hist. 5, 699)—vivoit en Occident et ne savoit pas trop l'état où estoit l'Orient; *ei iuvenis contradixi hodie subscribo*".

is one of Gibbon's merits that he made full use of Tille-
ont, "whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the
aracter of genius," as far as Tillemont guided him, up to
e reign of Anastasius I.; and it is only just to the
ighty work of the Frenchman to impute to him a
rge share in the accuracy which the Englishman achieved.
rom the historical, though not from the literary, point of

[4] In some other cases I have corrected the text in this volume. (1). p. 55, 109; Sumelpur for Jumelpur, see Appendix 9. (2). p. 259, l. 2 from top; e reading of the received text "public" is surely a printer's error, which caped detection, for "republic," which I have ventured to restore. (3). p. 9, l. 5 from foot, I have assumed an instance of "lipography". (4). p. 328, 35, "Lycius" had been already corrected (see Smith's ed.) to "Lydius". obably Gibbon had his Zosimus open before him when he wrote this note, d his pen traced Lycius because Lycia happened to occur in the very next line his authority. I have followed Sir William Smith's precedent in dealing ely with the punctuation, and in modernizing the spelling of a few words.

[5] In the Chronica Minora (M. G. H.), vol. i., 512 *sqq*. See p. 533.

view, Gibbon, deserted by Tillemont, distinctly decline
though he is well sustained through the wars of Justinian b
the clear narrative of Procopius.

His necessary limitations

Recognizing that Gibbon was accurate, we do not acknow
ledge by implication that he was always right; fo
accuracy is relative to opportunities. The discovery
new materials, the researches of numerous scholars, in th
course of a hundred years, have not only added to our know
ledge of facts, but have modified and upset conclusions whic
Gibbon with his materials was justified in drawing. Compar
a chapter or two of Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invader*
with the corresponding episode in Gibbon, and many minc
points will appear in which correction has been needful.
Gibbon were alive and writing now, his history would be ver
different. Affected by the intellectual experiences of the pas
century he could not adopt quite the same historical attitude
and we should consequently lose the colouring of his brilliar
attack on Christianity. Again, he would have found it a
absolute necessity to learn what he insolently called tha
"barbarous idiom," the German language; and this migh
have affected his style as it would certainly have affected h
matter. We dare not deplore Gibbon's limitations, for the
were the conditions of his great achievement.

His grasp of the unity of history

Not the least important aspect of the Decline and Fall
its lesson in the unity of history, the favourite theme of M
Freeman. The title displays the cardinal fact that th
Empire founded by Augustus fell in 1461; that all th
changes which transformed the Europe of Marcus Aureliu
into the Europe of Erasmus had not abolished the nam
and memory of the Empire. And whatever name
of contempt—in harmony with his thesis—Gibbon migh
apply to the institution in the period of its later declin
such as the "Lower Empire," or "Greek Empire," his tit
rectified any false impressions that such language migh

se. On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended unity of his work. By the emphasis laid on this fact he the same kind of service to the study of history in England, t Mr. Bryce has done in his *Holy Roman Empire* by ing the thread which connects the Europe of Francis the ond with the Europe of Charles the Great.

Gibbon read widely, and had a large general knowledge of tory, which supplied him with many happy illustrations. s worth pointing out that the gap in his knowledge of ient history was the period of the Diadochi and Epigoni. he had been familiar with that period, he would not have d that Diocletian was the first to give to the world the mple of a resignation of sovereignty. He would have erred to the conspicuous case of Ptolemy Soter; Mr. Free- n would have added Lydiadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis. the earlier example of Asarhaddon Gibbon could not have own.

New methods of research

To pass from scope and spirit to method, Gibbon's torical sense kept him constantly right in dealing with his rces, but he can hardly be said to have treated them thodically. The growth of German erudition is one of the ding features of the intellectual history of the nineteenth tury; and one of its most important contributions to torical method lies in the investigation of sources. German olars have indeed pressed this "Quellenkunde" further n it can safely be pressed. A philologist, writing his toral dissertation, will bring plausible reasons to prove ere exactly Diodorus ceased to "write out" Ephorus, ose work we do not possess, and began to write out some- dy else, whose work is also lost to us. But, though the thod lends itself to the multiplication of vain subtleties, s absolutely indispensable for scientific historiography. It n fact part of the science of evidence. The distinction primary and derivative authorities might be used as a test.

"Quellenkritik"

The untrained historian fails to recognize that nothing is added to the value of a statement of Widukind by its repetition by Thietmar or Ekkehard, and that a record in the Continuation of Theophanes gains no further credibility from the fact that it likewise occurs in Cedrenus, Zonaras or Glycas.

While evidence is more systematically arranged, greater care is bestowed on sifting and probing what our authorities say, and in distinguishing contemporary from later witnesses. Not a few important results have been derived from such methods; they enable us to trace the growth of stories. The evidence against Faustina shrinks into nothing; the existence of Pope Joan is exploded. It is irrelevant to condemn a statement of Zonaras as made by a "modern Greek". The question is, where did he get it?[6]

The difficult questions connected with the authorship and compilation of the Historia Augusta have produced a chestful of German pamphlets, but they did not trouble Gibbon. The relationships of the later Greek chronicles and histories are more difficult and intricate even than the questions raised by the Historia Augusta, but he did not even formulate a prudent interrogation. Ferdinand Hirsch, twenty years ago, cleared new roads through this forest, in which George the Monk and the Logothete who continued him, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, John Scylitzes, George Cedrenus and Zonaras lived in promiscuous obscurity. Büttner-Wobst on one side, C. de Boor on the other, have been working effectually on the same lines, clearing up the haze which surrounds George the Monk—the time has gone by for calling him George Hamartolus. Another formidable problem, that of John Malalas—with his namesake John of

[6] Gibbon had a notion of this, but did not apply it methodically. See in this vol., p. 415, note 59: "but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost". And see, in general, his Preface to the fourth volume of the quarto ed.

ioch, so hard to catch,—having been grappled with by
, Sotiriadês and others, is now being more effectively
ted by Patzig.

riticism, too, has rejected some sources from which Gibbon Example of use of untrustworthy sources
without suspicion. In the interest of literature we
perhaps be glad that like Ockley he used with confidence
now discredited Al Wakidi. Before such maintained
ection of manner, to choose is hard; but the chapters on
origin of Mahometanism and its first triumphs against
Empire would alone be enough to win perpetual literary
e. Without Al Wakidi's romance they would not have
written; and the historian, compelled to regard Gibbon's
ription as he would a Life of Charles the Great based on
monk of St. Gall, must refer the inquirer after facts to
nger's Life of Mahomet and Weil's History of the
phs.[7]

connexion with the use of materials, reference may be Error of blending sources of different periods
e to a mode of proceeding which Gibbon has sometimes
oted and which modern method condemns. It is not
imate to blend the evidence of two different periods in
r to paint a complete picture of an institution. Great
ion, for example, is needed in using the Greek epics,
hich the earliest and latest parts differ by a long interval,
the purpose of pourtraying a so-called Homeric or
ic age. A notice of Fredegarius will not be necessarily
icable to the age of the sons and grandsons of Chlodwig,
a custom which was familiar to Gregory or Venantius

n Mahometan history in general, it may be added, not only has advance made by access to new literary oriental documents, but its foundations been more surely grounded by numismatic researches, especially those . Stanley Lane-Poole. This scholar's recently published handbook con- g tables and lists of the "Mohammadan" Dynasties is a guerdon for students of history must be most deeply grateful. The special histories hometan Sicily and Spain have been worked out by Amari and Dozy. he Mongols we have the overwhelming results of Sir Henry Howorth's ng and devotion to his "vasty" subject.

may have become obsolete before the days of the last Mer wings. It is instructive to compare Gibbon's description c the social and political institutions of our Teutonic forefather with that of Bishop Stubbs. Gibbon blends together wit dexterity the evidence of Cæsar and Tacitus, between whor a century had elapsed, and composes a single picture; whereas Bishop Stubbs keeps the statements of the two Romans care fully apart, and by comparing them is able to show that i certain respects the Germans had developed in the interva Gibbon's account of the military establishment of the Empir in the first chapter of his work, is open to a like objectior He has blended, without due criticism, the evidence c Vegetius with that of earlier writers.[8]

Progress of textual criticism

In the study of sources, then, our advance has been grea while the labours of an historian have become more arduou It leads us to another advance of the highest importanc To use historical documents with confidence, an assuranc that the words of the writer have been correctly transmitte is manifestly indispensable. It generally happens that our tex have come down in several MSS., of different ages, and ther are often various discrepancies. We have then to determir the relations of the MSS. to each other and their comparativ values. To the pure philologist this is part of the alphab of his profession; but the pure historian takes time to realiz it, and it was not realized in the age of Gibbon as it is to-da Nothing forces upon the historian the necessity of having sound text so impressively as the process of comparin different documents in order to determine whether one wa dependent on another,—the process of investigating source

[8] It may be said for Gibbon, however, that even Mommsen, in his volun on the Provinces, has adopted this practice of blending evidence of differe dates. For the historical artist, it is very tempting, when the evidence f any particular period is scanty; but in the eyes of the scientific historian is indefensible.

this respect we have now to be thankful for many blessings
nied to Gibbon and—so recent is our progress—denied to
lman and Finlay. We have Mommsen's editions of Improved Latin texts
rdanes and the Variae of Cassiodorius, his Chronica Minora
ill incomplete), including, for instance, Idatius, the Prospers,
unt Marcellinus; we have Peter's Historia Augusta,
rdthausen's Ammianus, Luetjohann's Sidonius Apolli-
ris; Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis*; and a large number
critical texts of ecclesiastical writers might be mentioned.[9]
e Greek historians have been less fortunate. The Bonn Defective
tion of the "Byzantine Writers," issued under the
spices of Niebuhr and Bekker in the early part of
s century, was the most lamentably feeble production
r given to the world by German scholars of great reputa-
n. It marked no advance on the older folio edi-
n, except that it was cheaper, and that one or two
w documents were included. But there is now a reason-
e prospect that we shall by degrees have a complete series
trustworthy texts. De Boor showed the way by his and improved Greek texts
endid edition of Theophanes and his smaller texts of
eophylactus Simocatta and the Patriarch Nicephorus.
endelssohn's Zosimus, and Reifferscheid's Anna Comnena
nd beside them. Haury promises a Procopius, and we
expecting from Seger a long desired John Scylitzes, the
ater part of whose text, though existing in a MS. at
ris, has never been printed and can only be inferred by a
nparison of the Latin translation of Gabius with the
ronicle of Cedrenus who copied him with faithful servility.
The legends of the Saints, though properly outside the The legendary Lives of the Saints
main of the historian proper, often supply him with valu-
e help. For "Culturgeschichte" they are a direct source.
lay observed that the Acta Sanctorum contain an un-

[9] Especially the Corpus Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

explored mine for the social life of the Eastern Em
But before they can be confidently dealt with, tra
criticism must do its will on the texts; the relations betv
the various versions of each legend must be defined and
tradition in each case made clear. The task is huge;
libraries of Europe and Hither Asia are full of these
tales. But Usener has made a good beginning and Krumba
has rendered the immense service of pointing out prec
what the problems are.[10]

New Material. Examples: (1) Numismatics

Besides improved methods of dealing with the old mate
much new material of various kinds has been discove
since the work of Gibbon. To take one department,
coins have increased in number. It seems a pity that
who worked at his Spanheim with such diligence was
able to make use of Eckhel's great work on Impe
coinage which began to appear in 1792 and was compl
in 1798. Since then we have had Cohen, and the spe
works of Saulcy and Sabatier. M. Schlumberger's sple
study of Byzantine sigillography must be mentioned in
same connexion.[11]

Seals

(2) Constitutional history

The constitution and history of the Principate, and
provincial government of the early Emperors, have

[10] Usener, Der heilige Theodosios, 1890. Krumbacher, Studien zu
Legenden des heiligen Theodosios, 1892. It is worth while to state b
what the chief problem is. The legends of the Saints were colle
rehandled, cleansed of casual heresy, and put into literary form in the
century (towards its close according to Vasilievski) by Symeon Metaphra
Most of our MSS. are derived from the edition of Symeon; but there
also extant, some, comparatively few, containing the original pre-Sym
versions, which formed the chief literary recreation of ordinary men
women before the tenth century. The problem is to collect the mat
for a critical edition of as many legends as have been preserved in
original form. When that is done, we shall have the data for fully appr
ing the methods of Symeon. As for the text Krumbacher points out
what we want is a thoroughgoing study of the *Grammar of the MSS.*

[11] M. Schlumberger followed up this work by an admirable monograp
Nicephorus Phocas, luxuriously illustrated; and we are looking forwa
the appearance of a companion work on Basil II.

ced on an entirely new basis by Mommsen and his school.[12] e Römisches Staatsrecht is a fabric for whose rearing was ded not only improved scholarship but an extensive lection of epigraphic material. The Corpus of Latin criptions is the keystone of the work. Epigraphy

Hence Gibbon's first chapters are somewhat "out of date". t on the other hand his admirable description of the nge from the Principate to absolute Monarchy, and the tem of Diocletian and Constantine, is still most valuable. re inscriptions are less illustrative, and he disposed of much same material as we, especially the Codex Theodosianus. w light is badly wanted, and has not been to any extent thcoming, on the respective contributions of Diocletian d Constantine to the organization of the new monarchy. to the arrangement of the provinces we have indeed a cious document in the Verona List (published by Mommsen), ich, dating from 297 A.D., shows Diocletian's reorganiza- n. The modifications which were made between this year d the beginning of the fifth century when the Notitia gnitatum was drawn up, can be largely determined not y by lists in Rufus and Ammianus, but, as far as the tern provinces are concerned, by the Laterculus of lemius Silvius. Thus, partly by critical method applied Polemius, partly by the discovery of a new document, we enabled to rectify the list of Gibbon, who adopted the nple plan of ascribing to Diocletian and Constantine the tailed organization of the Notitia. Otherwise our know- ge of the changes of Diocletian has not been greatly gmented, but our clearer conception of the Principate and steady development towards pure monarchy has reflected Verona List o. Provinces

[12] The first volume of Mr. Pelham's history of the Empire, which is ex- ted shortly, will show, when compared with Merivale, how completely knowledge of Roman institutions has been transformed within a very ent period.

light on Diocletian's system; and the tendencies of t
third century, though still obscure at many points, ha
been made more distinct. The year of the Gordians is st
as great a puzzle as ever; but the dates of Alexandri
coins with the tribunician years give us here, as elsewhe
limits of which Gibbon was ignorant. While speaking of t
third century, I may add that Calpurnius Siculus, wh
Gibbon claimed as a contemporary of Carinus, has be
restored by modern criticism to the reign of Nero, and th
error has vitiated some of Gibbon's pages.

The constitutional history of the Empire from Diocleti
forward has still to be written systematically. Some no
worthy contributions to this subject have been made
Russian scholars.

(3) Law

Gibbon's forty-fourth chapter is still not only famous, b
admired by jurists as a brief and brilliant exposition of t
principles of Roman law. To say that it is worthy of t
subject is the best tribute that can be paid to it. A ser
of foreign scholars of acute legal ability has elaborated t
study of the science in the present century; I need on
refer to such names as Savigny and Jhering. A criti
edition of the Corpus juris Romani by Mommsen himself h

Gaius

been one of the chief contributions. The manuscript
Gaius is the new discovery to be recorded; and we c
imagine with what interest Gibbon, were he restored
earth, would compare in Gneist's parallel columns the Insti
tions with the elder treatise.

But whoever takes up Gibbon's theme now will not
content with an exposition of the Justinianean Law.
must go on to its later development in the subseque

Græco-Roman law

centuries, in the company of Zachariä von Lingenthal a
Heimbach. Such a study has been made possible a
comparatively easy by the magnificent works of Zachari

Ecloga

among whose achievements I may single out his restoration

Ecloga, which used to be ascribed to Leo VI., to its true
or Leo III.; a discovery which illuminated in a most wel-
e manner the Isaurian reformation. It is interesting to
rve that the last work which engaged him even on his
h-bed was an attempt to prove exactly the same thing for
military treatise known as the Tactics of Leo VI. Here
Zachariä thinks that Leo was the Isaurian, while the
ved view is that he was the "Philosopher".

aving illustrated by examples the advantages open to an
rian of the present day, which were not open to Gibbon,
dealing with Gibbon's theme,—improved and refined
nods, a closer union of philology with history, and
ler material—we may go on to consider a general defect
s treatment of the Later Empire, and here too exhibit,
few instances, progress made in particular departments.
ibbon ended the first half of his work with the so-called Gibbon's treatment of the Later Empire
of the Western Empire in 476 A.D.—a date which has
fixed out of regard for Italy and Rome, and should
tly be 480 A.D. in consideration of Julius Nepos. Thus
ame space is devoted to the first three hundred years
h is allowed to the remaining nine hundred and eighty.
does the inequality end here. More than a quarter of
econd half of the work deals with the first two of these
centuries. The mere statement of the fact shows that
istory of the Empire from Heraclius to the last Grand
nenus of Trebizond is merely a sketch with certain
odes more fully treated. The personal history and
estic policy of all the Emperors, from the son of Heraclius
aac Angelus, are compressed into one chapter. This mode
aling with the subject is in harmony with the author's con-
tuous attitude to the "Byzantine" or "Lower" Empire.
ut Gibbon's account of the internal history of the False impression as to uniformity of its history
ire after Heraclius is not only superficial; it gives an

entirely false impression of the facts. If the materials h
been then as well sifted and studied as they are even to-da
he could not have failed to see that beneath the intrigu
and crimes of the Palace there were deeper causes at wo
and beyond the revolutions of the Capital City wider issu
implied. The cause for which the Iconoclasts contend
involved far more than an ecclesiastical rule or usage;
meant, and they realized, the regeneration of the Empi
Or, to take another instance: the key to the history of t
tenth and eleventh centuries, is the struggle between t
Imperial throne and the great landed interest of Asia Minor
the accession of Alexius Commenus marked the final victo
of the latter. Nor had Gibbon any conception of the gre
ability of most of the Emperors from Leo the Isaurian
Basil II., or, we might say, to Constantine the conque
of Armenia. The designation of the story of the la
Empire as a "uniform tale of weakness and misery"[14] is o

and as to its weakness

of the most untrue, and most effective, judgments ever utte
by a thoughtful historian. Before the outrage of 1204, t
Empire was the bulwark of the West.[15]

Reaction

Against Gibbon's point of view there has been a gradu
reaction which may be said to have culminated within t

Finlay's History

last ten years. It was begun by Finlay, whose unprosper
speculations in Greece after the Revolution prompted him
seek for the causes of the insecurity of investments in la
and, leading him back to the year 146 B.C., involved him

[13] This has been best pointed out by C. Neumann.

[14] Chap. xlviii. *ad init.*, where a full statement of his view of the la
Empire will be found.

[15] I need not repeat here what I have said elsewhere, and what ma
others have said (recently Mr. Frederic Harrison in two essays in his volu
entitled *The Meaning of History*) as to the various services of the Empire
Europe. They are beginning to be generally recognized and they have b
brought out in Mr. C. W. Oman's brief and skilful sketch of the "Byzant
Empire" (1892).

history of the "Byzantine Empire" which embedded a story of Greece.[16] The great value of Finlay's work lies not ly in its impartiality and in his trained discernment of the mmercial and financial facts underlying the superficial history the chronicles, but in its full and trustworthy narration of e events. By the time that Mr. Tozer's edition appeared 1876, it was being recognized that Gibbon's word on the er Empire was not the last. Meanwhile Hertzberg was ing over the ground in Germany, and Gfrörer, whose clesiastical studies had taken him into those regions, had itten a good deal of various value. Hirsch's *Byzantinische udien* had just appeared, and Rambaud's *l'Empire grec au e siècle*. M. Sathas was bringing out his Bibliotheca Græca edii aevi—including two volumes of Psellus—and was beginng his Documents inédits. Professor Lambros was working his Athens in the Twelfth Century and preparing his editio inceps of the great Archbishop Akominatos. Hopf had llected a mass of new materials from the archives of southern ies. In England, Freeman was pointing out the true position New Rome and her Emperors in the history of Europe.

Other researches

These tendencies have increased in volume and velocity thin the last twenty years. They may be said to have ached their culminating point in the publication of Professor rumbacher's History of Byzantine Literature.[17] The imrtance of this work, of vast scope and extraordinary accuracy, n only be fully understood by the specialist. It has already omoted and facilitated the progress of the study in an inlculable measure; and it was soon followed by the inaugura-

Krumbacher

[16] Since then a Greek scholar, K. Paparrigopulos, has covered the whole history of Greece from the earliest times to the present century, in his Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους. The same gigantic task, but in a more popular form, s been undertaken and begun by Professor Lambros, but is not yet finished.

[17] Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (565-1453), 1891.

tion of a journal, entirely devoted to works on "Byzantine" subjects, by the same scholar. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* would have been impossible twenty-five years ago and nothing shows more surely the turn of the tide. Professor Krumbacher's work seems likely to form as important an epoch as that of Ducange.

Russian school of Byzantine students

Meanwhile in a part of Europe which deems itself to have received the torch from the Emperors as it has received their torch from the Patriarchs, and which has always had a special regard for the city of Constantine, some excellent work was being done. In Russia, Muralt edited the chronicle of George the monk and his Continuers, and compiled Byzantine Fasti. The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction is the storehouse of a long series of most valuable articles dealing, from various sides, with the history of the later Empire, by those indefatigable workers Uspenski and Vasilievski. At length, in 1894, Krumbacher's lead has been followed, and the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, a Russian counterpart of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, has been started under the joint editorship of Vasilievski and Regel, and is clearly destined, with the help of Veselovski, Kondakov, Bieliaiev and the rest of a goodly fellowship, to make its mark.

Progress of research since Gibbon. Examples:

After this general sketch of the new prospects of late Imperial history, it will be useful to show by some examples what sort of progress is being made, and what kind of work has to be done. I will first take some special points of interest connected with Justinian. My second example shall be the topography of Constantinople; and my third the large field of literature composed in colloquial Greek. Lastly, the capital defect of the second half of Gibbon's work, his inadequate treatment, or rather his neglect, of the Slavs, will serve to illustrate our historical progress.

(1) Justinian. (a) Procopius and the Secret History

New light has been cast, from more than one side, on the gn of Justinian where there are so many uncertain and eresting places. The first step that methodical history d to take was a thoroughgoing criticism of Procopius, and is was more than half done by Dahn in his elaborate onograph. The double problem of the "Secret History" s stimulated the curiosity of the historian and the critic. as Procopius the author? and in any case, are the state- nts credible? Gibbon has inserted in his notes the worst s of the scandals which far outdid the convivium quinqua- nta meretricum described by Burchard, or the feast of phonius Tigellinus; and he did not hesitate to believe them. eir credibility is now generally questioned, but the historian Cæsarea is a much more interesting figure if it can be own that he was the author. From a careful comparison the Secret History with the works of Procopian authorship, point of style, Dahn concluded that Procopius wrote it. anke argued against this view and maintained that it was e work of a malcontent who had obtained possession of a ivate diary of Procopius, on which framework he constructed e scandalous chronicle, imitating successfully the Procopian yle.[18]

The discovery of Haury

The question has been placed on a new footing by Haury;[19] d it is very interesting to find that the solution depends on e right determination of certain dates. The result is iefly as follows:—

Procopius was a malcontent who hated Justinian and all s works. He set himself the task of writing a history of s time, which, as the secretary of Belisarius, he had good portunities of observing. He composed a narrative of e military events, in which he abstained from committing

[18] I was seduced by this hypothesis of Ranke (Later Roman Empire, i. 3), but no longer believe in it.

[19] Procopiana, 1891.

himself, so that it could be safely published in his own life time. Even here his critical attitude to the government i sometimes clear. He allows it to be read between the line that he regarded the reconquest of Africa and Italy a calamities for those countries; which thus came under a oppressor, to be stripped by his governors and tax gatherer But the domestic administration was more dangerous ground on which Procopius could not tread without raising a voic of bitter indignation and hatred. So he dealt with this in book which was to be kept secret during his own life an bequeathed to friends who might be trusted to give it to th world at a suitable time. The greater part of the Militar History, which treated in seven Books the Persian, Vandali and Gothic wars, was finished in 545 A.D., and perhaps rea to a select circle of friends; at a later time some additio were made, but no changes in what had been already writte The Secret History, as Haury has proved from intern evidence, was written in 550.[20] About three years later th Military History received an eighth Book, bringing the sto down to the end of the Gothic war. Then the work cam under the notice of Justinian, who saw that a great historia had arisen; and Procopius, who had certainly not describe the wars for the purpose of pleasing the Emperor, but ha sailed as close to the wind as he dared, was called upon t undertake the disagreeable task of lauding the oppressor. A Imperial command was clearly the origin of the De Aed ficiis (560 A.D.), in which the reluctant writer adopted th plan of making adulation so fulsome, that, except t Justinian's vanity, he might appear to be laughing in h

[20] One of the author's points is that Justinian was the real ruler during t nominal reign of Justin, who was an "ass". Hence he dates Justinia administration (not of course his Imperial years) from 518. The cons quence of this important discovery of Haury, which he has proved up to t hilt, is that the work was written in 550 (not, as before believed, in 559) the thirty-second year of Justinian's administration.

eeve. At the very beginning of the treatise he has a sly llusion to the explosives which were lying in his desk, un- nown to the Imperial spies.

Such is the outline of the literary motives of Procopius as e must conceive them, now that we have a practical certainty at he, and no other, wrote the Secret History. For aury's dates enable us, as he points out, to argue as follows: Procopius did not write the book, it was obviously written y a forger, who wished it to pass as a Procopian work. But 550 no forger could have had the close acquaintance with e Military History which is exhibited by the author of the necdota. And moreover the identity of the introduction the eighth Book of the Military History with that of e Secret History, which was urged by Ranke as an objection the genuineness of the latter work, now tells decisively favour of it. For if Procopius composed it in 553, how uld a forger, writing in 550, have anticipated it? And if e forger composed it in 550, how are we to explain its ppearance in a later work of Procopius himself? These nsiderations put it beyond all reasonable doubt that rocopius was the author of the Secret History; for this ssumption is the only one which supplies an intelligible xplanation of the facts.

Another puzzle in connexion with Justinian lay in certain iographical details relating to that emperor and his family, hich Alemanni, in his commentary on the Secret History, uoted on the authority of a Life of Justinian by a certain bbot Theophilus, said to have been the Emperor's preceptor. f these biographical notices, and of Justinian's preceptor heophilus, we otherwise knew nothing; nor had any one, nce Alemanni, seen the Biography. Gibbon and other istorians accepted without question the statements quoted y Alemanni; though it would have been wiser to treat them ith more reserve, until some data for criticizing them

(b) Theophilus' Life of Justinian

were discovered. The puzzle of Alemanni's source, the

The discovery of Mr. Bryce

Life of Theophilus, was solved by Mr. Bryce, who dis covered in the library of the Barberini palace at Rome the original text from which Alemanni drew his information.[2] It professes to be an extract from a Slavonic work, containing the Life of Justinian up to the thirtieth year of his reign composed by Bogomil, abbot of the monastery of St. Alexander in Dardania. This extract was translated by Marnavich Canon of Sebenico (afterwards Bishop of Bosnia, 1631-1639) a friend of Alemanni, and some notes were appended by the same scholar. *Bogomil* is the Slavonic equivalent of the Greek *Theophilus*, which was accordingly adopted by Alemanni in his references. Mr. Bryce has shown clearly that this document, interesting as it is in illustrating how Slavonic legends had grown up round the name of Justinian is worthless as history, and that there is no reason to suppose that such a person as the Dardanian Bogomil ever existed. We are indeed met by a new problem, which, however, is of no serious concern to the practical purposes of history. How did Marnavich obtain a copy of the original Life, from which he made the extract, and which he declares to be preserved in the library of the monks who profess the rule of St. Basil on Mount Athos? Does the original still exist, on Mount Athos or elsewhere? or did it ever exist?

The wars of Justinian[22] in the west have been fully and admirably related by Mr. Hodgkin, with the exception of the obscure conquest of Spain, on which there is too little to be said and nothing further seems likely to come to light. In regard to the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian there is still a field for research.

[21] The Life of Justinian by Theophilus, in the *English Historical Review* Vasil'ev has given an account of Mr. Bryce's article in the *Vizantiski Vremennik*, i., 469 *sqq*.

[22] The Persian and Lazic Wars have been related in detail in my Later Roman Empire, vol. i.

As for the study of the great work of Anthemius, which rings us to the general subject of Byzantine art, much has een done within the last half century. Gibbon had nothing o help him for the buildings of Constantinople that could ompare with Adam's splendid work which he consulted for he buildings of Spalato. We have now Salzenberg's luxuri- us work, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*, ublished just fifty years ago by the Prussian government, vith plates which enable us to make a full study of the rchitecture of St. Sophia. A few months ago a complete nd scholarly English study of this church by Messrs. Lethaby nd Swainson appeared. Other churches, too, especially hose at Ravenna, have received careful attention ; De Voguë's dmirable work on the architecture of Syria is well known ; ut Strzygovski has only too good reason for complaining hat the study of Byzantine architecture, as a whole, has not et properly begun. A large work on the churches of Greece, vhich two English scholars are preparing, ought to do much o further the cause which Strzygovski has at heart, and to vhich he has made valuable contributions himself.[23] More rogress is perhaps being made in the study of miniature ainting and iconography ; and in this field the work of the Russian student Kondakov is the most noteworthy.

(c) Sancta Sophia, and Byzantine art

The study of works of architecture in ancient cities, like Athens, Rome, or Constantinople, naturally entails a study of he topography of the town ; and in the case of Constanti- nople this study is equally important for the historian. Little progress of a satisfactory kind can be made until either Constantinople passes under a European government, or a complete change comes over the spirit of Turkish administra- tion. The region of the Imperial Palace and the ground

(2) The topography of Constantinople

[23] His new work on the reservoirs of Constantinople may be specially mentioned.

between the Hippodrome and St. Sophia must be excavat
before certainty on the main points can be attained. Labart
a priori reconstruction of the plan of the palace, on t
basis of the Cerimonies of Constantine Porphyrogennetos a
scattered notices in other Greek writers, was wonderfully
genious and a certain part of it is manifestly right, thou
there is much which is not borne out by a more care
examination of the sources. The next step was taken by
Bieliaiev Russian scholar Bieliaiev who has recently published a m
valuable study on the Cerimonies,[24] in which he has tested t
reconstruction of Labarte and shown us exactly where
are,—what we know, and what with our present materi
we cannot possibly know. Between Labarte and Bieliaiev t
whole problem was obscured by the unscholarly work
Paspatês, the Greek antiquarian; whose sole merit was th
he kept the subject before the world. As the acropolis
the scene of so many great events in the history which Gibb
recorded, it is well to warn the reader that our sources ma
it absolutely certain that the Hippodrome adjoined t
Palace; there was no public space between them. T
Augusteum did not lie, as Paspatês asserted, between t
Palace and the Hippodrome,[25] but between the north side
the Hippodrome and St. Sophia.

[24] Byzantina. Ocherki, materialy, i zamietki po Vizantiskim drevnostia
1891-3. I must not omit to mention Dr. Mordtmann's valuable Esqui
topographique (1892), and N. Destunis has made noteworthy contributi
to the subject.

[25] With blameworthy indiscretion I accepted this false view of Paspat
in my Later Roman Empire, without having gone methodically into
sources. I was misled by the fame won by the supposed "topographi
discoveries" of this diligent antiquarian and by his undeservedly h
reputation; this, however, is no excuse, and unfortunately the error
vitiated my account of the Nika revolt. I have gone into the theory
Paspatês in the *Scottish Review* (April, 1894), where he is treated too lenien
His misuse of authorities is simply astounding. I may take the opportun
of saying that I hope to rewrite the two volumes of my Later Ron
Empire and correct, so far as I may be able, its many faults. A third volu
dealing with the ninth century, will, I hope, appear at a not too distant da

On the trades and industries of the Imperial City, on the ade corporations and the minute control exercised over em by the government, new light has been thrown by M. icole's discovery and publication of the Prefect's Book, a de of regulations drawn up by Leo VI. The *demes* of onstantinople are a subject which needs investigation. hey are certainly not to be regarded as Gibbon and his ccessors have regarded them, as mere circus parties. They ust represent, as Uspenski points out in the opening number the new *Vizantiski Vremennik*, organized divisions of the opulation.

The Book of the Prefect

A field in which the historian must wander to breathe the irit and learn the manner of the mediæval Greek world is at of the romance, both prose and verse, written in the lgar tongue. This field was closed to Gibbon, but the bours of many scholars, above all Legrand, have rendered it w easily accessible. Out of a large number of interesting ings I may refer especially to two. One is the epic of igenes Akritas, the Roland or Cid of the Later Empire, a em of the tenth century, which illustrates the life of rmatoli and the border warfare against the Saracens in the ilician mountains. The other is the Book of the Conquest the Morea,[26] a mixture of fiction and fact, but invaluable r realizing the fascinating though complicated history of e "Latin" settlements in Greece. That history was set ide by Gibbon, with the phrase, "I shall not pursue the bscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the ntinent or in the isles," though he deigns to give a page or o to Athens.[27] But it is a subject with unusual possibilities

(3) "Vulgärgriechische Litteratur"

Digenes Akritas

The Chronicle of Morea

History of Greece after the Latin Conquest

[26] The Greek and the French versions were published by Buchon, unitically. A new edition of the Greek text is promised by Dr. John Schmitt.

[27] The history of mediæval Athens has been recorded at length in an tractive work by Gregorovius, the counterpart of his great history of ediæval Rome.

for picturesque treatment, and out of which, Gibbon, if had apprehended the opportunity, and had possessed materials, would have made a brilliant chapter. Si Finlay, who entered into this episode of Greek hist with great fulness, the material has been largely increa by the researches of Hopf.[28]

(4) The Slavs and their relations with the Later Empire

As I have already observed, it is perhaps on the Slavo side of the history of the Empire that Gibbon is m conspicuously inadequate. Since he wrote, various ca have combined to increase our knowledge of Slavonic antiqu The Slavs themselves have engaged in methodical investi tion of their own past; and, since the entire or par emancipations of the southern Slavs from Asiatic rul general interest in Slavonic things has grown up through Europe. Gibbon dismissed the history of the First Bulgar Kingdom, from its foundation in the reign of Constant Pogonatus to its overthrow by the second Basil, in pages. To-day the author of a history of the Empire on same scale would find two hundred a strict limit. Gibb tells us nothing of the Slavonic missionaries, Cyril Methodius, round whose names an extensive literature been formed. It is only in recent years that the geograp of the Illyrian peninsula has become an accessible subject study.

Useful controversies:

The investigation of the history of the northern peop who came under the influence of the Empire has b stimulated by controversy, and controversy has been anima

(1) Slavs in Greece

and even embittered by national pride. The question Slavonic settlements in Greece has been thoroughly ventilat

[28] For a full account of Vulgär-griechische Litteratur, I may refe Krumbacher's Gesch. der Byz. Litt. Here it is unnecessary to do m than indicate its existence and importance. I may add that the histo cannot neglect the development of the language, for which these roma (and other documents) furnish ample data. Here the Greeks themse have an advantage, and scholars like Hatzidakês, Psicharês, and Jann are in this field doing work of the best kind.

cause Fallmerayer excited the scholarship of Hellenes and
ilhellenes to refute what they regarded as an insulting
radox.[29] So, too, the pride of the Roumanians was irritated
Roesler, who denied that they were descended from the
habitants of Trajan's Dacia and described them as later
migrants of the thirteenth century. Pič arose against
m; then Hermuzaki argued for an intermediate date.
he best Hungarian scholar of the day joined the fray, on
e other side; and the contention became bitter between
lach and Magyar, the Roumanian pretensions to Sieben-
irgen—"Dacia irredenta"—sharpening the lances of the
es. The Roumanians have not come out of their "question"
well as the Hellenes. Hungary too has its own question.
re the Magyars to be ethnically associated with the Finns or
ven over to the family of the Turks, whom as champions
Christendom they had opposed at Mohácz and Varna?
was a matter of pride for the Hungarian to detach him-
lf from the Turk; and the evidence is certainly on his
de. Hunfalvy's conclusions have successfully defied the
ssaults of Vámbéry.[30] Again in Russia there has been a
ng and vigorous contest,—the so-called Norman or
arangian question. No doubt is felt now by the impartial
dge as to the Scandinavian origin of the princes of Kiev,
nd that the making of Russia was due to Northmen or
arangians. Kunik and Pogodin were reinforced by
homsen of Denmark; and the pure Slavism of Ilovaiski[31]

(2) Origin of the Roumanians

(3) Ugro-Finnic or Turkish origin of the Hungarians

(4) Origin of the Russian state; Normannic question

[29] Fallmerayer's thesis that there was no pure Hellenic blood in Greece was iumphantly refuted. No one denies that there was a large Slavonic ement in the country parts, especially of the Peloponnesus.

[30] In a paper entitled, The Coming of the Hungarians, in the *Scottish eview* of July, 1892, I have discussed the questions connected with early lagyar history, and criticized Hunfalvy's Magyarország Ethnographiája 876) and Vámbéry's A magyarok eredete (1882). One of the best works ealing with the subject has been written by a Slav (C. Grot).

[31] Ilovaiski's work Istorija Rossii, vol. i. (Kiev period), is, though his main esis is a mistake, most instructive.

and Gedeonov, though its champions were certainly able, is lost cause.

Progress in Slavonic archæology and history

From such collisions sparks have flown and illuminat dark corners. For the Slavs the road was first cleared Šafarik. The development of the comparative philology the Indo-Germanic tongues has had its effect; the Slavo languages have been brought into line, chiefly by the li work of Miklosich; and the science is being developed such scholars as Jagič and Leskien. The several countr of the Balkan lands have their archæologists and archæologi journals; and the difficulty which now meets the histori is not the absence but the plenitude of philological a historical literature.

The early history of the Magyars

A word may be added about the Hungarians, who ha not been so successful with their early history as the Sla Until the appearance of Hunfalvy, their methods were an diluvian, and their temper credulous. The special work Jászay, and the first chapters of Szalay's great History Hungary, showed no advance on Katóna and Pray, who we consulted by Gibbon. All believed in the Anonymo Scribe of King Béla; Jászay simply transcribed him. Th Roesler came and dispelled the illusion. Our main sour now are Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and the earl Asiatic traveller Ibn Dasta, who has been rendered accessi by Chwolson.[32] The linguistic researches of Ahlqui Hunfalvy and others into Vogul, Ostjak and the rest of t Ugro-Finnic kindred, must be taken into account by t critic who is dealing with those main sources. The Chaza to whom the Hungarians were once subject, the Patzina who drove the Magyars from "Lebedia" to "Atelkuzu" a

[32] Chwolson, Izviestiia o Chozarach, Burtasach, Bolgarach, Madiara Slavaniach, i Rusach.

m "Atelkuzu" to Pannonia, and other peoples of the
ne kind, have profited by these investigations.

The foregoing instances will serve to give a general idea of
respects in which Gibbon's history might be described as
ind date. To follow out all the highways and byways of
gress would mean the usurpation of at least a volume by
editor. What more has to be said, must be said briefly
notes and appendices. That Gibbon is behind date in
ny details, and in some departments of importance, simply
nifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an
olutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is
l our master, above and beyond "date". It is needless
dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him im-
nity from the common lot of historical writers,—such as
bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages;
accurate vision, and his tact in managing perspective; his
creet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the
mortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of
se superiorities he can defy the danger with which the
ivity of successors must always threaten the worthies of
past. But there is another point which was touched on in
earlier page and to which here, in a different connexion,
may briefly revert. It is well to realize that the greatest
tory of modern times was written by one in whom a dis-
st of enthusiasm was deeply rooted.[33] This cynicism was
t inconsistent with partiality, with definite prepossessions,
h a certain spite. In fact it supplied the antipathy
ich the artist infused when he mixed his most effective
ours. The conviction that enthusiasm is inconsistent with
ellectual balance was engrained in his mental constitu-

[33] And who regarded history as "little more than the register of the crimes,
ies and misfortunes of mankind" (see below, p. 77).

tion, and confirmed by study and experience. It might reasonably maintained that zeal for men or causes is historian's marring, and that "reserve sympathy"—t principle of Thucydides—is the first lesson he has to lea But without venturing on any generalization we m consider Gibbon's zealous distrust of zeal as an essent and most suggestive characteristic of the "Decline a Fall".

THE HISTORY

OF THE

ECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

e Extent and Military Force of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines

the second century of the Christian Æra, the empire of Rome Introduction.
mprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most
ilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive
narchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined
our. The gentle, but powerful, influence of laws and manners
d gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their
aceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of
alth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was
eserved with decent reverence. The Roman senate appeared
possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the em-
rors all the executive powers of government. During a
ppy period of more than fourscore years, the public adminis- A.D. 98-180
tion was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva,
ajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of
is and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosper-
s condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death
Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circum-
nces of its decline and fall: a revolution which will ever be
membered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.

The principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under Moderation of Augustus
e republic; and the emperors, for the most part, were satisfied
th preserving those dominions which had been acquired by
e policy of the senate, the active emulation of the consuls, and
e martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first centuries
ere filled with a rapid succession of triumphs; but it was
served for Augustus to relinquish the ambitious design of

subduing the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils. Inclined to peace by his temper and situation, it was easy for him to discover that Rome, in her present exalted situation, had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of arms; and that, in the prosecution of remote wars, the undertaking became every day more difficult, the event more doubtful, and the possession more precarious and less beneficial. The experience of Augustus added weight to these salutary reflections, and effectually convinced him that, by the prudent vigour of his counsels, it would be easy to secure every concession which the safety or the dignity of Rome might require from the most formidable barbarians. Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he obtained, by an honourable treaty, the restitution of the standards and prisoners which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus.[1]

His generals, in the early part of his reign, attempted the reduction of Æthiopia and Arabia Felix. They marched near a thousand miles to the south of the tropic; but the heat of the climate soon repelled the invaders and protected the unwarlike natives of those sequestered regions.[2] The northern countries of Europe scarcely deserved the expense and labour of conquest. The forests and morasses of Germany were filled with a hardy race of barbarians, who despised life when it was separated from freedom; and though, on the first attack, they seemed to yield to the weight of the Roman power, they soon, by a signal act of despair, regained their independence, and reminded Augustus of the vicissitude of fortune.[3] On the death of that emperor his testament was publicly read in the senate. He bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed

[1] Dion Cassius (l. liv. p. 736 [8]) with the annotations of Reimar, who has collected all that Roman vanity has left upon the subject. The marble of Ancyra, on which Augustus recorded his own exploits, asserts that *he compelled* the Parthians to restore the ensigns of Crassus.

[2] Strabo (l. xvi. p. 780), Pliny the elder (Hist. Natur. l. vi. 32, 35 [28, 29]) and Dion Cassius (l. liii. p. 723 [29], and l. liv. p. 734 [6]) have left us very curious details concerning these wars. The Romans made themselves masters of Mariaba, or Merab, a city of Arabia Felix, well known to the Orientals (see Abulfeda and the Nubian geography, p. 52). They were arrived within three days' journey of the Spice country, the rich object of their invasion. [See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. p. 608 *sqq*.]

[3] By the slaughter of Varus and his three legions. See the first book of the Annals of Tacitus. Sueton. in August. c. 23, and Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 117, &c. Augustus did not receive the melancholy news with all the temper and firmness that might have been expected from his character.

its permanent bulwarks and boundaries; on the west the lantic ocean; the Rhine and Danube on the north; the phrates on the east; and towards the south the sandy deserts Arabia and Africa.[4]

Imitated by his successors

Happily for the repose of mankind, the moderate system ommended by the wisdom of Augustus was adopted by the rs and vices of his immediate successors. Engaged in the rsuit of pleasure or in the exercise of tyranny, the first Cæsars dom showed themselves to the armies, or to the provinces; r were they disposed to suffer that those triumphs which *their* dolence neglected should be usurped by the conduct and lour of their lieutenants. The military fame of a subject was nsidered as an insolent invasion of the Imperial prerogative; d it became the duty, as well as interest, of every Roman neral, to guard the frontiers intrusted to his care, without as- ring to conquests which might have proved no less fatal to nself than to the vanquished barbarians.[5]

Conquest of Britain was the first exception to it

The only accession which the Roman empire received during e first century of the Christian æra was the province of Britain. this single instance the successors of Cæsar and Augustus re persuaded to follow the example of the former, rather than e precept of the latter. The proximity of its situation to the ast of Gaul seemed to invite their arms; the pleasing, though ubtful, intelligence of a pearl fishery attracted their avarice;[6] d as Britain was viewed in the light of a distinct and insulated orld, the conquest scarcely formed any exception to the general stem of continental measures. After a war of about forty ars, undertaken by the most stupid,[7] maintained by the most ssolute, and terminated by the most timid of all the emperors,

[4] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. [i. 11]. Dion Cassius, l. lvi. p. 832 [33], and the speech of gustus himself, in Julian's Cæsars. It receives great light from the learned tes of his French translator, M. Spanheim.

[5] Germanicus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Agricola were checked and recalled the course of their victories. Corbulo was put to death. Military merit, as it admirably expressed by Tacitus, was, in the strictest sense of the word, *peratoria virtus.*

[6] Cæsar himself conceals that ignoble motive; but it is mentioned by Suetonius, 47. The British pearls proved, however, of little value, on account of their rk and livid colour. Tacitus observes, with reason (in Agricola, c. 12), that it s an inherent defect. "Ego facilius crediderim, naturam margaritis deesse am nobis avaritiam."

[7] Claudius, Nero, and Domitian. A hope is expressed by Pomponius Mela, l. c. 6 (he wrote under Claudius), that, by the success of the Roman arms, the and and its savage inhabitants would soon be better known. It is amusing ough to peruse such passages in the midst of London.

the far greater part of the island submitted to the Roman yoke.[8] The various tribes of Britons possessed valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness, they laid them down, or turned them against each other with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. Neither the fortitude of Caractacus, nor the despair of Boadicea, nor the fanaticism of the Druids, could avert the slavery of their country, or resist the steady progress of the Imperial generals, who maintained the national glory, when the throne was disgraced by the weakest or the most vicious of mankind. At the very time when Domitian, confined to his palace, felt the terrors which he inspired, his legions, under the command of the virtuous Agricola, defeated the collected force of the Caledonians at the foot of the Grampian hills;[9] and his fleets, venturing to explore an unknown and dangerous navigation, displayed the Roman arms round every part of the island. The conquest of Britain was considered as already achieved; and it was the design of Agricola to complete and ensure his success by the easy reduction of Ireland, for which, in his opinion, one legion and a few auxiliaries were sufficient.[10] The western isle might be improved into a valuable possession, and the Britons would wear their chains with the less reluctance, if the prospect and example of freedom was on every side removed from before their eyes.

But the superior merit of Agricola soon occasioned his removal from the government of Britain; and for ever disappointed this rational, though extensive, scheme of conquest. Before his departure the prudent general had provided for security as well as for dominion. He had observed that the island is almost divided into two unequal parts by the opposite gulfs or, as they are now called, the Friths of Scotland. Across the narrow interval of about forty miles he had drawn a line of military stations, which was afterwards fortified, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, by a turf rampart, erected on foundations of stone.[11] This wall

[8] See the admirable abridgment, given by Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, and copiously, though perhaps not completely, illustrated by our own antiquarians, Camden and Horsley. [See Appendix 2.]

[9] [There is no good ground for the identification of *mons Graupius* with the Grampian hills. The date of the battle was 84 or 85 A.D.; the place is quite uncertain.]

[10] The Irish writers, jealous of their national honour, are extremely provoked on this occasion, both with Tacitus and with Agricola. [Agricola's design was not carried out because Domitian refused to send the additional legion.]

[11] See Horsley's Britannia Romana, l. i. c. 10.

of Antoninus, at a small distance beyond the modern cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was fixed as the limit of the Roman province. The native Caledonians preserved, in the northern extremity of the island, their wild independence, for which they were not less indebted to their poverty than to their valour. Their incursions were frequently repelled and chastised; but their country was never subdued.[12] The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians.[13]

Conquest of Dacia; the second exception [A.D. 101-106]

Such was the state of the Roman frontiers, and such the maxims of Imperial policy, from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan. That virtuous and active prince had received the education of a soldier, and possessed the talents of a general.[14] The peaceful system of his predecessors was interrupted by scenes of war and conquest; and the legions, after a long interval, beheld a military emperor at their head. The first exploits of Trajan were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted, with impunity, the majesty of Rome.[15] To the strength and fierceness of barbarians they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a warm persuasion of the immortality and transmigration of the soul.[16] Decebalus, the Dacian king, approved himself a rival not unworthy of Trajan; nor did he despair of his own and the public fortune, till, by the confession of his enemies, he had exhausted every resource both of valour and policy.[17] This memorable war, with a very short suspension of hostilities, lasted five years; and as the emperor could exert, without control, the whole force of the state, it was terminated by the absolute submission of the barbarians.[18] The new province of Dacia, which formed a second exception to the

[12] The poet Buchanan celebrates, with elegance and spirit (see his Sylvæ, v.), the unviolated independence of his native country. But, if the single testimony of Richard of Cirencester was sufficient to create a Roman province of Vespasiana to the north of the wall, that independence would be reduced within very narrow limits.

[13] See Appian (in Procem. [5]) and the uniform imagery of Ossian's poems, which, according to every hypothesis, were composed by a native Caledonian.

[14] See Pliny's Panegyric, which seems founded on facts.

[15] Dion Cassius, l. lxvii. [6 *et sqq.*].

[16] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 94. Julian in the Cæsars, with Spanheim's observations.

[17] Plin. Epist. viii. 9.

[18] Dion Cassius, l. lxviii. p. 1123, 1131 [6 and 14]. Julian. in Cæsaribus. Eutropius, viii. 2. 6. Aurelius Victor in Epitome. [See Appendix 3.]

precept of Augustus, was about thirteen hundred miles in circumference. Its natural boundaries were the Dniester, the Theiss, or Tibiscus, the Lower Danube, and the Euxine Sea. The vestiges of a military road may still be traced from the banks of the Danube to the neighbourhood of Bender, a place famous in modern history and the actual frontier of the Turkish and Russian Empires.[19]

Conquests of Trajan in the east

Trajan was ambitious of fame; and as long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters. The praises of Alexander transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation in the mind of Trajan. Like him, the Roman emperor undertook an expedition against the nations of the east; but he lamented with a sigh that his advanced age scarcely left him any hopes of equalling the renown of the son of Philip.[20] Yet the success of Trajan, however transient, was rapid and specious. The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms. He descended the river Tigris in triumph from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian gulf. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals, who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravished the coasts of Arabia; and Trajan vainly flattered himself that he was approaching towards the confines of India.[21] Every day the astonished senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations that acknowledged his sway. They were informed that the kings of Bosphorus, Colchos, Iberia, Albania, Osrhoene, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the emperor; that the independent tribes of the Median and Carduchian hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, were reduced into the state of provinces.[22] But the death of Trajan soon clouded the splendid prospect;[23] and it was

[19] See a Memoir of M. d'Anville, on the Province of Dacia, in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.; p. 444-468. [The region east of the Aluta, corresponding to the modern Walachia, was not included in Dacia, but went with the province of Lower Mœsia. See Domaszewski, Epigr. Mittheilungen, xiii. p. 137. The limits of Dacia are incorrect in the map in this volume. They should follow the line of the Carpathians in the south-east and east, excluding Walachia and Moldavia.]

[20] Trajan's sentiments are represented in a very just and lively manner in the Cæsars of Julian. [The date of the beginning of the Parthian War is 114 A.D.]

[21] Eutropius and Sextus Rufus have endeavoured to perpetuate the illusion. See a very sensible dissertation of M. Freret, in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 55.

[22] Dion Cassius, l. lxviii. [18 *et sqq.*]; and the Abbreviators.

[23] [117 A.D. A triumph in honour of this eastern expedition was celebrated after the emperor's death. On inscriptions he is called *Divus Traianus Parthicus* instead of *Divus Traianus* (Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 563).]

justly to be dreaded that so many distant nations would throw off the unaccustomed yoke, when they were no longer restrained by the powerful hand which had imposed it.

Resigned by his successor Hadrian

It was an ancient tradition that, when the Capitol was founded by one of the Roman kings, the god Terminus (who presided over boundaries, and was represented according to the fashion of that age by a large stone) alone, among all the inferior deities, refused to yield his place to Jupiter himself. A favourable inference was drawn from his obstinacy, which was interpreted by the augurs as a sure presage that the boundaries of the Roman power would never recede.[24] During many ages, the prediction, as it is usual, contributed to its own accomplishment. But though Terminus had resisted the majesty of Jupiter, he submitted to the authority of the emperor Hadrian.[25] The resignation of all the eastern conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign; withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria; and, in compliance with the precepts of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire.[26] Censure, which arraigns the public actions and the private motives of princes, has ascribed to envy a conduct which might be attributed to the prudence and moderation of Hadrian. The various character of that emperor, capable, by turns, of the meanest and the most generous sentiments, may afford some colour to the suspicion. It was, however, scarcely in his power to place the superiority of his predecessor in a more conspicuous light, than by thus confessing himself unequal to the task of defending the conquests of Trajan.

Contrast of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius

The martial and ambitious spirit of Trajan formed a very singular contrast with the moderation of his successor. The restless activity of Hadrian was not less remarkable when compared with the gentle repose of Antoninus Pius. The life of the former was almost a perpetual journey; and as he possessed the various talents of the soldier, the statesman, and the scholar, he gratified his curiosity in the discharge of his duty. Careless of the dif-

[24] Ovid Fast. l. ii. ver. 667. See Livy [i. 55], and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, under the reign of Tarquin.

[25] St. Augustin is highly delighted with the proof of the weakness of Terminus, and the vanity of the Augurs. See De Civitate Dei, iv. 29. [The loss of trans-Rhenane Germany was a previous instance of the retreat of Terminus.]

[26] See the Augustan History, p. 5 [i. 9]. Jerome's Chronicle, and all the Epitomisers. It is somewhat surprising, that this memorable event should be omitted by Dion, or rather by Xiphilin. [See Appendix 3.

ference of seasons and of climates, he marched on foot, and bare headed, over the snows of Caledonia, and the sultry plains of th Upper Egypt; nor was there a province of the empire which, i the course of his reign, was not honoured with the presence o the monarch.[27] But the tranquil life of Antoninus Pius was spen in the bosom of Italy; and, during the twenty-three years tha he directed the public administration, the longest journeys o that amiable prince extended no farther than from his palac in Rome to the retirement of his Lanuvian villa.[28]

Pacific system of Hadrian and the two Antonines

Notwithstanding this difference in their personal conduct, th general system of Augustus was equally adopted and uniformly pursued by Hadrian and by the two Antonines. They persiste in the design of maintaining the dignity of the empire, withou attempting to enlarge its limits. By every honourable expedien they invited the friendship of the barbarians; and endeavoure to convince mankind that the Roman power, raised above th temptation of conquest, was actuated only by the love of orde and justice. During a long period of forty-three years thei virtuous labours were crowned with success; and, if we except few slight hostilities that served to exercise the legions of th frontier, the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius offer the fai prospect of universal peace.[29] The Roman name was revere among the most remote nations of the earth. The fierces barbarians frequently submitted their differences to the arbitra tion of the emperor; and we are informed by a contemporar historian that he had seen ambassadors who were refused th honour which they came to solicit, of being admitted into th rank of subjects.[30]

Defensive wars of Marcus Antoninus

The terror of the Roman arms added weight and dignity t the moderation of the emperors. They preserved peace by constant preparation for war; and while justice regulated thei conduct, they announced to the nations on their confines tha

[27] Dion, l. lxix. p. 115 [9]. Hist. August. p. 5, 8 [i. 10 and 16]. If all ou historians were lost, medals, inscriptions, and other monuments, would b sufficient to record the travels of Hadrian. [See Dürr, Die Reisen des Kaiser Hadrian, 1881.]

[28] See the Augustan History and the Epitomes. [Date: 138-161 A.D.]

[29] We must, however, remember that, in the time of Hadrian, a rebellion o the Jews raged with religious fury, though only in a single province. Pausania (l. viii. c. 43), mentions two necessary and successful wars, conducted by th generals of Pius. 1st, Against the wandering Moors, who were driven into th solitudes of Atlas. 2d, Against the Brigantes of Britain, who had invaded th Roman province. Both these wars (with several other hostilities) are mentione in the Augustan History, p. 19 [iii. 5].

[30] Appian of Alexandria, in the preface to his History of the Roman Wars [7].

hey were as little disposed to endure as to offer an injury. The nilitary strength, which it had been sufficient for Hadrian and he elder Antoninus to display, was exerted against the Parthians nd the Germans by the emperor Marcus. The hostilities of he barbarians provoked the resentment of that philosophic nonarch, and, in the prosecution of a just defence, Marcus and is generals obtained many signal victories, both on the Euphrates nd on the Danube.[31] The military establishment of the Roman mpire, which thus assured either its tranquillity or success, will ow become the proper and important object of our attention.

Military establishment of the Roman emperors

In the purer ages of the commonwealth, the use of arms was reserved for those ranks of citizens who had a country to love, a property to defend, and some share in enacting those laws which t was their interest, as well as duty, to maintain. But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into an art, and degraded into a trade.[32] The legions themselves, even at the time when they were recruited in the most distant provinces, were supposed to consist of Roman citizens. That distinction was generally considered either as a legal qualification or as a proper recompense for the soldier; but a more serious regard was paid to the essential merit of age, strength, and military stature.[33] In all levies, a just preference was given to the climates of the north over those of the south; the race of men born to the exercise of arms was sought for in the country rather than in cities, and it was very reasonably presumed that the hardy occupations of smiths, carpenters, and huntsmen would supply more vigour and resolution than the sedentary trades which are employed in the service of luxury.[34] After every qualification of property had been laid aside, the armies of the Roman emperors were still commanded, for the most part, by officers of a liberal birth and education; but the common soldiers, like the mercenary

[31] Dion, l. lxxi. Hist. August. in Marco [iv. 9, 12, 17, 20, 22, &c.]. The Parthian victories gave birth to a crowd of contemptible historians, whose memory has been rescued from oblivion, and exposed to ridicule, in a very lively piece of criticism of Lucian.

[32] The poorest rank of soldiers possessed above forty pounds sterling (Dionys. Halicarn. iv. 17), a very high qualification, at a time when money was so scarce, that an ounce of silver was equivalent to seventy pound weight of brass. The populace, excluded by the ancient constitution, were indiscriminately admitted by Marius. See Sallust. de Bell. Jugurth. c. 91 [86].

[33] Cæsar formed his legion Alauda of Gauls and strangers; but it was during the licence of civil war; and after the victory he gave them the freedom of the city, for their reward. [It was really formed, B.C. 55; Suetonius, Jul. 24.]

[34] See Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 2-7.

troops of modern Europe, were drawn from the meanest, a very frequently from the most profligate, of mankind.

Discipline

That public virtue, which among the ancients was denominat patriotism, is derived from a strong sense of our own interest the preservation and prosperity of the free government of whi we are members. Such a sentiment, which had rendered t legions of the republic almost invincible, could make but very feeble impression on the mercenary servants of a despo prince; and it became necessary to supply that defect by oth motives, of a different, but not less forcible nature,—hono and religion. The peasant, or mechanic, imbibed the use prejudice that he was advanced to the more dignified professi of arms, in which his rank and reputation would depend on own valour; and that, although the prowess of a private sold must often escape the notice of fame, his own behaviour mig sometimes confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legi or even the army, to whose honours he was associated. On first entrance into the service, an oath was administered to h with every circumstance of solemnity. He promised never desert his standard, to submit his own will to the commands his leaders, and to sacrifice his life for the safety of the empe and the empire.[35] The attachment of the Roman troops their standards was inspired by the united influence of religi and of honour. The golden eagle, which glittered in the fro of the legion, was the object of their fondest devotion; nor w it esteemed less impious than it was ignominious, to aband that sacred ensign in the hour of danger.[36] These motiv which derived their strength from the imagination, were e forced by fears and hopes of a more substantial kind. Regul pay, occasional donatives, and a stated recompense, after t appointed term of service, alleviated the hardships of t military life,[37] whilst, on the other hand, it was impossible

[35] The oath of service and fidelity to the emperor was annually renewed the troops, on the first of January.

[36] Tacitus calls the Roman Eagles, Bellorum Deos. They were placed i chapel in the camp, and with the other deities received the religious worship the troops.

[37] See Gronovius de Pecunia vetere, l. iii. p. 120, &c. The emperor Domiti raised the annual stipend of the legionaries to twelve pieces of gold, which, his time, was equivalent to about ten of our guineas. This pay, somewh higher than our own, had been, and was afterwards, gradually increased, acco ing to the progress of wealth and military government. After twenty yea service, the veteran received three thousand denarii (about one hundred pour sterling), or a proportionable allowance of land. The pay and advantages of t guards were, in general, about double those of the legions.

owardice or disobedience to escape the severest punishment. The centurions were authorized to chastise with blows, the enerals had a right to punish with death; and it was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline, that a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy. From such laudable rts did the valour of the Imperial troops receive a degree of irmness and docility, unattainable by the impetuous and irregular passions of barbarians.

Exercises

And yet so sensible were the Romans of the imperfection of valour without skill and practice, that, in their language, the name of an army was borrowed from the word which signified exercise.[38] Military exercises were the important and unremitted object of their discipline. The recruits and young soldiers were constantly trained, both in the morning and in the evening, nor was age or knowledge allowed to excuse the veterans from the daily repetition of what they had completely learnt. Large sheds were erected in the winter-quarters of the troops, that their useful labours might not receive any interruption from the most tempestuous weather; and it was carefully observed, that the arms destined to this imitation of war should be of double the weight which was required in real action.[39] It is not the purpose of this work to enter into any minute description of the Roman exercises. We shall only remark that they comprehended whatever could add strength to the body, activity to the limbs, or grace to the motions. The soldiers were diligently instructed to march, to run, to leap, to swim, to carry heavy burdens, to handle every species of arms that was used either for offence or for defence, either in distant engagement or in a closer onset; to form a variety of evolutions; and to move to the sound of flutes in the Pyrrhic or martial dance.[40] In the midst of peace, the Roman troops familiarised themselves with the practice of war; and it is prettily remarked by an ancient historian who had fought against them, that the effusion of blood was the only circumstance which distinguished a field of battle from a field of exercise.[41] It was the policy

[38] *Exercitus ab exercitando*, Varro de Linguâ Latinâ, l. iv. [v. 87 ed. L. Müller]. Cicero in Tusculan, l. ii. 37. There is room for a very interesting work, which should lay open the connexion between the languages and manners of nations.

[39] Vegetius, l. i. c. 11, and the rest of his first book.

[40] The Pyrrhic Dance is extremely well illustrated by M. le Beau, in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxv. p. 262, &c. That learned academician, in a series of memoirs, has collected all the passages of the ancients that relate to the Roman legion.

[41] Joseph. de Bell. Judaico, l. iii. c. 5. We are indebted to this Jew for some very curious details of Roman discipline.

of the ablest generals, and even of the emperors themselves encourage these military studies by their presence and examp and we are informed that Hadrian, as well as Trajan, frequer condescended to instruct the inexperienced soldiers, to rew the diligent, and sometimes to dispute with them the prize superior strength or dexterity.[42] Under the reigns of th princes, the science of tactics was cultivated with success; and long as the empire retained any vigour, their military instructi were respected as the most perfect model of Roman discipline

The legions under the emperors

Nine centuries of war had gradually introduced into the serv many alterations and improvements. The legions, as they described by Polybius,[43] in the time of the Punic wars, diffe very materially from those which achieved the victories Cæsar, or defended the monarchy of Hadrian and the Antoni The constitution of the Imperial legion may be described i few words.[44] The heavy armed infantry, which compo its principal strength,[45] was divided into ten cohorts, fifty-five companies, under the orders of a correspondent num of tribunes and centurions. The first cohort, which alw claimed the post of honour and the custody of the ea was formed of eleven hundred and five soldiers, the most proved for valour and fidelity. The remaining nine coh consisted each of five hundred and fifty-five; and the wh body of legionary infantry amounted to six thousand one hund

Arms

men. Their arms were uniform, and admirably adapted to nature of their service: an open helmet, with a lofty crest breast-plate, or coat of mail; greaves on their legs, and ample buckler on their left arm. The buckler was of an obl and concave figure, four feet in length, and two and a hal breadth, framed of a light wood, covered with a bull's hide, strongly guarded with plates of brass. Besides a lighter sp the legionary soldier grasped in his right hand the formida *pilum*, a ponderous javelin, whose utmost length was about

[42] Plin. Panegyr. c. 13. Life of Hadrian, in the Augustan History [i. [Fragments of a speech which Hadrian delivered to his soldiers at Lambaes Africa have been found in an inscription, C. I. L. viii. 2532.]

[43] See an admirable digression on the Roman discipline, in the sixth boo his history [19-42].

[44] Vegetius de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 5, &c. Considerable part of his very perpl abridgment was taken from the regulations of Trajan and Hadrian; and legion, as he describes it, cannot suit any other age of the Roman empire.

[45] Vegetius de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 1. In the purer age of Cæsar and Ci the word *miles* was almost confined to the infantry. Under the Lower Em and in the times of chivalry, it was appropriated almost as exclusively to the at arms, who fought on horseback. [This account of the army demands s corrections. See Appendix 4.]

and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of
of eighteen inches.[46] This instrument was indeed much
ior to our modern fire-arms; since it was exhausted by a
le discharge, at the distance of only ten or twelve paces.
when it was launched by a firm and skilful hand, there was
any cavalry that durst venture within its reach, nor any
ld or corslet that could sustain the impetuosity of its weight.
oon as the Roman had darted his *pilum*, he drew his sword,
rushed forwards to close with the enemy. It was a short
-tempered Spanish blade, that carried a double edge, and
alike suited to the purpose of striking or of pushing; but
soldier was always instructed to prefer the latter use of his
oon, as his own body remained less exposed, whilst he
cted a more dangerous wound on his adversary.[47] The
on was usually drawn up eight deep; and the regular dis-
e of three feet was left between the files as well as ranks.[48]
ody of troops, habituated to preserve this open order, in a
front and a rapid charge, found themselves prepared to
ute every disposition which the circumstances of war, or the
of their leader, might suggest. The soldier possessed a free
e for his arms and motions, and sufficient intervals were
ved, through which seasonable reinforcements might be
oduced to the relief of the exhausted combatants.[49] The
cs of the Greeks and Macedonians were formed on very
rent principles. The strength of the phalanx depended on
en ranks of long pikes, wedged together in the closest
y.[50] But it was soon discovered, by reflection as well as by
event, that the strength of the phalanx was unable to
end with the activity of the legion.[51]

he cavalry, without which the force of the legion would have Cavalry
ained imperfect, was divided into ten troops or squadrons;
first, as the companion of the first cohort, consisted of an
dred and thirty-two men; whilst each of the other nine
unted only to sixty-six. The entire establishment formed a

In the time of Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. v. c. 45) the steel
of the *pilum* seems to have been much longer. In the time of Vegetius
s reduced to a foot or even nine inches. I have chosen a medium.
For the legionary arms, see Lipsius de Militiâ Romanâ, l. iii. c. 2-7.
See the beautiful comparison of Virgil, Georgic. ii. v. 279.
M. Guichard, Mémoires Militaires, tom. i. c. 4, and Nouveaux Mémoires,
i. p. 293-311, has treated the subject like a scholar and an officer.
See Arrian's Tactics [12]. With the true partiality of a Greek, Arrian rather
to describe the phalanx of which he had read, than the legions which he
ommanded.
Polyb. l. xvii. [xviii. 15].

regiment, if we may use the modern expression, of seven hundre and twenty-six horse, naturally connected with its respectiv legion, but occasionally separated to act in the line, and to com pose a part of the wings of the army.[52] The cavalry of the empero was no longer composed, like that of the ancient republic, of th noblest youths of Rome and Italy, who, by performing their mil tary service on horseback, prepared themselves for the offices senator and consul; and solicited, by deeds of valour, the futu suffrages of their countrymen.[53] Since the alteration of manne and government, the most wealthy of the equestrian order we engaged in the administration of justice, and of the revenue; and whenever they embraced the profession of arms, they we immediately intrusted with a troop of horse, or a cohort of foot. Trajan and Hadrian formed their cavalry from the same pr vinces, and the same class of their subjects, which recruited th ranks of the legion. The horses were bred, for the most part, Spain or Cappadocia. The Roman troopers despised the comple armour with which the cavalry of the East was encumbere *Their* more useful arms consisted in a helmet, an oblong shiel light boots, and a coat of mail. A javelin, and a long bro sword, were their principal weapons of offence. The use lances and of iron maces they seemed to have borrowed fro the barbarians.[56]

Auxiliaries

The safety and honour of the empire was principally intruste to the legions, but the policy of Rome condescended to ado every useful instrument of war. Considerable levies were reg larly made among the provincials, who had not yet deserved t honourable distinction of Romans. Many dependent princ and communities, dispersed round the frontiers, were permitte for a while, to hold their freedom and security by the tenure military service.[57] Even select troops of hostile barbarians we

[52] Veget. de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 6. His positive testimony, which might supported by circumstantial evidence, ought surely to silence those critics w refuse the Imperial legion its proper body of cavalry. [But his testimony m be treated with great caution.]

[53] See Livy almost throughout, particularly xlii. 61.

[54] Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 2. The true sense of that very curious passa was first discovered and illustrated by M. de Beaufort, République Romaine, ii. c. 2.

[55] As in the instance of Horace and Agricola. This appears to have been defect in the Roman discipline; which Hadrian endeavoured to remedy ascertaining the legal age of a tribune. [For the *equites*, compare Mommsen, Staa recht, iii. 476-569.]

[56] See Arrian's Tactics [4].

[57] Such, in particular, was the state of the Batavians. Tacit. Germania, c. 2

uently compelled or persuaded to consume their dangerous
ur in remote climates, and for the benefit of the state.[58] All
e were included under the general name of auxiliaries; and
soever they might vary according to the difference of times
circumstances, their numbers were seldom much inferior to
e of the legions themselves.[59] Among the auxiliaries, the
rest and most faithful bands were placed under the command
præfects and centurions, and severely trained in the arts of
nan discipline; but the far greater part retained those arms,
vhich the nature of their country, or their early habits of life,
e peculiarly adapted them. By this institution, each legion,
vhom a certain proportion of auxiliaries was allotted, contained
nin itself every species of lighter troops, and of missile
pons; and was capable of encountering every nation with
advantages of its respective arms and discipline.[60] Nor was
legion destitute of what, in modern language, would be
ed a train of artillery. It consisted in ten military engines Artillery
he largest, and fifty-five of a smaller size; but all of which,
er in an oblique or horizontal manner, discharged stones and
s with irresistible violence.[61]

The camp of a Roman legion presented the appearance of a Encampment
ified city.[62] As soon as the space was marked out, the
neers carefully levelled the ground, and removed every im-
iment that might interrupt its perfect regularity. Its form
an exact quadrangle; and we may calculate, that a square
bout seven hundred yards was sufficient for the encampment
twenty thousand Romans; though a similar number of our
troops would expose to the enemy a front of more than
ble that extent. In the midst of the camp, the prætorium,

Marcus Antoninus obliged the vanquished Quadi and Marcomanni to
ly him with a large body of troops, which he immediately sent into Britain.
Cassius, l. lxxi. [16].

Tacit. Annal. iv. 5. Those who fix a regular proportion of as many foot,
twice as many horse, confound the auxiliaries of the emperors with the Italian
s of the republic. [See Appendix 4.]

Vegetius, ii. 2. Arrian, in his order of march and battle against the Alani.

The subject of the ancient machines is treated with great knowledge and
nuity by the Chevalier Folard (Polybe, tom. ii. p. 233-290). He prefers them
nany respects to our modern cannon and mortars. We may observe that
use of them in the field gradually became more prevalent, in proportion as
onal valour and military skill declined with the Roman empire. When men
no longer found, their place was supplied by machines. See Vegetius, ii. 25.
an.

Vegetius finishes his second book, and the description of the legion, with
following emphatic words: "Universa quæ in quoque belli genere necessaria
creduntur, secum legio debet ubique portare, ut in quovis loco fixerit castra,
atam faciat civitatem".

or general's quarters, rose above the others; the cavalry, th infantry, and the auxiliaries occupied their respective stations the streets were broad and perfectly straight, and a vacant spac of two hundred feet was left on all sides, between the tents an the rampart. The rampart itself was usually twelve feet high armed with a line of strong and intricate palisades, and defende by a ditch of twelve feet in depth as well as in breadth. Th important labour was performed by the hands of the legionari themselves; to whom the use of the spade and the pick-axe w no less familiar than that of the sword or *pilum*. Active valo may often be the present of nature; but such patient diligen can be the fruit only of habit and discipline.[63]

March.

Whenever the trumpet gave the signal of departure, the cam was almost instantly broken up, and the troops fell into the ranks without delay or confusion. Besides their arms, whi the legionaries scarcely considered as an encumbrance, th were laden with their kitchen furniture, the instruments fortification, and the provision of many days.[64] Under th weight, which would oppress the delicacy of a modern soldie they were trained by a regular step to advance, in about s hours, near twenty miles.[65] On the appearance of an enem they threw aside their baggage, and, by easy and rapid evol tions, converted the column of march into an order of battle The slingers and archers skirmished in the front; the auxiliari formed the first line, and were seconded or sustained by t strength of the legions; the cavalry covered the flanks, a the military engines were placed in the rear.

Number and disposition of the legions

Such were the arts of war, by which the Roman emperc defended their extensive conquests, and preserved a milita spirit, at a time when every other virtue was oppressed by luxu and despotism. If, in the consideration of their armies, pass from their discipline to their numbers, we shall not find easy to define them with any tolerable accuracy. We m compute, however, that the legion, which was itself a body of thousand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, might, with attendant auxiliaries, amount to about twelve thousand fi

[63] For the Roman Castrametation, see Polybius, l. vi. [27 *et sqq.*] with Lips de Militiâ Romanâ, Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 5. Vegetius, i. 21-25, iii. 9, a Mémoires de Guichard, tom. i. c. x.

[64] Cicero in Tusculan, ii. 37 [16].—Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. 5. Frontinus, iv

[65] Vegetius, i. 9. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv 187.

[66] See those evolutions admirably well explained by M. Guichard, Nouve Mémoires, tom. i. p. 141-234.

undred men. The peace establishment of Hadrian and his uccessors was composed of no less than thirty of these formidable rigades; and most probably formed a standing force of three undred and seventy-five thousand men. Instead of being onfined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans onsidered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions ere encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the rontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, emained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the istribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength lay upon the Rhine and Danube, and consisted of sixteen legions, in the following proortions; two in the Lower, and three in the Upper Germany; ne in Rhætia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Mæsia, nd two in Dacia. The defence of the Euphrates was intrusted o eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and the other wo in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa and Spain, as hey were far removed from any important scene of war, a single egion maintained the domestic tranquillity of each of those reat provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of a military orce. Above twenty thousand chosen soldiers, distinguished y the titles of City Cohorts and Prætorian Guards, watched ver the safety of the monarch and the capital. As the authors f almost every revolution that distracted the empire, the Prætorians will very soon and very loudly demand our attention; ut, in their arms and institutions, we cannot find any circumtance which discriminated them from the legions, unless it ere a more splendid appearance, and a less rigid discipline.[67]

Navy

The navy maintained by the emperors might seem inadequate o their greatness; but it was fully sufficient for every useful urpose of government. The ambition of the Romans was conned to the land; nor was that warlike people ever actuated y the enterprising spirit which had prompted the navigators of yre, of Carthage, and even of Marseilles, to enlarge the bounds f the world, and to explore the most remote coasts of the ocean. o the Romans the ocean remained an object of terror rather han of curiosity;[68] the whole extent of the Mediterranean,

[67] Tacitus (Annal. iv. 5) has given us a state of the legions under Tiberius; nd Dion Cassius (l. lv. p. 794 [23]) under Alexander Severus. I have enеavoured to fix on the proper medium between these two periods. See likewise ipsius de Magnitudine Romanâ, l. i. c. 4, 5. [On the author's procedure here, ee Appendix 4. On the Prætorian Guards see below, p. 104.]

[68] The Romans tried to disguise, by the pretence of religious awe, their gnorance and terror. See Tacit. Germania, c. 34.

after the destruction of Carthage and the extirpation of th pirates, was included within their provinces. The policy of th emperors was directed only to preserve the peaceful dominion that sea, and to protect the commerce of their subjects. Wi these moderate views, Augustus stationed two permanent flee in the most convenient ports of Italy, the one at Ravenna, on th Adriatic, the other at Misenum, in the bay of Naples. Exper ence seems at length to have convinced the ancients tha as soon as their galleys exceeded two, or at the most thr ranks of oars, they were suited rather for vain pomp than f real service. Augustus himself, in the victory of Actium, ha seen the superiority of his own light frigates (they were calle Liburnians) over the lofty but unwieldy castles of his rival. Of these Liburnians he composed the two fleets of Ravenna an Misenum, destined to command, the one the eastern, the oth the western division of the Mediterranean ; and to each of th squadrons he attached a body of several thousand marine Besides these two ports, which may be considered as the pri cipal seats of the Roman navy, a very considerable force w stationed at Frejus, on the coast of Provence, and the Euxi was guarded by forty ships, and three thousand soldiers. To a these we add the fleet which preserved the communication b tween Gaul and Britain, and a great number of vessels co stantly maintained on the Rhine and Danube, to harass th country, or to intercept the passage of the barbarians.[70] If w review this general state of the Imperial forces, of the cavalry as well as infantry, of the legions, the auxiliaries, the guard and the navy, the most liberal computation will not allow us fix the entire establishment by sea and by land at more tha four hundred and fifty thousand men : a military power whic however formidable it may seem, was equalled by a monarch the last century, whose kingdom was confined within a sing province of the Roman empire.[71]

Amount of the whole establishment

View of the provinces of the Roman empire

We have attempted to explain the spirit which moderate and the strength which supported, the power of Hadrian an the Antonines. We shall now endeavour, with clearness an precision, to describe the provinces once united under the

[69] Plutarch. in Marc. Anton [66]. And yet if we may credit Orosius, the monstrous castles were no more than ten feet above the water, vi. 19. [They ha two ranks of oars.]

[70] See Lipsius, de Magnitud. Rom. l. i. c. 5. The sixteen last chapters Vegetius relate to naval affairs. [See Appendix 5.]

[71] Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. c. 29. It must, however, be remembere that France still feels that extraordinary effort.

ay, but, at present, divided into so many independent and stile states.[72]

Spain, the western extremity of the empire, of Europe, and the ancient world, has, in every age, invariably preserved e same natural limits; the Pyrenean mountains, the Mediterhean, and the Atlantic Ocean. That great peninsula, at esent so unequally divided between two sovereigns, was stributed by Augustus into three provinces, Lusitania, Bætica, d Tarraconensis.[73] The kingdom of Portugal now fills the place the warlike country of the Lusitanians; and the loss sustained the former, on the side of the East, is compensated by an cession of territory towards the North. The confines of renada and Andalusia correspond with those of ancient Bætica. he remainder of Spain—Gallicia, and the Asturias, Biscay, and avarre, Leon, and the two Castilles, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, d Arragon,—all contributed to form the third and most conderable of the Roman governments, which, from the name of capital, was styled the province of Tarragona.[74] Of the tive barbarians, the Celtiberians were the most powerful, as e Cantabrians and Asturians proved the most obstinate. Conent in the strength of their mountains, they were the last who bmitted to the arms of Rome, and the first who threw off the ke of the Arabs.

Spain

Ancient Gaul, as it contained the whole country between the renees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean, was of greater tent than modern France. To the dominions of that powerful narchy, with its recent acquisitions of Alsace and Lorraine, must add the duchy of Savoy, the cantons of Switzerland, the ir electorates of the Rhine, and the territories of Liege, Luxburg, Hainault, Flanders and Brabant. When Augustus gave vs to the conquests of his father, he introduced a division of ul equally adapted to the progress of the legions, to the urse of the rivers, and to the principal national distinctions, hich had comprehended above an hundred independent states.[75]

Gaul

[72] [This list of the provinces is incomplete. For full list see Appendix 6.]

[73] [Bætica was divided from Tarraconensis by the *saltus Castulonensis*.]

[74] See Strabo, l. ii. [Rather iii. p. 166.] It is natural enough to suppose, that ragon is derived from Tarraconensis, and several moderns who have written in tin use those words as synonymous. It is, however, certain, that the Arragon, ttle stream which falls from the Pyrenees into the Ebro, first gave its name to country, and gradually to a kingdom. See d'Anville, Géographie du Moyen e, p. 181.

[75] One hundred and fifteen *cities* appear in the Notitia of Gaul; and it is well own that this appellation was applied not only to the capital town, but to the ole territory of each state. But Plutarch and Appian increase the number of pes to three or four hundred.

The sea-coast of the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, a Dauphiné, received their provincial appellation from the colo of Narbonne. The government of Aquitaine was extended fr the Pyrenees to the Loire. The country between the Loire a the Seine was styled the Celtic Gaul, and soon borrowed a n denomination from the celebrated colony of Lugdunum, or Lyo The Belgic lay beyond the Seine, and in more ancient times h been bounded only by the Rhine; but a little before the age Cæsar, the Germans, abusing their superiority of valour, h occupied a considerable portion of the Belgic territory. T Roman conquerors very eagerly embraced so flattering a circu stance, and the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Basil Leyden, received the pompous names of the Upper and t Lower Germany.[76] Such, under the reign of the Antonin were the six provinces of Gaul; the Narbonnese, Aquitai the Celtic, or Lyonnese, the Belgic, and the two Germanies.

Britain

We have already had occasion to mention the conquest Britain, and to fix the boundary of the Roman province in t island. It comprehended all England, Wales, and the Lowlan of Scotland, as far as the Friths of Dumbarton and Edinburg Before Britain lost her freedom, the country was irregula divided between thirty tribes of barbarians, of whom the m considerable were the Belgæ in the West, the Brigantes in t North, the Silures in South Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk a Suffolk.[77] As far as we can either trace or credit the resemblan of manners and language, Spain, Gaul and Britain were peopl by the same hardy race of savages. Before they yielded to t Roman arms, they often disputed the field, and often renew the contest. After their submission they constituted t western division of the European provinces, which extend from the columns of Hercules to the wall of Antoninus,[78] a from the mouth of the Tagus to the sources of the Rhine a Danube.

Italy

Before the Roman conquest, the country which is now call Lombardy was not considered as a part of Italy. It had be occupied by a powerful colony of Gauls, who, settling the selves along the banks of the Po, from Piedmont to Romag carried their arms and diffused their name from the Alps to t

[76] D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule. [These frontier districts recei their names when the true province of Germany, between Rhine and Elbe, wi had been won by Drusus, was lost by the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D.]

[77] Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. c. 3.

[78] [A rampart from the Clyde to the Forth built in the reign of Anton Pius by the prefect Lollius Urbicus. For this wall see Stuart's Caledonia.]

pennine. The Ligurians dwelt on the rocky coast, which now rms the republic of Genoa.[79] Venice was yet unborn; but the rritories of that state, which lie to the east of the Adige, were habited by the Venetians.[80] The middle part of the peninsula, at now composes the duchy of Tuscany and the ecclesiastical te, was the ancient seat of the Etruscans and Umbrians; to e former of whom Italy was indebted for the first rudiments a civilized life.[81] The Tiber rolled at the foot of the seven ls of Rome, and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and e Volsci, from that river to the frontiers of Naples, was the eatre of her infant victories. On that celebrated ground the st consuls deserved triumphs, their successors adorned villas, d *their* posterity have erected convents.[82] Capua and Cam-nia possessed the immediate territory of Naples; the rest of e kingdom was inhabited by many warlike nations, the Marsi, e Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians; and the sea-asts had been covered by the flourishing colonies of the Greeks. e may remark, that when Augustus divided Italy into eleven gions, the little province of Istria was annexed to that seat of man sovereignty.[83]

The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty reams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the mer, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part to e south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, ich appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters.[84] e provinces of the Danube soon acquired the general appella-n of Illyricum, or the Illyrian frontier,[85] and were esteemed e most warlike of the empire; but they deserve to be more rticularly considered under the names of Rhætia, Noricum,

The Danube and Illyrian frontier

[79] [We shall find late Greek historians calling the Genoese *Ligurians* (Λιγούριοι). sounds odd, but serves to remind us that the great city of Liguria did not serve the ancient name of the territory like her eastern rival, the great city of netia.]

[80] The Italian Veneti, though often confounded with the Gauls, were more bably of Illyrian origin. See M. Freret, Mémoires de l'Académie des In-ptions, tom. xviii.

[81] See Maffei Verona illustrata, l. .

[82] The first contrast was observed by the ancients. See Florus, i. 11. The ond must strike every modern traveller.

[83] Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. iii. [6]) follows the division of Italy, by Augustus.

[84] Tournefort, Voyages en Grèce et Asie Mineure, lettre xviii.

[85] The name of Illyricum originally belonged to the sea-coast of the Adriatic, l was gradually extended by the Romans from the Alps to the Euxine Sea. Severini Pannonia, l. i. c. 3.

Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mæsia, Thrace, Macedonia, a
Greece.

Rhaetia

The province of Rhætia, which soon extinguished the na
of the Vindelicians, extended from the summit of the Alps
the banks of the Danube; from its source, as far as its confl
with the Inn. The greatest part of the flat country is subj
to the elector of Bavaria; the city of Augsburg is protected
the constitution of the German empire; the Grisons are safe
their mountains; and the country of Tyrol is ranked among t
numerous provinces of the house of Austria.

Noricum and Pannonia

The wide extent of territory which is included between t
Inn, the Danube, and the Save,—Austria, Styria, Carinth
Carniola, the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia,—was known to t
ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. In th
original state of independence their fierce inhabitants were
timately connected. Under the Roman government they we
frequently united, and they still remain the patrimony of
single family. They now contain the residence of a Germ
prince, who styles himself Emperor of the Romans, and fo
the centre, as well as strength, of the Austrian power. It m
not be improper to observe, that, if we except Bohemia, Morav
the northern skirts of Austria, and a part of Hungary, betwe
the Theiss and the Danube, all the other dominions of the hou
of Austria were comprised within the limits of the Rom
empire.

Dalmatia

Dalmatia, to which the name of Illyricum more properly b
longed, was a long, but narrow tract, between the Save and t
Adriatic. The best part of the sea-coast, which still retains
ancient appellation, is a province of the Venetian state, and t
seat of the little republic of Ragusa. The inland parts ha
assumed the Sclavonian names of Croatia and Bosnia; the form
obeys an Austrian governor, the latter a Turkish pasha; but t
whole country is still infested by tribes of barbarians, who
savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limit of t
Christian and Mahometan power.[86]

Mæsia and Dacia

After the Danube had received the waters of the Theiss a
the Save, it acquired, at least among the Greeks, the name
Ister.[87] It formerly divided Mæsia and Dacia, the latter

[86] A Venetian traveller, the Abbate Fortis, has lately given us some account
those very obscure countries. But the geography and antiquities of the west
Illyricum can be expected only from the munificence of the emperor, its sovereig
[See Mr. Jackson's work entitled Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria.]

[87] The Save rises near the confines of *Istria*, and was considered by the n
early Greeks as the principal stream of the Danube.

hich, as we have already seen, was a conquest of Trajan, and e only province beyond the river. If we inquire into the esent state of those countries, we shall find that, on the left nd of the Danube, Temeswar and Transylvania have been nexed, after many revolutions, to the crown of Hungary; hilst the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia acknowledge e supremacy of the Ottoman Porte. On the right hand of the anube, Mæsia, which during the middle ages was broken into e barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united Turkish slavery.

Thrace Macedonia and Greece

The appellation of Roumelia, which is still bestowed by the irks on the extensive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and reece, preserves the memory of their ancient state under the oman empire.[88] In the time of the Antonines, the martial gions of Thrace, from the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, had assumed the form of province. Notwithstanding the change of masters and of ligion, the new city of Rome, founded by Constantine on the nks of the Bosphorus, has ever since remained the capital of a eat monarchy. The kingdom of Macedonia, which, under the ign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, derived more solid vantages from the policy of the two Philips; and, with its pendencies of Epirus and Thessaly, extended from the Ægean the Ionian sea. When we reflect on the fame of Thebes and rgos, of Sparta and Athens, we can scarcely persuade ourselves at so many immortal republics of ancient Greece were lost in single province of the Roman empire, which, from the superior fluence of the Achæan league, was usually denominated the ovince of Achaia.

Asia Minor

Such was the state of Europe under the Roman emperors. ne provinces of Asia, without excepting the transient conquests Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish wer. But instead of following the arbitrary divisions of spotism and ignorance, it will be safer for us, as well as more reeable, to observe the indelible characters of nature. The me of Asia Minor is attributed, with some propriety, to the ninsula which, confined between the Euxine and the Medirranean, advances from the Euphrates towards Europe. The ost extensive and flourishing district westward of Mount Taurus

[88] [Thrace is Eastern Roumelia; Macedonia and Greece, Western Roumelia. nce Greece became independent, one hears less of Western Roumelia, but the me is still applicable to Macedonia; Greece has severed her connexion with the irped inheritance of New Rome. Only the Eastern Roumelia will as a rule be nd marked on maps. See Appendix 7.]

and the river Halys, was dignified by the Romans with the exclusive title of Asia. The jurisdiction of that province extended over the ancient monarchies of Troy, Lydia, and Phrygia, the maritime countries of the Pamphylians, Lycians, and Carians, and the Grecian colonies of Ionia, which equalled in arts, though not in arms, the glory of their parent. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus possessed the northern side of the peninsula from Constantinople to Trebizond. On the opposite side the province of Cilicia was terminated by the mountains of Syria: the inland country, separated from the Roman Asia by the river Halys, and from Armenia by the Euphrates, had once formed the independent kingdom of Cappadocia. In this place we may observe that the northern shores of the Euxine, beyond Trebizond in Asia and beyond the Danube in Europe, acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperors, and received at their hands either tributary princes or Roman garrisons. Budzak, Crim Tartary, Circassia, and Mingrelia, are the modern appellations of those savage countries.[89]

Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria was the seat of the Seleucidæ, who reigned over Upper Asia, till the successful revolt of the Parthians confined their dominions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. When Syria became subject to the Romans, it formed the eastern frontier of their empire; nor did that province, in its utmost latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north and, towards the south, the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea. Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of Syria. The former of these was a narrow and rocky coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. Yet Phœnicia and Palestine will for ever live in the memory of mankind; since America, as well as Europe, has received letters from the one, and religion from the other.[90] A sandy desert

[89] See the Periplus of Arrian. He examined the coasts of the Euxine, when he was governor of Cappadocia.

[90] The progress of religion is well known. The use of letters was introduced among the savages of Europe about fifteen hundred years before Christ; and the Europeans carried them to America, about fifteen centuries after the Christian æra. But in a period of three thousand years, the Phœnician alphabet received considerable alterations, as it passed through the hands of the Greeks and Romans. [The date here given for the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet to Europe, that is, among the Greeks, is much too early. The earliest date that can be plausibly maintained is the tenth century, the latest, the eighth. But there are traces of hieroglyphic writing at Mycenæ, and Mr. Arthur Evans' discoveries in Crete point to the use not only of hieroglyphics, but of a syllabary (like the Cyprian) centuries before the introduction of the Phœnician letters.]

ike destitute of wood and water, skirts along the doubtful nfine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The andering life of the Arabs was inseparably connected with eir independence, and wherever, on some spots less barren than e rest, they ventured to form any settled habitations, they soon came subjects to the Roman empire.[91]

Egypt

The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to hat portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt.[92] By its uation that celebrated kingdom is included within the mense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the le of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every period of history, gypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was seated on e splendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the iron sceptre of amalukes is now in the hands of a Turkish pasha. The Nile ws down the country, above five hundred miles from the tropic Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks, on either side, the tent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, uated towards the west and along the sea-coast, was first a reek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now lost the desert of Barca.

Africa

From Cyrene to the ocean, the coast of Africa extends above teen hundred miles; yet so closely is it pressed between editerranean and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth ldom exceeds fourscore or an hundred miles. The eastern vision was considered by the Romans as the more peculiar and oper province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phœnician lonies, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the ost savage of mankind. Under the immediate jurisdiction of rthage it became the centre of commerce and empire; but the public of Carthage is now degenerated into the feeble and sorderly states of Tripoli and Tunis. The military government Algiers oppresses the wide extent of Numidia, as it was once ited under Massinissa and Jugurtha: but in the time of ugustus the limits of Numidia were contracted; and at least o-thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania, th the epithet of Cæsariensis.[93] The genuine Mauritania, or

[91] Dion Cassius, lxviii. p. 1131 [14].

[92] Ptolemy and Strabo, with the modern geographers, fix the Isthmus of Suez the boundary of Asia and Africa. Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, Sallust, Hirtius, and linus, have preferred for that purpose the western branch of the Nile, or even e great Catabathmus, or descent, which last would assign to Asia not only Egypt, t part of Libya. [For Roman Egypt see Mr. J. G. Milne's History of Egypt der Roman Rule, 1898.]

[93] [The boundary between Maur. Caes. and Maur. Ting. was the river ulucha.]

country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, o Tangier, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitana, i represented by the modern kingdom of Fez. Sallè, on the Ocean so infamous at present for its piratical depredations, was noticed by the Romans, as the extreme object of their power, and almos of their geography. A city of their foundation may still b discovered near Mequinez, the residence of the barbarian whom we condescend to style the Emperor of Morocco; but it does no appear that his more southern dominions, Morocco itself, an Segelmessa, were ever comprehended within the Roma province. The western parts of Africa are intersected by th branches of Mount Atlas, a name so idly celebrated by the fanc of poets;[94] but which is now diffused over the immense ocea that rolls between the ancient and the new continent.[95]

The Mediterranean with its islands

Having now finished the circuit of the Roman empire, we ma observe that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait o about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into th Mediterranean. The columns of Hercules, so famous amon the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have bee torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at th foot of the European mountain the fortress of Gibraltar i now seated. The whole extent of the Mediterranean Sea, it coasts and its islands, were comprised within the Roma dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Baleares, whic derive their names of Majorca and Minorca from their respectiv size, are subject at present, the former to Spain, the latter t Great Britain. It is easier to deplore the fate than to describ the actual condition of Corsica. Two Italian sovereigns assum a regal title from Sardinia and Sicily. Crete, or Candia, wit Cyprus, and most of the smaller islands of Greece and Asia, hav been subdued by the Turkish arms; whilst the little rock o Malta defies their power, and has emerged, under the govern ment of its military Order, into fame and opulence.

General idea of the Roman empire

This long enumeration of provinces, whose broken fragment have formed so many powerful kingdoms, might almost induc us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzle

[94] The long range, moderate height, and gentle declivity of Mount Atlas (s Shaw's Travels, p. 5) are very unlike a solitary mountain which rears its head in the clouds, and seems to support the heavens. The peak of Teneriff, on th contrary, rises a league and a half above the surface of the sea, and, as it wa frequently visited by the Phœnicians, might engage the notice of the Greek poet See Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 312. Histoire des Voyages, tom. ii.

[95] M. de Voltaire, tom. xiv. p. 297, unsupported by either fact or probabilit has generously bestowed the Canary Islands on the Roman empire. [In rece

with the extensive sway, the irresistible strength, and the real or affected moderation of the emperors, they permitted themselves to despise, and sometimes to forget, the outlying countries which had been left in the enjoyment of a barbarous independence; and they gradually assumed the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth.[96] But the temper, as well as knowledge, of a modern historian require a more sober and accurate language. He may impress a juster image of the greatness of Rome by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended in length more than three thousand miles, from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; that it was situated in the finest part of the Temperate Zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land.[97]

years the history and geography of the Roman Africa have been explored by French scholars. Tissot, Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique, 1884-8; Fastes de la province d'Afrique, 1885; Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique, 1893; may be mentioned.]

[96] Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4: a very useful collection.

[97] See Templeman's Survey of the Globe; but I distrust both the doctor's learning and his maps.

CHAPTER II

Of the Union and Internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines

Principles of government

IT is not alone by the rapidity or extent of conquest that we should estimate the greatness of Rome. The sovereign of the Russian deserts commands a larger portion of the globe. In the seventh summer after his passage of the Hellespont, Alexander erected the Macedonian trophies on the banks of the Hyphasis.[1] Within less than a century, the irresistible Zingis, and the Mogul princes of his race, spread their cruel devastations and transient empire from the sea of China to the confines of Egypt and Germany.[2] But the firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honours and advantages they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors.

Universal spirit of toleration

I. The policy of the emperors and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened, and by the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the magistrate as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.

Of the people

The superstition of the people was not embittered by any mixture of theological rancour; nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit

[1] They were erected about the midway between Lahor and Dehli. The conquests of Alexander in Hindostan were confined to the Punjab, a country watered by the five great streams of the Indus. [Alexander reached the Hyphasis in the eighth summer (B.C. 326) after his passage of the Hellespont (B.C. 334).]

[2] See M. de Guignes Histoire des Huns, l. xv. xvi. and xvii.

faith the different religions of the earth.[3] Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. The thin texture of the pagan mythology was interwoven with various but not discordant materials. As soon as it was allowed that sages and heroes, who had lived or who had died for the benefit of their country, were exalted to a state of power and immortality, it was universally confessed that they deserved, if not the adoration, at least the reverence of all mankind. The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed in peace their local and respective influence; nor could the Roman who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible powers of Nature, the planets, and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory. Every virtue, and even vice, acquired its divine representative; every art and profession its patron, whose attributes in the most distant ages and countries were uniformly derived from the character of their peculiar votaries. A republic of gods of such opposite tempers and interests required, in every system, the moderating hand of a supreme magistrate, who, by the progress of knowledge and of flattery, was gradually invested with the sublime perfections of an Eternal Parent and an Omnipotent Monarch.[4] Such was the mild spirit of antiquity, that the nations were less attentive to the difference than to the resemblance of their religious worship. The Greek, the Roman, and the Barbarian, as they met before their respection altars, easily persuaded themselves that, under various names and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities. The elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful and almost a regular form to the polytheism of the ancient world.[5]

[3] There is not any writer who describes in so lively a manner as Herodotus, the true genius of Polytheism. The best commentary may be found in Mr. Hume's Natural History of Religion; and the best contrast in Bossuet's Universal History. Some obscure traces of an intolerant spirit appear in the conduct of the Egyptians (see Juvenal, Sat. xv.); and the Christians as well as Jews, who lived under the Roman empire, formed a very important exception; so important indeed, that the discussion will require a distinct chapter of this work.

[4] The rights, power, and pretensions of the sovereign of Olympus are very clearly described in the xvth book of the Iliad: in the Greek original, I mean; for Mr. Pope, without perceiving it, has improved the theology of Homer.

[5] See for instance, Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 17. Within a century or two the Gauls themselves applied to their gods the names of Mercury, Mars, Apollo, &c.

Of philosophers

The philosophers of Greece deduced their morals from th nature of man rather than from that of God. They meditated however, on the Divine Nature as a very curious and importan speculation, and in the profound inquiry they displayed th strength and weakness of the human understanding.[6] Of th four most celebrated schools, the Stoics and the Platonists en deavoured to reconcile the jarring interests of reason and piety They have left us the most sublime proofs of the existence an perfections of the first cause; but, as it was impossible for ther to conceive the creation of matter, the workman in the Stoi philosophy was not sufficiently distinguished from the work whilst, on the contrary, the spiritual God of Plato and hi disciples resembled an idea rather than a substance. Th opinions of the Academics and Epicureans were of a less re ligious cast; but, whilst the modest science of the former induce them to doubt, the positive ignorance of the latter urged ther to deny, the providence of a Supreme Ruler. The spirit o inquiry, prompted by emulation and supported by freedom, ha divided the public teachers of philosophy into a variety o contending sects; but the ingenuous youth, who from ever part resorted to Athens and the other seats of learning in th Roman empire, were alike instructed in every school to rejec and to despise the religion of the multitude. How, indeed was it possible that a philosopher should accept as divine truth the idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent traditions o antiquity; or that he should adore, as gods, those imperfect being whom he must have despised, as men! Against such unworth adversaries, Cicero condescended to employ the arms of reaso and eloquence; but the satire of Lucian was a much mor adequate as well as more efficacious weapon. We may be wel assured that a writer conversant with the world would neve have ventured to expose the gods of his country to publi ridicule, had they not already been the objects of secret con tempt among the polished and enlightened orders of society.[7]

Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion which prevailed i the age of the Antonines, both the interests of the priests an the credulity of the people were sufficiently respected. In thei writings and conversation the philosophers of antiquity asserte

[6] The admirable work of Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, is the best clue we have t guide us through the dark and profound abyss. He represents with candour, an confutes with subtlety, the opinions of the philosophers.

[7] I do not pretend to assert that, in this irreligious age, the natural terrors o superstition, dreams, omens, apparitions, &c., had lost their efficacy.

e independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions the commands of law and of custom. Viewing with a smile of y and indulgence the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently actised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented e temples of the gods; and, sometimes condescending to act a rt on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments an Atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a mper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective odes of faith or of worship. It was indifferent to them what ape the folly of the multitude might choose to assume; and ey approached, with the same inward contempt and the same ternal reverence, the altars of the Libyan, the Olympian, or e Capitoline Jupiter.[8]

Of the magistrate

It is not easy to conceive from what motives a spirit of persecution could introduce itself into the Roman councils. The agistrates could not be actuated by a blind though honest gotry, since the magistrates were themselves philosophers; and e schools of Athens had given laws to the senate. They could t be impelled by ambition or avarice, as the temporal and clesiastical powers were united in the same hands. The ntiffs were chosen among the most illustrious of the senators; d the office of Supreme Pontiff was constantly exercised by e emperors themselves. They knew and valued the advanges of religion, as it is connected with civil government. They couraged the public festivals which humanize the manners of e people. They managed the arts of divination as a conient instrument of policy; and they respected, as the firmest nd of society, the useful persuasion that, either in this or in a ture life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by e avenging gods.[9] But, whilst they acknowledged the general vantages of religion, they were convinced that the various odes of worship contributed alike to the same salutary purposes; d that, in every country, the form of superstition which had ceived the sanction of time and experience was the best apted to the climate and to its inhabitants. Avarice and taste ry frequently despoiled the vanquished nations of the elegant

[8] Socrates, Epicurus, Cicero, and Plutarch, always inculcated a decent reverence the religion of their own country, and of mankind. The devotion of Epicurus s assiduous and exemplary. Diogen. Laert. x. 10. [In this passage nothing is said the devotion of Epicurus. τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁσιότητος . . . ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις ems to have been mistranslated.]

[9] Polybius, l. vi. c. 56. Juvenal, Sat. xiii., laments that in his time this prehension had lost much of its effect.

statues of their gods and the rich ornaments of their temples

In the provinces

but, in the exercise of the religion which they derived fr their ancestors, they uniformly experienced the indulgence, a even protection, of the Roman conquerors. The province Gaul seems, and indeed only seems, an exception to this univer toleration. Under the specious pretext of abolishing hum sacrifices, the emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed t dangerous power of the Druids;[11] but the priests themselv their gods, and their altars, subsisted in peaceful obscurity the final destruction of Paganism.[12]

at Rome

Rome, the capital of a great monarchy, was incessantly fil with subjects and strangers from every part of the world,[13] w all introduced and enjoyed the favourite superstitions of th native country.[14] Every city in the empire was justified maintaining the purity of its ancient ceremonies; and the Rom senate, using the common privilege, sometimes interposed check this inundation of foreign rites. The Egyptian super tion, of all the most contemptible and abject, was frequen prohibited; the temples of Serapis and Isis demolished, a their worshippers banished from Rome and Italy.[15] But t zeal of fanaticism prevailed over the cold and feeble efforts policy. The exiles returned, the proselytes multiplied, t temples were restored with increasing splendour, and Isis a Serapis at length assumed their place among the Roman deitie Nor was this indulgence a departure from the old maxims government. In the purest ages of the commonwealth, Cyb

[10] See the fate of Syracuse, Tarentum, Ambracia, Corinth, &c., the conduc Verres, in Cicero (Actio ii. Orat. 4), and the usual practice of governors, in viiith Satire of Juvenal.

[11] Sueton. in Claud. [25]—Plin. Hist. Nat. xxx. i.

[12] Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, tom. vi. p. 230-252.

[13] Seneca Consolat. ad Helviam, p. 74 [6]. Edit. Lips.

[14] Dionysius Halicarn. Antiquitat. Roman., l. ii. [i. p. 275, Reiske].

[15] In the year of Rome 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished the order of the senate (Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 252 [47]), and even by the hand the consul (Valerius Maximus, i, 3). [But this passage in Valerius refers to the demolition in B.C. 219.] After the death of Cæsar, it was restored at the public pense (Dion, l. xlvii. p. 501 [15]). When Augustus was in Egypt, he revered majesty of Serapis (Dion, l. li. p. 647 [16]); but in the Pomærium of Rome, a mile round it, he prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods (Dion, l. liii 697 [2], l. liv. p. 735 [6]). They remained, however, very fashionable under reign (Ovid. de Art. Amand. l. i. [77]) and that of his successor, till the justic Tiberius was provoked to some acts of severity. (See Tacit. Annal. ii. 85, Jose Antiquit. l. xviii. c. 3.)

[16] Tertullian in Apologetic. c. 6, p. 74. Edit. Havercamp. I am inclined attribute their establishment to the devotion of the Flavian family.

d Æsculapius had been invited by solemn embassies ;[17] and it s customary to tempt the protectors of besieged cities by the omise of more distinguished honours than they possessed in eir native country.[18] Rome gradually became the common mple of her subjects; and the freedom of the city was be-wed on all the gods of mankind.[19]

Freedom of Rome

II. The narrow policy of preserving without any foreign xture the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked e fortune, and hastened the ruin, of Athens and Sparta. The piring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and emed it more prudent, as well as honourable, to adopt virtue d merit for her own wheresoever they were found, among ves or strangers, enemies or barbarians.[20] During the st flourishing æra of the Athenian commonwealth the number citizens gradually decreased from about thirty[21] to twenty-e thousand.[22] If, on the contrary, we study the growth of e Roman republic, we may discover that, notwithstanding the essant demands of wars and colonies, the citizens, who, in e first census of Servius Tullius, amounted to no more than hty-three thousand,[23] were multiplied, before the com ncement of the social war, to the number of four hundred and ty-three thousand men able to bear arms in the service of their ntry.[24] When the allies of Rome claimed an equal share of nours and privileges, the senate indeed preferred the chance of ns to an ignominious concession. The Samnites and the canians paid the severe penalty of their rashness; but the rest the Italian states, as they successively returned to their duty, re admitted into the bosom of the republic,[25] and soon con-puted to the ruin of public freedom. Under a democratical

[17] See Livy, l. xi. [12] and xxix. [11].
[18] Macrob. Saturnalia, l. iii. c. 9. He gives us a form of evocation.
[19] Minucius Felix in Octavio, p. 54. Arnobius, l. vi. p. 115.
[20] Tacit. Annal. xi. 24. The Orbis Romanus of the learned Spanheim is a plete history of the progressive admission of Latium, Italy, and the provinces ne freedom of Rome.
[21] Herodotus, v. 97. It should seem, however, that he followed a large and ular estimation.
[22] Athenæus Deipnosophist. l. vi. p. 272, Edit. Casaubon. Meursius de Fortunâ câ, c. 4. [For the population of Athens, see Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. 81, and Boeckh's Staatshaushaltung der Athener. But new light has been wn on the Athenian as on other ancient populations by Beloch. He estimates population of Athens c. 431 B.C. at 35,000.]
[23] [Perhaps about 20,000. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, i. 436, Eng. Tr.]
[24] See a very accurate collection of the numbers of each Lustrum in M. de Beaufort, République Romaine, l. iv. c. 4.
[25] Appian de Bell. civil. l. i. [53]. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 15, 16, 17.

government the citizens exercise the powers of sovereignt and those powers will be first abused, and afterwards lost, they are committed to an unwieldy multitude. But, when t popular assemblies had been suppressed by the administrati of the emperors, the conquerors were distinguished from t vanquished nations only as the first and most honourable ord of subjects; and their increase, however rapid, was no long exposed to the same dangers. Yet the wisest princes w adopted the maxims of Augustus guarded with the stricte care the dignity of the Roman name, and diffused the freedo of the city with a prudent liberality.[26]

Italy

Till the privileges of Romans had been progressively extend to all the inhabitants of the empire, an important distincti was preserved between Italy and the provinces. The form was esteemed the centre of public unity, and the firm basis the constitution. Italy claimed the birth, or at least the sidence, of the emperors and the senate.[27] The estates the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from t arbitrary jurisdiction of governors. Their municipal corpo tions, formed after the perfect model of the capital,[28] we intrusted, under the immediate eye of the supreme power, w the execution of the laws. From the foot of the Alps to t extremity of Calabria, all the natives of Italy were born citize of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and th insensibly coalesced into one great nation, united by langua manners, and civil institutions, and equal to the weight o powerful empire. The republic gloried in her generous poli and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of adopted sons. Had she always confined the distinction Romans to the ancient families within the walls of the ci that immortal name would have been deprived of some of noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Mantua; Hor was inclined to doubt whether he should call himself an Apul or a Lucanian; it was in Padua that an historian was fou

[26] Mæcenas had advised him to declare, by one edict, all his subjects citiz But we may justly suspect that the Historian Dion was the author of a counsel much adapted to the practice of his own age, and so little to that of Augustus

[27] The senators were obliged to have one-third of their own landed propert Italy. See Plin. l. vi. ep. 19. The qualification was reduced by Marcus to fourth. Since the reign of Trajan, Italy had sunk nearer to the level of provinces.

[28] [This statement is too strong. The municipal constitutions of the Ita towns were hardly created in a day. The old constitutions were modified by new relation with Rome, but not abolished.]

orthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The triot family of the Catos emerged from Tusculum; and the tle town of Arpinum claimed the double honour of producing arius and Cicero, the former of whom deserved, after Romulus d Camillus, to be styled the Third Founder of Rome; and e latter, after saving his country from the designs of Catiline, abled her to contend with Athens for the palm of elo- ence.[29]

The provinces of the empire (as they have been described in e preceding chapter) were destitute of any public force or nstitutional freedom. In Etruria, in Greece,[30] and in aul,[31] it was the first care of the senate to dissolve those ngerous confederacies which taught mankind that, as the oman arms prevailed by division, they might be resisted by ion. Those princes whom the ostentation of gratitude or nerosity permitted for a while to hold a precarious sceptre ere dismissed from their thrones, as soon as they had per- rmed their appointed task of fashioning to the yoke the nquished nations. The free states and cities which had nbraced the cause of Rome were rewarded with a nominal liance, and insensibly sunk into real servitude. The public thority was everywhere exercised by the ministers of the nate and of the emperors, and that authority was absolute d without control. But the same salutary maxims of govern- ent, which had secured the peace and obedience of Italy, were tended to the most distant conquests. A nation of Romans as gradually formed in the provinces, by the double expedient introducing colonies, and of admitting the most faithful and eserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome. The provinces

"Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits," is a very st observation of Seneca,[32] confirmed by history and experi- nce. The natives of Italy, allured by pleasure or by interest, stened to enjoy the advantages of victory; and we may mark that, about forty years after the reduction of Asia, ghty thousand Romans were massacred in one day by the Colonies and municipal towns

[29] The first part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei gives the arest and most comprehensive view of the state of Italy under the Cæsars.

[30] See Pausanias, l. vii. [16]. The Romans condescended to restore the names those assemblies, when they could no longer be dangerous.

[31] They are frequently mentioned by Cæsar. The Abbé Dubos attempts, with ry little success, to prove that the assemblies of Gaul were continued under the nperors. Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise, l. i. c. 4. hese assemblies did exist in Gaul as well as in other provinces. See E. Carette, es assemblées provinciales de la Gaule romaine, 1895.]

[32] Seneca in Consolat. ad Helviam, c. 6.

cruel orders of Mithridates.[33] These voluntary exiles were e
gaged for the most part in the occupations of commerce, ag
culture, and the farm of the revenue. But after the legio
were rendered permanent by the emperors, the provinces we
peopled by a race of soldiers; and the veterans, whether th
received the reward of their service in land or in money, usua
settled with their families in the country where they had hono
ably spent their youth. Throughout the empire, but more par
cularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts and t
most convenient situations were reserved for the establishme
of colonies; some of which were of a civil and others of
military nature. In their manners and internal policy, t
colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parer
and [as] they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties
friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverer
for the Roman name, and a desire which was seldom dis
pointed of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantage
The municipal cities insensibly equalled the rank and splend
of the colonies; and in the reign of Hadrian it was disput
which was the preferable condition, of those societies which h
issued from, or those which had been received into, the bos
of Rome.[35] The right of Latium, as it was called, conferred
the cities to which it had been granted a more partial favo
The magistrates only, at the expiration of their office, assum
the quality of Roman citizens; but as those offices were annu
in a few years they circulated round the principal familie
Those of the provincials who were permitted to bear arms in t
legions;[37] those who exercised any civil employment; all, i
word, who performed any public service, or displayed any perso

[33] Memnon apud Photium, c. 33 [c. 31; Müller, *F.H.G.*, iii. p. 542]. Va
Maxim. ix. 2. Plutarch [Sulla, 24] and Dion Cassius [fr. 99; vol. i. p. 342,
Melber] swell the massacre to 150,000 citizens; but I should esteem the sma
number to be more than sufficient.

[34] Twenty-five colonies were settled in Spain (see Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 3, 4
35): and nine in Britain, of which London, Colchester, Lincoln, Chester, Glouces
and Bath, still remain considerable cities (see Richard of Cirencester, p. 36,
Whitaker's History of Manchester, l. i. c. 3). [The authority of Richard
Cirencester on Roman Britain is of no value. See Appendix 2.]

[35] Aul. Gell. Noctes Atticæ, xvi. 13. The Emperor Hadrian expressed
surprise that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Italica, which already enjoyed
rights of *Municipia*, should solicit the title of *colonies*. Their example, howe
became fashionable, and the empire was filled with honorary colonies.
Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissertat. xiii. [For colonies, municipal to
and the right of Latium, see Appendix 8.]

[36] Spanheim, Orbis Roman. c. 8. p. 62.

[37] Aristid. in Romæ Encomio, tom. i. p. 218. Edit. Jebb.

ents, were rewarded with a present, whose value was continu-
y diminished by the increasing liberality of the emperors.
t even in the age of the Antonines, when the freedom of the
y had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects,
was still accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk
the people acquired, with that title, the benefit of the Roman
vs, particularly in the interesting articles of marriage, testa-
nts, and inheritances; and the road of fortune was open to
ose whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit. The
ndsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia
mmanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into
e senate of Rome.[38] Their ambition, instead of disturbing the
nquillity of the state, was intimately connected with its safety
d greatness.

So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over tional manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, th the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue.[39] Division of the Latin and the Greek provinces
e ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the
netian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces, the east was
s docile than the west to the voice of its victorious preceptors.
us obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire
th a distinction of colours, which, though it was in some degree
ncealed during the meridian splendour of prosperity, became
adually more visible as the shades of night descended upon
e Roman world. The western countries were civilized by the
ne hands which subdued them. As soon as the barbarians
re reconciled to obedience, their minds were opened to any
w impressions of knowledge and politeness. The language of
rgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of cor-
ption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul,
itain, and Pannonia,[40] that the faint traces of the Punic or
ltic idioms were preserved only in the mountains, or among
e peasants.[41] Education and study insensibly inspired the

[38] Tacit. Annal. xi. 23, 24. Hist. iv. 74.

[39] See Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, xix. 7. Lipsius de pronunciatione Linguæ Latinæ, c. 3.

[40] Apuleius and Augustin will answer for Africa; Strabo for Spain and Gaul; citus, in the life of Agricola, for Britain; and Velleius Paterculus, for Pannonia. them we may add the language of the Inscriptions. [The statement in the t needs modification especially in regard to Britain.]

[41] The Celtic was preserved in the mountains of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica e may observe that Apuleius reproaches an African youth, who lived among the oulace, with the use of the Punic; whilst he had almost forgot Greek, and ther could nor would speak Latin. (Apolog. p. 596.) The greater part of St. stin's congregations were strangers to the Punic.

natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; a Italy gave fashions, as well as laws, to her Latin provinci They solicited with more ardour, and obtained with more facili the freedom and honours of the state; supported the natio dignity in letters[42] and in arms; and, at length, in the person Trajan, produced an emperor whom the Scipios would not ha disowned for their countryman. The situation of the Gree was very different from that of the barbarians. The former h been long since civilized and corrupted. They had too mu taste to relinquish their language, and too much vanity to ado any foreign institutions. Still preserving the prejudices, af they had lost the virtues, of their ancestors, they affected despise the unpolished manners of the Roman conquerors, whi they were compelled to respect their superior wisdom a power.[43] Nor was the influence of the Grecian language a sentiments confined to the narrow limits of that once celebrat country. Their empire, by the progress of colonies and co quest, had been diffused from the Hadriatic to the Euphrates a the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the lo reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a silent revoluti into Syria and Egypt. In their pompous courts those princ united the elegance of Athens with the luxury of the East, a the example of the court was imitated, at an humble distan by the higher ranks of their subjects. Such was the gene division of the Roman empire into the Latin and Greek la guages. To these we may add a third distinction for the bo of the natives in Syria, and especially in Egypt. The use their ancient dialects, by secluding them from the commerce mankind, checked the improvements of those barbarians.[44] T slothful effeminacy of the former exposed them to the contem the sullen ferociousness of the latter excited the aversion, of t conquerors.[45] Those nations had submitted to the Rom power, but they seldom desired or deserved the freedom of t city; and it was remarked that more than two hundred a

[42] Spain alone produced Columella, the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quintil [but *not*, as far as we know, Silius Italicus, who, if his name really connected h with Italica, must have been *Italicanus*].

[43] There is not, I believe, from Dionysius to Libanius, a single Greek critic w mentions Virgil or Horace. They seem ignorant that the Romans had any go writers.

[44] The curious reader may see in Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. x p. 1, c. 8), how much the use of the Syriac and Egyptian languages was s preserved.

[45] See Juvenal, Sat. iii. and xv. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

ty years elapsed after the ruin of the Ptolemies, before an ptian was admitted into the senate of Rome.[46]

t is a just though trite observation, that victorious Rome was self subdued by the arts of Greece. Those immortal writers still command the admiration of modern Europe soon be- e the favourite object of study and imitation in Italy and the tern provinces. But the elegant amusements of the Romans e not suffered to interfere with their sound maxims of policy. ilst they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they asserted dignity of the Latin, tongue, and the exclusive use of the er was inflexibly maintained in the administration of civil as l as military government.[47] The two languages exercised at same time their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire: former, as the natural idiom of science; the latter, as the l dialect of public transactions. Those who united letters n business were equally conversant with both; and it was ost impossible, in any province, to find a Roman subject, liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Greek to the Latin language. General use of both languages

t was by such institutions that the nations of the empire in- sibly melted away into the Roman name and people. But re still remained, in the centre of every province and of every ily, an unhappy condition of men who endured the weight, nout sharing the benefits, of society. In the free states of quity the domestic slaves were exposed to the wanton rigour lespotism. The perfect settlement of the Roman empire was ceded by ages of violence and rapine. The slaves consisted, the most part, of barbarian captives, taken in thousands by chance of war, purchased at a vile price,[48] accustomed to a of independence, and impatient to break and to revenge their ers. Against such internal enemies, whose desperate in- rections had more than once reduced the republic to the brink lestruction,[49] the most severe regulations[50] and the most cruel atment seemed almost justified by the great law of self- servation. But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia, Slaves. Their treatment

Dion Cassius, l. lxxvi. p. 1275 [5]. The first instance happened under the n of Septimius Severus.

See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 2, n. 2. The Emperor Claudius disfranchised eminent Grecian for not understanding Latin. He was probably in some ic office. Suetonius in Claud. c. 16.

In the camp of Lucullus, an ox sold for a drachma, and a slave for four hmæ, or about three shillings. Plutarch, in Lucull. p. 580 [14]. [Compare eau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 15.]

Diodorus Siculus in Eclog. Hist. l. xxxiv. and xxxvi. Florus, iii. 19, 20.

See a remarkable instance of severity, in Cicero in Verrem, v. 3.

and Africa were united under the laws of one sovereign, source of foreign supplies flowed with much less abundance, the Romans were reduced to the milder but more tedious meth of propagation. In their numerous families, and particularly their country estates, they encouraged the marriage of th slaves. The sentiments of nature, the habits of education, the possession of a dependent species of property, contribu to alleviate the hardships of servitude.[51] The existence o slave became an object of greater value, and though his hap ness still depended on the temper and circumstances of master, the humanity of the latter, instead of being restrained fear, was encouraged by the sense of his own interest. T progress of manners was accelerated by the virtue or policy the emperors; and by the edicts of Hadrian and the Antoni the protection of the laws was extended to the most abject p of mankind. The jurisdiction of life and death over the slav a power long exercised and often abused, was taken out private hands, and reserved to the magistrates alone. The s terraneous prisons were abolished; and, upon a just complaint intolerable treatment, the injured slave obtained either deliverance or a less cruel master.[52]

Enfranchisement

Hope, the best comfort of our imperfect condition, v not denied to the Roman slave; and, if he had any opportun of making himself either useful or agreeable, he might v naturally expect that the diligence and fidelity of a few ye would be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom. T benevolence of the master was so frequently prompted by t meaner suggestions of vanity and avarice, that the laws fou it more necessary to restrain than to encourage a profuse a undistinguishing liberality, which might degenerate into a v dangerous abuse.[53] It was a maxim of ancient jurisprudenc that a slave had not any country of his own; he acquired w his liberty an admission into the political society of which patron was a member. The consequences of this maxim wou have prostituted the privileges of the Roman city to a me and promiscuous multitude. Some seasonable exceptions w therefore provided; and the honourable distinction was confin

[51] See in Gruter, and the other collectors, a great number of inscripti addressed by slaves to their wives, children, fellow-servants, masters, &c. T are all most probably of the Imperial age.

[52] See the Augustan History [1, 18], and a dissertation of M. de Burigny the xxxvth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, upon the Roman slaves.

[53] See another dissertation of M. de Burigny in the xxxviith volume, on Roman freedmen.

such slaves only as, for just causes, and with the approbation the magistrate, should receive a solemn and legal manumis-on. Even these chosen freedmen obtained no more than the ivate rights of citizens, and were rigorously excluded from vil or military honours. Whatever might be the merit fortune of their sons, *they* likewise were esteemed unworthy a seat in the senate; nor were the traces of a servile igin allowed to be completely obliterated till the third fourth generation.[54] Without destroying the distinction ranks, a distant prospect of freedom and honours was pre-nted, even to those whom pride and prejudice almost dis-ined to number among the human species.

Numbers

It was once proposed to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar bit, but it was justly apprehended that there might be some nger in acquainting them with their own numbers.[55] Without terpreting, in their utmost strictness, the liberal appellations of gions and myriads,[56] we may venture to pronounce that the oportion of slaves, who were valued as property, was more con-derable than that of servants, who can be computed only as an pense.[57] The youths of a promising genius were instructed in e arts and sciences, and their price was ascertained by the gree of their skill and talents.[58] Almost every profession, ther liberal[59] or mechanical, might be found in the household an opulent senator. The ministers of pomp and sensuality ere multiplied beyond the conception of modern luxury.[60] It as more for the interest of the merchant or manufacturer to rchase than to hire his workmen; and in the country slaves ere employed as the cheapest and most laborious instruments agriculture. To confirm the general observation, and to dis-ay the multitude of slaves, we might allege a variety of par-cular instances. It was discovered, on a very melancholy casion, that four hundred slaves were maintained in a single palace

[54] Spanheim. Orbis Roman. l. i. c. 16. p. 124, &c.

[55] Seneca de Clementiâ, l. i. c. 24. The original is much stronger, "Quantum riculum immineret si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent".

[56] See Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii.) and Athenæus (Deipnosophist, l. vi. p. 272). e latter boldly asserts that he knew very many (πάμπολλοι) Romans who ssessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand slaves.

[57] In Paris there are not more than 43,700 domestics of every sort, and not a elfth part of the inhabitants. Messange, Recherches sur la Population, p. 186.

[58] A learned slave sold for many hundred pounds sterling; Atticus always bred d taught them himself. Cornel. Nepos in Vit. c. 13.

[59] Many of the Roman physicians were slaves. See Dr. Middleton's Dissertation and Defence. [On the state of Physicians among the Old Romans, 1734.]

[60] Their ranks and offices are very copiously enumerated by Pignorius de rvis. [For whole subject cp. Wallon, Hist. de l'Esclavage.]

of Rome.[61] The same number of four hundred belonged to estate, which an African widow, of a very private condition, r signed to her son, whilst she reserved for herself a much larg share of her property.[62] A freedman, under the reign of Augustu though his fortune had suffered great losses in the civil wars, l behind him three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, two hundr and fifty thousand head of smaller cattle, and, what was almo included in the description of cattle, four thousand one hundr and sixteen slaves.[63]

Populousness of the Roman empire

The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rom of citizens, of provincials, and of slaves, cannot now be fixed wi such a degree of accuracy as the importance of the object wou deserve.[64] We are informed that, when the emperor Claudi exercised the office of censor, he took an account of six millio nine hundred and forty-five thousand Roman citizens, who, wi the proportion of women and children, must have amounted about twenty millions of souls. The multitude of subjects of inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But, after weighi with attention every circumstance which could influence t balance, it seems probable that there existed, in the time Claudius, about twice as many provincials as there were citize of either sex and of every age; and that the slaves were at lea equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman wor The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise about one hundred and twenty millions of persons: a degree population which possibly exceeds that of modern Europe,[65] a forms the most numerous society that has ever been unit under the same system of government.

[61] Tacit. Annal. xiv. 43. They all were executed for not preventing their maste murder.

[62] Apuleius in Apolog. p. 548. Edit. Delphin.

[63] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 47.

[64] [The subject of the population of the Roman empire has been discussed detail in Dureau de la Malle's Economie Politique, on which work Merival investigation is based (History of the Romans under the Empire, chap. 3 Merivale reckons the entire population under Augustus, "including both sex all ages and every class of inhabitants," at eighty-five millions, of which forty f to the European, forty-five to the Asiatic provinces. In the present day the to population of these European lands is two and a half times as great. Gibbo calculation is, on any theory, far too large.]

[65] Compute twenty millions in France, twenty-two in Germany, four Hungary, ten in Italy with its islands, eight in Great Britain and Ireland, eig in Spain and Portugal, ten or twelve in the European Russia, six in Poland, in Greece and Turkey, four in Sweden, three in Denmark and Norway, four the Low Countries. The whole would amount to one hundred and five, or o hundred and seven millions. See Voltaire, de l'Histoire Générale. [The prese population of Europe is somewhat about three hundred and fifty millions.]

omestic peace and union were the natural consequences of moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the ans. If we turn our eyes towards the monarchies of Asia, hall behold despotism in the centre and weakness in the emities; the collection of the revenue, or the administration stice, enforced by the presence of an army; hostile barans, established in the heart of the country, hereditary ps usurping the dominion of the provinces and subjects, ned to rebellion, though incapable of freedom. But the lience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary, and nanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great ple, resigned the hope, nay even the wish, of resuming their pendence, and scarcely considered their own existence as nct from the existence of Rome. The established authority ne emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on banks of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the r. The legions were destined to serve against the public ny, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a tary force.[66] In this state of general security, the leisure ell as opulence both of the prince and people were devoted to rove and to adorn the Roman empire.

Obedience and union

nong the innumerable monuments of architecture con- eted by the Romans, how many have escaped the notice of ory, how few have resisted the ravages of time and barsm! And yet even the majestic ruins that are still scattered Italy and the provinces would be sufficient to prove that e countries were once the seat of a polite and powerful ire. Their greatness alone, or their beauty, might deserve attention; but they are rendered more interesting by two ortant circumstances, which connect the agreeable history he arts with the more useful history of human manners. y of those works were erected at private expense, and ost all were intended for public benefit.

Roman monuments

is natural to suppose that the greatest number, as well as most considerable of the Roman edifices, were raised by the erors, who possessed so unbounded a command both of men money. Augustus was accustomed to boast that he had d his capital of brick, and that he had left it of marble.[67]

Many of them erected at private expense

Joseph de Bell. Judaico. l. ii. c. 16. The oration of Agrippa, or rather of istorian, is a fine picture of the Roman empire.

Sueton. in August. c. 28. Augustus built in Rome the temple and forum lars the Avenger; the Temple of Jupiter Tonans in the capitol; that of

The strict economy of Vespasian was the source of his mag
cence. The works of Trajan bear the stamp of his gen
The public monuments with which Hadrian adorned ev
province of the empire were executed not only by his ord
but under his immediate inspection. He was himself an art
and he loved the arts, as they conduced to the glory of
monarch. They were encouraged by the Antonines, as t
contributed to the happiness of the people. But if the empe
were the first, they were not the only architects of th
dominions. Their example was universally imitated by th
principal subjects, who were not afraid of declaring that t
had spirit to conceive, and wealth to accomplish, the nob
undertakings. Scarcely had the proud structure of the C
seum been dedicated at Rome, before the edifices of a smaller s
indeed, but of the same design and materials, were erected
the use, and at the expense, of the cities of Capua
Verona.[68] The inscription of the stupendous bridge of Alcant
attests that it was thrown over the Tagus by the contribut
of a few Lusitanian communities. When Pliny was intrus
with the government of Bithynia and Pontus, provinces by
means the richest or most considerable of the empire, he fo
the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other
every useful and ornamental work that might deserve
curiosity of strangers or the gratitude of their citizens. It
the duty of the Proconsul to supply their deficiencies, to di
their taste, and sometimes to moderate their emulation
The opulent senators of Rome and the provinces esteeme
an honour, and almost an obligation, to adorn the splendou
their age and country; and the influence of fashion very
quently supplied the want of taste or generosity. Amon
crowd of these private benefactors, we may select Hero
Atticus, an Athenian citizen, who lived in the age of
Antonines. Whatever might be the motive of his condu
his magnificence would have been worthy of the great
kings.

Apollo Palatine, with public libraries; the portico and basilica of Caius
Lucius; the porticoes of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus.
example of the sovereign was imitated by his ministers and generals; and
friend Agrippa left behind him the immortal monument of the Pantheon.

[68] See Maffei, Verona illustrata, . iv. p. 68.

[69] See the xth book of Pliny's Epistles. He mentions the following wo
carried on at the expense of the cities. At Nicomedia, a new forum, an aquec
and a canal, left unfinished by a king; at Nice, a Gymnasium and a the
which had already cost near ninety thousand pounds; baths at Prusa
Claudiopolis; and an aqueduct of sixteen miles in length for the use of Sinope

The family of Herod, at least after it had been favoured by fune, was lineally descended from Cimon and Miltiades, eseus and Cecrops, Æacus and Jupiter. But the posterity of many gods and heroes was fallen into the most abject state. s grandfather had suffered by the hands of justice, and Julius icus, his father, must have ended his life in poverty and ttempt, had he not discovered an immense treasure buried ler an old house, the last remains of his patrimony. According the rigour of law, the emperor might have asserted his claim; l the prudent Atticus prevented, by a frank confession, the ciousness of informers. But the equitable Nerva, who then ed the throne, refused to accept any part of it, and commanded n to use, without scruple, the present of fortune. The cautious nenian still insisted that the treasure was too considerable for ubject, and that he knew not how to *use it. Abuse it then,* lied the monarch, with a good-natured peevishness; for it is r own.[70] Many will be of opinion that Atticus literally eyed the emperor's last instructions, since he expended the atest part of his fortune, which was much increased by an antageous marriage, in the service of the Public. He had ained for his son Herod the prefecture of the free cities of a; and the young magistrate, observing that the town of as was indifferently supplied with water, obtained from the nificence of Hadrian three hundred myriads of drachms (about undred thousand pounds) for the construction of a new aque- t. But in the execution of the work the charge amounted to re than double the estimate, and the officers of the revenue be- to murmur, till the generous Atticus silenced their complaints requesting that he might be permitted to take upon himself whole additional expense.[71]

Example of Herodes Atticus

The ablest preceptors of Greece and Asia had been invited by eral rewards to direct the education of young Herod. Their pil soon became a celebrated orator in the useless rhetoric of t age, which, confining itself to the schools, disdained to visit ner the Forum or the Senate. He was honoured with the nsulship at Rome; but the greatest part of his life was spent in philosophic retirement at Athens, and his adjacent villas;

His reputation.

[70] Hadrian afterwards made a very equitable regulation, which divided all sure trove between the right of property and that of discovery. Hist. August. [i. 18].

[71] Philostrat. in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 548. [We cannot implicitly trust the ements of Philostratus, the biographer of Herodes, for he was also the grapher of Apollonius of Tyana.]

perpetually surrounded by sophists, who acknowledged, with reluctance, the superiority of a rich and generous rival.[72] monuments of his genius have perished; some remains still serve the fame of his taste and munificence: modern travel have measured the remains of the stadium which he construc at Athens. It was six hundred feet in length, built entirel white marble, capable of admitting the whole body of the peo and finished in four years, whilst Herod was president of Athenian games. To the memory of his wife Regilla he d cated a theatre, scarcely to be paralleled in the empire: no w except cedar very curiously carved, was employed in any pa the building. The Odeum, designed by Pericles for musical formances and the rehearsal of new tragedies, had been a troph the victory of the arts over Barbaric greatness; as the tim employed in the construction consisted chiefly of the mast the Persian vessels. Notwithstanding the repairs bestowed that ancient edifice by a king of Cappadocia, it was again fa to decay. Herod restored its ancient beauty and magnificen Nor was the liberality of that illustrious citizen confined the walls of Athens. The most splendid ornaments besto on the temple of Neptune in the Isthmus, a theatre at Cori a stadium at Delphi, a bath at Thermopylæ, and an aque at Canusium in Italy, were insufficient to exhaust his treasu The people of Epirus, Thessaly, Eubœa, Bœotia, and Peloponne experienced his favours; and many inscriptions of the citie Greece and Asia gratefully style Herodes Atticus their pa and benefactor.[74]

Most of the Roman monuments for public use: temples, theatres, aqueducts, etc.

In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the mo simplicity of private houses announced the equal conditio freedom; whilst the sovereignty of the people was represe in the majestic edifices destined to the public use:[75] nor this republican spirit totally extinguished by the introductio wealth and monarchy. It was in works of national honour benefit that the most virtuous of the emperors affected to play their magnificence. The golden palace of Nero excite

[72] Aulus Gellius, in Noct. Attic. i. 2, ix. 2, xviii. 10, xix. 12. Philostra 564 [ii. 14].

[73] [The Odeum of Herodes is here wrongly distinguished from his th and confounded with the Odeum of Pericles. The latter, which has disappe was close to the Theatre of Dionysus, but on the east side; that of Herod which there are still ample remains, was on the west (S. W. of the Acropolis).

[74] See Philostrat. l. ii. p. 548, 560 [3 *sqq.*]. Pausanias l. i. [19] and vii. 20. Th of Herodes, in the xxxth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptio

[75] It is particularly remarked of Athens by Dicæarchus, de Statu Græciæ, nter Geographos Minores, edit. Hudson.

t indignation, but the vast extent of ground which had been rped by his selfish luxury was more nobly filled under the ceeding reigns by the Coliseum, the baths of Titus, the udian portico, and the temples dedicated to the goddess of ace and to the genius of Rome.[76] These monuments of hitecture, the property of the Roman people, were adorned h the most beautiful productions of Grecian painting and lpture; and in the temple of Peace a very curious library open to the curiosity of the learned. At a small distance m thence was situated the Forum of Trajan. It was surnded with a lofty portico in the form of a quadrangle, into ch four triumphal arches opened a noble and spacious enace: in the centre arose a column of marble, whose height ne hundred and ten feet denoted the elevation of the hill that been cut away. This column, which still subsists in its ient beauty, exhibited an exact representation of the Dacian tories of its founder. The veteran soldier contemplated the y of his own campaigns, and, by an easy illusion of national ity, the peaceful citizen associated himself to the honours of triumph. All the other quarters of the capital, and all the vinces of the empire, were embellished by the same liberal it of public magnificence, and were filled with amphitheatres, atres, temples, porticos, triumphal arches, baths and aqueducts, variously conducive to the health, the devotion, and the asures of the meanest citizen. The last mentioned of those fices deserve our peculiar attention. The boldness of the enprise, the solidity of the execution, and the uses to which they re subservient, rank the aqueducts among the noblest monunts of Roman genius and power. The aqueducts of the capital m a just pre-eminence; but the curious traveller, who, without light of history, should examine those of Spoleto, of Metz, or Segovia, would very naturally conclude that those provincial ns had formerly been the residence of some potent monarch. e solitudes of Asia and Africa were once covered with flourishing es, whose populousness, and even whose existence, was derived m such artificial supplies of a perennial stream of fresh water.[77]

[76] Donatus de Roma Vetere, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6, Nardini Roma Antica, l. iii. 11, 13, and an MS. description of ancient Rome, by Bernardus Oricellarius, or ellas, of which I obtained a copy from the library of the Canon Ricardi at ence. Two celebrated pictures of Timanthes and of Protogenes are mened by Pliny [xxxv. 36] as in the Temple of Peace; and the Laocoon was d in the baths of Titus. [The Temple of Peace was erected by Vespasian.]

[77] Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée, tom. iv. p. 2. l. i. c. 9. Fabretti has posed a very learned treatise on the aqueducts of Rome. [The chief work on aqueducts now is Lanciani's Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma antica, 1890. re is a good account in Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders, vol. iv. bk. v. c. vi.]

Number and greatness of the cities of the empire

We have computed the inhabitants, and contemplated public works, of the Roman empire. The observation of number and greatness of its cities will serve to confirm former and to multiply the latter. It may not be unpleasin collect a few scattered instances relative to that subject, with forgetting, however, that, from the vanity of nations and poverty of language, the vague appellation of city has b indifferently bestowed on Rome and upon Laurentum.

In Italy

Ancient Italy is said to have contained eleven hundred and nin seven cities; and, for whatsoever æra of antiquity the expres might be intended,[78] there is not any reason to believe the cou less populous in the age of the Antonines, than in that of Ro lus. The petty states of Latium were contained within the me polis of the empire, by whose superior influence they had b attracted. Those parts of Italy which have so long languis under the lazy tyranny of priests and viceroys had been affli only by the more tolerable calamities of war; and the first sy toms of decay which *they* experienced were amply compensate the rapid improvements of the Cisalpine Gaul. The splendo Verona may be traced in its remains: yet Verona was less c

Gaul and Spain

brated than Aquileia or Padua, Milan or Ravenna. II. spirit of improvement had passed the Alps, and been felt in the woods of Britain, which were gradually cleared awa open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations. was the seat of government; London was already enriched commerce; and Bath was celebrated for the salutary effect its medicinal waters. Gaul could boast of her twelve hun cities;[79] and, though, in the northern parts, many of them, with excepting Paris itself, were little more than the rude and im fect townships of a rising people, the southern provinces imit the wealth and elegance of Italy.[80] Many were the citie Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nismes, Narbonne, Toulouse, deaux, Autun, Vienne, Lyons, Langres, and Treves, wh ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps ad tageous, comparison with their present state. With regard Spain, that country flourished as a province, and has declined kingdom. Exhausted by the abuse of her strength, by Ame and by superstition, her pride might possibly be confounde

[78] Ælian Hist. Var. l. ix. c. 16. He lived in the time of Alexander Sev See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græca, l. iv. c. 21.

[79] Joseph de Bell. Jud. ii. 16. The number, however, is mentioned and sh be received with a degree of latitude.

[80] Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5.

quired such a list of three hundred and sixty cities as Pliny
hibited under the reign of Vespasian.[81] III. Three hun- Africa
African cities had once acknowledged the authority of Car-
[82] nor is it likely that their numbers diminished under the
istration of the emperors: Carthage itself rose with new
lour from its ashes; and that capital, as well as Capua and
h, soon recovered all the advantages which can be separated
independent sovereignty. IV. The provinces of the east
t the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbar- Asia
The ruins of antiquity, scattered over uncultivated fields, and
ed by ignorance to the power of magic, scarcely afford a
r to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the
of the Cæsars, the proper Asia alone contained five hundred
ous cities,[83] enriched with all the gifts of nature, and
ed with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities of Asia
nce disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius,
heir respective merits were examined by the senate.[84]
of them were immediately rejected as unequal to the bur-
and among these was Laodicea, whose splendour is still
yed in its ruins.[85] Laodicea collected a very considerable
ue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of
wool, and had received, a little before the contest, a legacy
ve four hundred thousand pounds by the testament of a
ous citizen.[86] If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what
have been the wealth of those cities, whose claim appeared
able, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephe-
ho so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of
[87] The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a still superior rank

n. Hist. Natur. iii. 3, 4. iv. 35. The list seems authentic and accurate: sion of the provinces and the different condition of the cities are minutely iished.

rabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1189.

seph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 16. Philostrat. in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 548. Edit. [Life of Herodes, 3.]

cit. Annal. iv. 55. I have taken some pains in consulting and comparing travellers, with regard to the fate of those eleven cities of Asia; seven are totally destroyed, Hypæpe, Tralles, Laodicea, Ilium, Halicarnassus, Ephesus, and we may add Sardis. Of the remaining three, Pergamus aggling village of two or three thousand inhabitants; Magnesia, under ne of Guzel-hissar, a town of some consequence; and Smyrna, a great opled by a hundred thousand souls. But even at Smyrna, while the Franks aintained commerce, the Turks have ruined the arts.

e a very exact and pleasing description of the ruins of Laodicea, in er's Travels through Asia Minor, p. 225, &c.

rabo, l. xii. p. 866. He had studied at Tralles.

e a dissertation of M. de Bose, Mem. de l'Académie, tom. xviii. Aristides nced an oration which is still extant, to recommend concord to the rival cities.

in the empire: Antioch and Alexandria looked down with dis
on a crowd of dependent cities,[88] and yielded with reluctan
the majesty of Rome itself.

Roman roads

All these cities were connected with each other, and with
capital, by the public highways, which, issuing from the Fo
of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were
minated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we care
trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and
thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chai
communication, from the north-west to the south-east poi
the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand
eighty Roman miles.[89] The public roads were accura
divided by milestones, and ran in a direct line from
city to another, with very little respect for the obst
either of nature or private property. Mountains were
forated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and
rapid streams.[90] The middle part of the road was ra
into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, cons
of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement and was paved
large stones, or, in some places near the capital, with gran
Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, w
firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centu
They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an
and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had bee
facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country
sidered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, i
its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqu

Posts

The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of
veying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to es
lish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institu

[88] The inhabitants of Egypt, exclusive of Alexandria, amounted to
millions and a half (Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 16). Under the military goverr
of the Mamalukes, Syria was supposed to contain sixty thousand villages (Hi
de Timur Bec, l. v. c. 20).

[89] The following Itinerary may serve to convey some idea of the direct
the road, and of the distance between the principal towns. I. From the w
Antoninus to York, 222 Roman miles. II. London 227. III. Rhutup
Sandwich 67. IV. The navigation to Boulogne 45. V. Rheims 174. VI. I
330. VII. Milan 324. VIII. Rome 426. IX. Brundusium 360. X.
navigation to Dyrrachium 40. XI. Byzantium 711. XII. Ancyra 283.
Tarsus 301. XIV. Antioch 141. XV. Tyre 252. XVI. Jerusalem 168.
4080 Roman, or 3740 English miles. See the Itineraries published by Wess
his annotations; Gale and Stukeley for Britain, and M. d'Anville for Gaul and

[90] Montfaucon (l'Antiquité Expliquée, tom. iv. p. 2. l. i. c. 5.) has desc
the bridges of Narni, Alcantara, Nismes, &c.

[91] Bergier. Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, l. ii. c. 1-2

posts.[92] Houses were everywhere erected at the distance only ive or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with y horses, and, by the help of these relays, it was easy to rel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads.[93] The of the posts was allowed to those who claimed it by an Im- ial mandate; but, though originally intended for the public vice, it was sometimes indulged to the business or conveniency rivate citizens.[94] Nor was the communication of the Roman Navigation pire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The vinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, he shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst hat great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the defici- ies of nature; and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, ate at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the Emperor udius, was an useful monument of Roman greatness.[95] From port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favour- e breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the mns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt.[96] Whatever evils either reason or declamation have imputed Improvement of agriculture in the western countries of the empire extensive empire, the power of Rome was attended with e beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same free- of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused likewise improvements, of social life. In the more remote ages of quity, the world was unequally divided. The east was in immemorial possession of arts and luxury; whilst the west inhabited by rude and warlike barbarians, who either dis- ed agriculture, or to whom it was totally unknown. Under protection of an established government, the productions of pier climates and the industry of more civilized nations e gradually introduced into the western countries of Europe;

Procopius in Hist. Arcanâ, c. 30, Bergier Hist. des grands Chemins, l. odex Theodosian, l. viii. tit. v. vol. ii. p. 506-563, with Godefroy's learned nentary.

In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappa- (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople xth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English . See Libanius Orat. xxii. and the Itineraria, p. 572-581. [For the post- m or *cursus publicus* see the article under this title in Smith's Dict. of Anti- es; and Hudemann's Gesch. des röm. Postwesens.]

Pliny, though a favourite and a minister, made an apology for granting horses to his wife on the most urgent business, Epist. x. 121, 122.

Bergier Hist. des grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 49.

Plin. Hist. Natur. xix 1. [From Puteoli, Pliny says.]

and the natives were encouraged, by an open and profitab commerce, to multiply the former as well as to improve th latter. It would be almost impossible to enumerate all th articles, either of the animal or the vegetable reign, which we successively imported into Europe from Asia and Egypt;[97] b it will not be unworthy of the dignity, and much less of th utility, of an historical work, slightly to touch on a few of th

Introduction of fruits, &c.

principal heads. 1. Almost all the flowers, the herbs, and th fruits that grow in our European gardens are of foreign e traction, which, in many cases, is betrayed even by the names: the apple was a native of Italy, and, when th Romans had tasted the richer flavour of the apricot, the peac the pomegranate, the citron, and the orange, they content themselves with applying to all these new fruits the comm denomination of apple, discriminating them from each oth by the additional epithet of their country. 2. In the time

The vine

Homer, the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily and mo probably in the adjacent continent; but it was not improv by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste, the savage inhabitants.[98] A thousand years afterwards, Ita could boast that, of the fourscore most generous and celebrat wines, more than two-thirds were produced from her soil. The blessing was soon communicated to the Narbonnese pr vince of Gaul; but so intense was the cold to the north of th Cevennes, that, in the time of Strabo, it was thought impossib to ripen the grapes in those parts of Gaul.[100] This difficult however, was gradually vanquished; and there is some reas to believe that the vineyards of Burgundy are as old as the a

The olive

of the Antonines.[101] 3. The olive, in the western worl followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rom both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant; was naturalized in those countries; and at length carried in

[97] It is not improbable that the Greeks and Phœnicians introduced some n arts and productions into the neighbourhood of Marseilles and Gades.

[98] See Homer Odyss. l. ix. v. 358.

[99] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiv. [11].

[100] Strab. Geograph. l. iv. p. 223. The intense cold of a Gallic winter was most proverbial among the ancients. [Compare Cicero, *de Rep.*, iii. 9.]

[101] In the beginning of the ivth century, the orator Eumenius (Panegyric. Vet viii. 6. edit. Delphin. [Incerti, *Grat. Actio Constantino Aug.*, viii. 6 ed. Bahren speaks of the vines in the territory of Autun, which were decayed through age, a the first plantation of which was totally unknown. The Pagus Arebrignus is su posed by M. d'Anville to be the district of Beaune, celebrated, even at prese for one of the first growths of Burgundy.

heart of Spain and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, t it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish he neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by ıstry and experience.[102] 4. The cultivation of flax was Flax sported from Egypt to Gaul, and enriched the whole ntry, however it might impoverish the particular lands on ch it was sown.[103] 5. The use of artificial grasses became Artificial grasses iliar to the farmers both of Italy and the provinces, parti- rly the Lucerne, which derived its name and origin from lia.[104] The assured supply of wholesome and plentiful l for the cattle during winter multiplied the number of the ks and herds, which in their turn contributed to the fertility the soil. To all these improvements may be added an duous attention to mines and fisheries, which, by employing ultitude of laborious hands, serve to increase the pleasures the rich and the subsistence of the poor. The elegant General plenty tise of Columella describes the advanced state of the nish husbandry, under the reign of Tiberius; and it may observed that those famines which so frequently afflicted infant republic were seldom or never experienced by the ensive empire of Rome. The accidental scarcity, in any le province, was immediately relieved by the plenty of its e fortunate neighbours.

Agriculture is the foundation of manufactures; since the Arts of luxury ductions of nature are the materials of art. Under the nan empire, the labour of an industrious and ingenious ple was variously, but incessantly, employed in the service of rich. In their dress, their table, their houses, and their niture, the favourites of fortune united every refinement of veniency, of elegance, and of splendour, whatever could he their pride or gratify their sensuality. Such refinements, er the odious name of luxury, have been severely arraigned the moralists of every age; and it might perhaps be more ducive to the virtue, as well as happiness, of mankind, if all sessed the necessaries, and none the superfluities, of life. But he present imperfect condition of society, luxury, though it proceed from vice or folly, seems to be the only means that correct the unequal distribution of property. The diligent chanic, and the skilful artist, who have obtained no share in

[2] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xv. [1].
[3] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xix. [1, 2].
[4] See the agreeable Essays on Agriculture by Mr. Harte, in which he has cted all that the ancients and moderns have said of lucerne.

the division of the earth, receive a voluntary tax from possessors of land; and the latter are prompted, by a sens interest, to improve those estates, with whose produce they r purchase additional pleasures. This operation, the particu effects of which are felt in every society, acted with much m diffusive energy in the Roman world. The provinces would s have been exhausted of their wealth, if the manufactures commerce of luxury had not insensibly restored to the industri subjects the sums which were exacted from them by the a and authority of Rome. As long as the circulation was confi within the bounds of the empire, it impressed the polit machine with a new degree of activity, and its consequen sometimes beneficial, could never become pernicious.

Foreign trade

But it is no easy task to confine luxury within the limits of empire. The most remote countries of the ancient world w ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. T forest of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber brought over land from the shores of the Baltic to the Danu and the barbarians were astonished at the price which t received in exchange for so useless a commodity.[105] There a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets, and other ma factures of the East; but the most important and unpopu branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and In Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port Egypt, on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. T coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon,[106] was the usual te of their navigation, and it was in those markets that merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expec their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to months of December or January; and as soon as their rich ca had been transported on the backs of camels from the Red S to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexand it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire The objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling: silk

[105] Tacit. Germania, c. 45. Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxvii. 11 [7]. The latter obser with some humour, that even fashion had not yet found out the use of am Nero sent a Roman knight to purchase great quantities on the spot, where it produced; the coast of modern Prussia.

[106] Called Taprobana by the Romans, and Serendib by the Arabs. It was covered under the reign of Claudius, and gradually became the principal ma the east.

[107] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. vi. [23]. Strabo. l. xvii. [p. 798].

ınd of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound gold ;[108] precious stones, among which the pearl claimed the t rank after the diamond ;[109] and a variety of aromatics, that re consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals.[110] e labour and risk of the voyage was rewarded with almost in- dible profit ; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, l a few individuals were enriched at the expense of the Public. the natives of Arabia and India were contented with the pro- ctions and manufactures of their own country, silver, on the e of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only, instrument commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the ate, that, in the purchase of female ornaments, the wealth of state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile ions.[111] The annual loss is computed, by a writer of an uisitive but censorious temper, at upwards of eight hundred ousand pounds sterling.[112] Such was the style of discontent, oding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty. And , if we compare the proportion between gold and silver, as it od in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of nstantine, we shall discover within that period a very con- erable increase.[113] There is not the least reason to suppose t gold was become more scarce ; it is therefore evident that

Gold and silver

[108] Hist. August. p. 224 [xxvi. 45]. A silk garment was considered as an ament to a woman, but as a disgrace to a man.

[109] The two great pearl fisheries were the same as at present, Ormuz and Cape morin. As well as we can compare ancient with modern geography, Rome supplied with diamonds from the mine of Sumelpur, in Bengal, which is cribed in the Voyages de Tavernier, tom. ii. p. 281. [See Appendix 9.]

[110] [But the use of aromatic spices among the Romans was by no means con- d to these purposes.]

[111] Tacit. Annal. iii. 53. In a speech of Tiberius. [The statement in the is an exaggeration and must be considerably modified, as also the subsequent ark about the plentifulness of the precious metals. Silver was not the only, ugh it seems to have been the chief, commodity sent to the east ; and there certainly, as Merivale admits, a distinct though gradual diminution in the ount of gold and silver in circulation in the second century. Yet in regard to first question, Gibbon had grasped facts ; the spirit of his observation is t. "Two texts of Pliny assert the constant drain of specie to the East ; and assertion is confirmed by the circumstances of the case, for the Indians and nations beyond India, who transmitted to the West their silks and spices, ed little for the wines and oils of Europe, still less for the manufactures in l and leather which formed the staples of commerce in the Mediterranean. . . . e difficulty of maintaining the yield of the precious metals is marked in the ere regulations of the late emperors, and is further attested by the progressive asement of the currency." (Merivale, Hist. of the Romans, cap. 68, vol. viii. 352). Cp. Finlay, History of Greece, i. 49, 50.]

[112] Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 18. In another place he computes half that sum ; ingenties HS for India exclusive of Arabia.

[113] The proportion which was 1 to 10, and $12\frac{1}{2}$, rose to $14\frac{2}{3}$, the legal regulation Constantine. See Arbuthnot's Table of ancient Coins, c. v.

silver was grown more common; that whatever might be amount of the Indian and Arabian exports, they were far fr exhausting the wealth of the Roman world; and that the p duce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of comme

Notwithstanding the propensity of mankind to exalt the p and to depreciate the present, the tranquil and prosperous st of the empire was warmly felt, and honestly confessed, by

General felicity

provincials as well as Romans. "They acknowledged that true principles of social life, laws, agriculture, and science, wh had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were r firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspici influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal gove ment and common language. They affirm that, with improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multipli They celebrate the increasing splendour of the cities, beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like immense garden; and the long festival of peace, which was joyed by so many nations, forgetful of their ancient animosit and delivered from the apprehension of future danger." Whatever suspicions may be suggested by the air of rhetoric a declamation which seems to prevail in these passages, substance of them is perfectly agreeable to historic truth.

Decline of courage;

It was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries sho discover in the public felicity the latent causes of decay a corruption. This long peace, and the uniform government the Romans, introduced a slow and secret poison into the vi of the empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to same level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even military spirit evaporated. The natives of Europe were br and robust. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum supplied legions with excellent soldiers, and constituted the real stren of the monarchy. Their personal valour remained, but they longer possessed that public courage which is nourished by love of independence, the sense of national honour, the prese of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for th defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their bold leaders was contented with the rank of citizens and subje The most aspiring spirits resorted to the court or standard of emperors; and the deserted provinces, deprived of polit

[114] Among many other passages, see Pliny (Hist. Natur. iii. 5.), Aristides Urbe Româ) and Tertullian (de Animâ, c. 30.).

ength or union, insensibly sunk into the languid indifference private life.

The love of letters, almost inseparable from peace and refine- of genius
ent, was fashionable among the subjects of Hadrian and the
ntonines, who were themselves men of learning and curiosity.
was diffused over the whole extent of their empire; the most
rthern tribes of Britons had acquired a taste for rhetoric;
omer as well as Virgil were transcribed and studied on the
nks of the Rhine and Danube; and the most liberal rewards
ight out the faintest glimmerings of literary merit.[115] The
ences of physic and astronomy were successfully cultivated by
e Greeks; the observations of Ptolemy and the writings of
len are studied by those who have improved their discoveries
d corrected their errors; but, if we except the inimitable
ician, this age of indolence passed away without having pro-
ced a single writer of original genius or who excelled in the
s of elegant composition. The authority of Plato and Aristotle,
Zeno and Epicurus, still reigned in the schools, and their sys-
ms, transmitted with blind deference from one generation of
ciples to another, precluded every generous attempt to exer-
e the powers, or enlarge the limits, of the human mind. The
auties of the poets and orators, instead of kindling a fire like
eir own, inspired only cold and servile imitations: or, if any
atured to deviate from those models, they deviated at the same
ne from good sense and propriety. On the revival of letters,
e youthful vigour of the imagination after a long repose,
tional emulation, a new religion, new languages, and a new
rld, called forth the genius of Europe. But the provincials of
me, trained by a uniform artificial foreign education, were en-
ged in a very unequal competition with those bold ancients,
o, by expressing their genuine feelings in their native tongue,
d already occupied every place of honour. The name of Poet

[115] Herodes Atticus gave the sophist Polemo above eight thousand pounds for ee declamations. See Philostrat. l. i. p. 558 [Life of Herodes, 7]. The An- nes founded a school at Athens, in which professors of grammar, rhetoric, ities, and the four great sects of philosophy, were maintained at the public ex- se for the instruction of youth. The salary of a philosopher was ten thousand achmæ, between three and four hundred pounds a year. Similar establishments re formed in the other great cities of the empire. See Lucian in Eunuch. tom. p. 353. edit. Reitz. Philostrat. l. ii. p. 566. Hist. August. p. 21 [iii., 11]. Dion ssius, l. lxxxi. p. 1195 [31]. Juvenal himself, in a morose satire, which in every line rays his own disappointment and envy, is obliged, however, to say—O Juvenes, cumspicit et agitat [*leg.* stimulat] vos, Materiamque sibi Ducis indulgentia aerit.—Satir. vii. 20. [Vespasian was the first to appoint salaried professors in me; Suetonius, in Vespas. 18.]

was almost forgotten; that of Orator was usurped by the sophi
A cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, darkened
face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed
the corruption of taste.

Degeneracy

The sublime Longinus, who in somewhat a later period,
in the court of a Syrian queen, preserved the spirit of anci
Athens, observes and laments this degeneracy of his conte
poraries, which debased their sentiments, enervated th
courage, and depressed their talents. "In the same manne
says he, "as some children always remain pigmies, whose inf
limbs have been too closely confined; thus our tender min
fettered by the prejudices and habits of a just servitude,
unable to expand themselves, or to attain that well-proportio
greatness which we admire in the ancients, who, living unde
popular government, wrote with the same freedom as t
acted." [116] This diminutive stature of mankind, if we pur
the metaphor, was daily sinking below the old standard,
the Roman world was indeed peopled by a race of pigm
when the fierce giants of the north broke in and mended
puny breed. They restored a manly spirit of freedom; a
after the revolution of ten centuries, freedom became the ha
parent of taste and science.

[116] Longin. de Sublim. c. 43, p. 229 edit. Toll. Here too we may sa
Longinus, "his own example strengthens all his laws". Instead of propo
his sentiments with a manly boldness, he insinuates them with the most gua
caution, puts them into the mouth of a friend, and, as far as we can collect
a corrupted text, makes a show of refuting them himself. [The author calls
"sublime" in allusion to the work On Sublimity, περὶ ὕψους. But the au
ship of this able and striking treatise is very doubtful; it is certain that it was
written by Zenobia's Longinus.]

CHAPTER III

the Constitution of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines

E obvious definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, Idea of a monarchy
which a single person, by whatsoever name he may be dis-
guished, is intrusted with the execution of the laws, the
nagement of the revenue, and the command of the army.
t unless public liberty is protected by intrepid and vigilant
ardians, the authority of so formidable a magistrate will soon
generate into despotism. The influence of the clergy, in an
e of superstition, might be usefully employed to assert the
hts of mankind; but so intimate is the connexion between
e throne and the altar, that the banner of the church has very
dom been seen on the side of the people. A martial nobility
d stubborn commons, possessed of arms, tenacious of property,
d collected into constitutional assemblies, form the only
ance capable of preserving a free constitution against enter-
ses of an aspiring prince.

Every barrier of the Roman constitution had been levelled Situation of Augustus
the vast ambition of the dictator; every fence had been
irpated by the cruel hand of the triumvir. After the victory
Actium, the fate of the Roman world depended on the will
Octavianus, surnamed Cæsar by his uncle's adoption, and
erwards Augustus, by the flattery of the senate.[1] The
nqueror was at the head of forty-four veteran legions,[2] con-
ous of their own strength and of the weakness of the con-
tution, habituated during twenty years' civil war to every act
blood and violence, and passionately devoted to the house
Cæsar, from whence alone they had received and expected
e most lavish rewards. The provinces long oppressed by the
nisters of the republic, sighed for the government of a single

[1] [His original name was C. Octavius, hence Merivale usually (incorrectly) aks of him as Octavius. For he ceased to be an Octavius, and became a ius, by his uncle's adoption; his full name in 44 B.C. was C. Julius Cæsar tavianus. The title *Augustus* was conferred Jan. 16, 27 B.C.]

[2] Orosius, vi. 18.

person, who would be the master, not the accomplice, of the petty tyrants. The people of Rome, viewing with a secret pleasure the humiliation of the aristocracy, demanded only bread and public shows, and were supplied with both by the liberal hand of Augustus. The rich and polite Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of ease and tranquillity, and suffered no the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their old tumultuous freedom. With its power, the senate had lost its dignity; many of the most noble families were extinct. The republicans of spirit and ability had perished in the field of battle, or in the proscription. The door of the assembly had been designedly left open for a mixed multitude of more than a thousand persons, who reflected disgrace upon their rank instead of deriving honour from it.[3]

He reforms the senate

The reformation of the senate, was one of the first steps which Augustus laid aside the tyrant, and professed himself the father of his country. He was elected censor; and, in concert with his faithful Agrippa, he examined the list of the senate, expelled a few members,[4] whose vices or whose obstinacy required a public example, persuaded near two hundred to prevent the shame of an expulsion by a voluntary retreat, raised the qualification of a senator to about ten thousand pounds, created a sufficient number of patrician families, and accepted for himself the honourable title of Prince of the Senate, which had always been bestowed by the censors on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services.[5] But, whilst he thus restored the dignity, he destroyed the independence of the senate. The principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost, when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.

Resigns his usurped power

Before an assembly thus modelled and prepared, Augustus pronounced a studied oration, which displayed his patriotism, and disguised his ambition. "He lamented, yet excused, his past conduct. Filial piety had required at his hands the revenge of his father's murder; the humanity of his own nature had sometimes given way to the stern laws of necessity, and to a force connexion with two unworthy colleagues: as long as Anto

[3] Julius Cæsar introduced soldiers, strangers and half-barbarians, into the senate (Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 80.) The abuse became still more scandalous after his death.

[4] [But Dion, as Milman pointed out, says that he erased no senator's name from the list; see next note.]

[5] Dion Cassius, l. iii. p. 693 [42], Suetonius in August. c. 35. [But see Appendix 10.]

d, the republic forbad him to abandon her to a degenerate nan and a barbarian queen. He was now at liberty to satisfy duty and his inclination. He solemnly restored the senate people to all their ancient rights; and wished only to mingle n the crowd of his fellow-citizens, and to share the blessings ch he had obtained for his country."[6]

t would require the pen of Tacitus (if Tacitus had assisted at assembly) to describe the various emotions of the senate; se that were suppressed, and those that were affected. It dangerous to trust the sincerity of Augustus; to seem to rust it was still more dangerous. The respective advantages monarchy and a republic have often divided speculative iirers; the present greatness of the Roman state, the corrup- of manners, and the licence of the soldiers, supplied new uments to the advocates of monarchy; and these general vs of government were again warped by the hopes and fears each individual. Amidst this confusion of sentiments, the wer of the senate was unanimous and decisive. They used to accept the resignation of Augustus; they conjured not to desert the republic which he had saved. After a ent resistance the crafty tyrant submitted to the orders of senate; and consented to receive the government of the vinces, and the general command of the Roman armies, under well-known names of PROCONSUL and IMPERATOR.[7] But he would ive them only for ten years. Even before the expiration of t period, he hoped that the wounds of civil discord would be pletely healed, and that the republic, restored to its pristine lth and vigour, would no longer require the dangerous inter- ition of so extraordinary a magistrate. The memory of this nedy, repeated several times during the life of Augustus, was served to the last ages of the empire by the peculiar pomp h which the perpetual monarchs of Rome always solemnized tenth years of their reign.[8]

Is prevailed upon to re- sume it under the title of emperor or general

Dion, l. liii. p. 6983 [3], gives us a prolix and bombastic speech on this great sion. I have borrowed from Suetonius and Tacitus the general language of ustus

Imperator (from which we have derived emperor) signified under the republic nore than *general*, and was emphatically bestowed by the soldiers, when on field of battle they proclaimed their victorious leader worthy of that title. en the Roman *emperors* assumed it in that sense, they placed it after their name, marked how often they had taken it. [Thus, as an imperial title, *imperator* eded the emperor's name, but *Imp. iii.* after his name meant that he was ed Imperator by his troops for the third time, on the occasion of his second ry after his accession.]

Dion, l. liii. p. 703, etc. [11, cp. 16.]

Power of the Roman generals

Without any violation of the principles of the constitutio the general of the Roman armies might receive and exercise authority almost despotic over the soldiers, the enemies, and t subjects of the republic. With regard to the soldiers, t jealousy of freedom had, even from the earliest ages of Rom given way to the hopes of conquest, and a just sense of milita discipline. The dictator, or consul, had a right to command t service of the Roman youth, and to punish an obstinate cowardly disobedience by the most severe and ignominio penalties, by striking the offender out of the list of citizens, confiscating his property, and by selling his person into slaver The most sacred rights of freedom, confirmed by the Porcian a Sempronian laws, were suspended by the military engagemer In his camp the general exercised an absolute power of life a death ; his jurisdiction was not confined by any forms of trial rules of proceeding, and the execution of the sentence w immediate and without appeal.[10] The choice of the enemies Rome was regularly decided by the legislative authority. T most important resolutions of peace and war were serious debated in the senate, and solemnly ratified by the people. B when the arms of the legions were carried to a great distan from Italy, the generals assumed the liberty of directing the against whatever people, and in whatever manner, they judg most advantageous for the public service. It was from t success, not from the justice, of their enterprises, that th expected the honours of a triumph. In the use of victo especially after they were no longer controlled by the commi sioners of the senate, they exercised the most unbound despotism. When Pompey commanded in the East, he reward his soldiers and allies, dethroned princes, divided kingdon founded colonies, and distributed the treasures of Mithridat On his return to Rome he obtained, by a single act of the sena and people, the universal ratification of all his proceedings

[9] Liv. Epitom. l. xiv. Valer. Maxim. vi. 3.

[10] See in the viiith book of Livy, the conduct of Manlius Torquatus and Pa rius Cursor. They violated the laws of nature and humanity, but they assert those of military discipline ; and the people, who abhorred the action, were obli to respect the principle.

[11] By the lavish but unconstrained suffrages of the people, Pompey had tained a military command scarcely inferior to that of Augustus. Among extraordinary acts of power executed by the former, we may remark the fou tion of twenty-nine cities, and the distribution of three or four millions ster to his troops. The ratification of his acts met with some opposition and de in the senate. See Plutarch, Appian, Dion Cassius, and the first book of epistles to Atticus.

ch was the power over the soldiers, and over the enemies of me, which was either granted to, or assumed by, the generals the republic. They were, at the same time, the governors, or her monarchs, of the conquered provinces, united the civil h the military character, administered justice as well as the ances, and exercised both the executive and legislative power the state.

Lieutenants of the emperor

From what has been already observed in the first chapter of s work, some notion may be formed of the armies and pro- ces thus intrusted to the ruling hand of Augustus. But, as it s impossible that he could personally command the legions of many distant frontiers, he was indulged by the senate, as mpey had already been, in the permission of devolving the ecution of his great office on a sufficient number of lieutenants. rank and authority these officers seemed not inferior to the cient proconsuls; but their station was dependent and pre- ious. They received and held their commissions at the will a superior, to whose *auspicious* influence the merit of their ion was legally attributed.[12] They were the representatives the emperor. The emperor alone was the general of the ublic, and his jurisdiction, civil as well as military, extended er all the conquests of Rome. It was some satisfaction, how- er, to the senate that he always delegated his power to the mbers of their body. The imperial lieutenants were of con- ar or prætorian dignity; the legions were commanded by ators, and the præfecture of Egypt was the only important st committed to a Roman knight.

Division of the provinces between the emperor and the senate

Within six days after Augustus had been compelled to accept very liberal a grant, he resolved to gratify the pride of the ate by an easy sacrifice. He represented to them that they d enlarged his powers, even beyond that degree which might required by the melancholy condition of the times. They d not permitted him to refuse the laborious command of the nies and the frontiers; but he must insist on being allowed restore the more peaceful and secure provinces to the mild ministration of the civil magistrate. In the division of the vinces Augustus provided for his own power and for the dignity the republic. The proconsuls of the senate, particularly those

[12] Under the commonwealth, a triumph could only be claimed by the general, o was authorized to take the Auspices in the name of the people. By an exact sequence, drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was erved to the emperor, and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with ne marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were ented in their favour. [On the provincial governors see Appendix 10.]

of Asia, Greece, and Africa, enjoyed a more honourable cha acter than the lieutenants of the emperor, who commanded Gaul or Syria. The former were attended by lictors, the latt by soldiers. A law was passed that, wherever the emperor w present, his extraordinary commission should supersede the c dinary jurisdiction of the governor; a custom was introduce that the new conquests belonged to the imperial portion; a it was soon discovered that the authority of the *Prince*, t favourite epithet of Augustus, was the same in every part of t empire.

The former preserves his military command, and guards, in Rome itself

In return for this imaginary concession, Augustus obtained important privilege, which rendered him master of Rome a Italy. By a dangerous exception to the ancient maxims, he w authorized to preserve his military command, supported by numerous body of guards, even in time of peace, and in the hea of the capital.[13] His command, indeed, was confined to tho citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oat but such was the propensity of the Romans to servitude, that t oath was voluntarily taken by the magistrates, the senators, a the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was insensib converted into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity.

Consular and tribunitian powers

Although Augustus considered a military force as the firm foundation, he wisely rejected it as a very odious instrument, government. It was more agreeable to his temper, as well as his policy, to reign under the venerable names of ancient mag tracy, and artfully to collect in his own person all the scatter rays of civil jurisdiction. With this view, he permitted the sena to confer upon him, for his life, the powers of the consular[14] a tribunitian offices,[15] which were, in the same manner, continu to all his successors. The consuls had succeeded to the kings Rome, and represented the dignity of the state. They super tended the ceremonies of religion, levied and commanded t legions, gave audience to foreign ambassadors, and presided the assemblies both of the senate and people. The gene

[13] [The prætorian guards and the fleets (at Ravenna and Misenum) were two exceptions to the principle that Italy was outside the jurisdiction of the *perator*].

[14] Cicero (de Legibus, iii. 3.) gives the consular office the name of *Regia potest* and Polybius (l. vi. c. 3.) observes three powers in the Roman constitution. monarchical was represented and exercised by the consuls. [But see Appendix

[15] As the tribunitian power (distinct from the annual office) was first inven for the dictator Cæsar (Dion, l. xliv. p. 384 [5]), we may easily conceive, tha was given as a reward for having so nobly asserted, by arms, the sacred rights the tribunes and people. See his own commentaries, de Bell. Civil. l. i.

ntrol of the finances was intrusted to their care; and, though ey seldom had leisure to administer justice in person, they re considered as the supreme guardians of law, equity, and the blic peace. Such was their ordinary jurisdiction; but, when-er the senate empowered the first magistrate to consult the fety of the commonwealth, he was raised by that degree above e laws, and exercised, in the defence of liberty, a temporary spotism.[16] The character of the tribunes was, in every respect, ferent from that of the consuls. The appearance of the former as modest and humble; but their persons were sacred and in-olable. Their force was suited rather for opposition than for tion. They were instituted to defend the oppressed, to pardon fences, to arraign the enemies of the people, and, when they dged it necessary, to stop, by a single word, the whole machine government. As long as the republic subsisted, the dangerous fluence which either the consul or the tribune might derive om their respective jurisdiction was diminished by several im-rtant restrictions. Their authority expired with the year in hich they were elected; the former office was divided between wo, the latter among ten persons; and, as both in their private d public interest they were adverse to each other, their mutual nflicts contributed, for the most part, to strengthen rather than destroy the balance of the constitution. But when the con-lar and tribunitian powers were united,[17] when they were vested r life in a single person, when the general of the army was, at the me time, the minister of the senate and the representative of e Roman people, it was impossible to resist the exercise, nor as it easy to define the limits, of his imperial prerogative.

Imperial prerogatives

To these accumulated honours the policy of Augustus soon ded the splendid as well as important dignities of supreme ntiff, and of censor.[18] By the former he acquired the manage-ent of the religion, and by the latter a legal inspection over e manners and fortunes, of the Roman people. If so many stinct and independent powers did not exactly unite with ch other, the complaisance of the senate was prepared to

[16] Augustus exercised nine annual consulships without interruption. He then st artfully refused that magistracy as well as the dictatorship, absented himself m Rome, and waited till the fatal effects of tumult and faction forced the senate invest him with a perpetual consulship. Augustus, as well as his successors, ected, however, to conceal so invidious a title. [See Appendix 10, p. 455.]

[17] [But observe that the tribunate (as the author afterwards points out) was not continued, though, overshadowed by the *tribunicia potestas* of the emperor, ost all political significance.]

[18] [See Appendix 10.]

supply every deficiency by the most ample and extraordin concessions. The emperors, as the first ministers of the repub were exempted from the obligation and penalty of many inc venient laws: they were authorized to convoke the senate, make several motions in the same day, to recommend candida for the honours of the state, to enlarge the bounds of the ci to employ the revenue at their discretion, to declare peace a war, to ratify treaties; and by a most comprehensive clau they were empowered to execute whatsoever they should jud advantageous to the empire, and agreeable to the majesty things private or public, human or divine.[19]

The magistrates

When all the various powers of executive government w committed to the *Imperial magistrate*, the ordinary magistrates the commonwealth languished in obscurity, without vigour, a almost without business. The names and forms of the anci administration were preserved by Augustus with the most anxi care. The usual number of consuls, prætors, and tribune were annually invested with their respective ensigns of offi and continued to discharge some of their least important fu tions. Those honours still attracted the vain ambition of t Romans; and the emperors themselves, though invested for l with the powers of the consulship,[21] frequently aspired to t title of that annual dignity, which they condescended to sh with the most illustrious of their fellow-citizens.[22] In the el tion of these magistrates, the people, during the reign Augustus, were permitted to expose all the inconveniences o wild democracy. That artful prince, instead of discovering t

[19] See a fragment of a Decree of the Senate, conferring on the Emp Vespasian all the powers granted to his predecessors, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius. This curious and important monument is published in Grut Inscriptions, No. ccxlii. [Corp. Insc. Lat. vi. 930. This document is know the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*.]

[20] Two consuls were created on the Calends of January; but in the cours the year others were substituted in their places, till the annual number seem have amounted to no less than twelve. The prætors were usually sixteen eighteen (Lipsius in Excurs. D. ad. Tacit. Annal. l. i.). I have not mentio the Ædiles or Quæstors. Officers of the police or revenue easily adapt themse to any form of government. In the time of Nero the tribunes legally posse the right of intercession, though it might be dangerous to exercise it (Tacit. An xvi. 26). In the time of Trajan, it was doubtful whether the tribuneship wa office or a name (Plin. Epist. 123) [But it still existed in the 5th century, b mentioned in the Theodosian Code.]

[21] [See above note 11.]

[22] The tyrants themselves were ambitious of the consulship. The virtuous pri were moderate in the pursuit, and exact in the discharge, of it. Trajan revi the ancient oath, and swore before the consul's tribunal that he would observe laws (Plin. Panegyric. c. 64).

t symptom of impatience, humbly solicited their suffrages himself or his friends, and scrupulously practised all the ies of an ordinary candidate.[23] But we may venture to as- e to his councils the first measure of the succeeding reign, which the elections were transferred to the senate.[24] The emblies of the people were for ever abolished, and the emors were delivered from a dangerous multitude, who, without oring liberty, might have disturbed, and perhaps endangered, established government.

The senate

By declaring themselves the protectors of the people, Marius Cæsar had subverted the constitution of their country. But soon as the senate had been humbled and disarmed, such assembly, consisting of five or six hundred persons, was found uch more tractable and useful instrument of dominion. It on the dignity of the senate that Augustus and his sucsors founded their new empire; and they affected, on every asion, to adopt the language and principles of Patricians. In administration of their own powers, they frequently conted the great national council, and *seemed* to refer to its decision most important concerns of peace and war. Romė, Italy, the internal provinces were subject to the immediate sdiction of the senate. With regard to civil objects, it was supreme court of appeal; with regard to criminal matters, a unal, constituted for the trial of all offences that were comted by men in any public station, or that affected the peace majesty of the Roman people. The exercise of the judicial ver became the most frequent and serious occupation of the ate; and the important causes that were pleaded before them rded a last refuge to the spirit of ancient eloquence. As a ncil of state, and as a court of justice, the senate possessed y considerable prerogatives; but in its legislative capacity, in ich it was supposed virtually to represent the people, the nts of sovereignty were acknowledged to reside in that embly. Every power was derived from their authority, every was ratified by their sanction. Their regular meetings were d on three stated days in every month, the Calends, the

[23] Quoties Magistratuum Comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circui- ; supplicabatque more solemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribubus, ut s e populo. Suetonius in August. c. 56.

[24] Tum primum Comitia e campo ad patres translata sunt. Tacit. Annal. i. 15. word *primum* seems to allude to some faint and unsuccessful efforts, which e made towards restoring them to the people. [One formality was still left to popular assembly—the *renuntiatio* of the elected candidates. Gibbon's infer- from *primum* is hardly tenable; but he is right in so far that Augustus had pared the way for the change of Tiberius.]

Nones, and the Ides. The debates were conducted with de freedom; and the emperors themselves, who gloried in name of senators, sat, voted, and divided with their equals.

General idea of the Imperial system

To resume, in a few words, the system of the Imperial gov ment, as it was instituted by Augustus, and maintained by t princes who understood their own interest and that of people, it may be defined an absolute monarchy disguised the forms of a commonwealth. The masters of the Roman w surrounded their throne with darkness, concealed their irresist strength, and humbly professed themselves the account ministers of the senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated obeyed.[25]

Court of the emperors

The face of the court corresponded with the forms of administration. The emperors, if we except those tyrants w capricious folly violated every law of nature and decency, dained that pomp and ceremony which might offend t countrymen, but could add nothing to their real power. all the offices of life, they affected to confound themse with their subjects, and maintained with them an equal in course of visits and entertainments. Their habit, their pa their table, were suited only to the rank of an opu senator. Their family, however numerous or splendid, composed entirely of their domestic slaves and freedm Augustus or Trajan would have blushed at employing meanest of the Romans in those menial offices which, in household and bedchamber of a limited monarch, are so eag solicited by the proudest nobles of Britain.

Deification

The deification of the emperors[27] is the only instanc which they departed from their accustomed prudence modesty. The Asiatic Greeks were the first inventors, successors of Alexander[28] the first objects, of this servile

[25] Dion Cassius (l. liii. p. 703-714 [12-18]) has given a very loose and p sketch of the Imperial system. To illustrate and often to correct him, I mentioned Tacitus, examined Suetonius, and consulted the following mod the Abbé de la Bléterie in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, xix. xxi. xxiv. xxv. xxvii. Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i. p. 25 The dissertations of Noodt and Gronovius, *de lege Regia*: printed at Le in the year 1731. Gravina de Imperio Romano, p. 479-544 of his Opu Maffei Verona Illustrata, p. i. p. 245, &c.

[26] A weak prince will always be governed by his domestics. The pov slaves aggravated the shame of the Romans; and the senate paid court Pallas or a Narcissus. There is a chance that a modern favourite may gentleman.

[27] See a treatise of Van Dale de Consecratione Principum. It would be for me to copy, than it has been to verify, the quotations of that learned D man.

[28] [And Alexander himself.]

ous mode of adulation. It was easily transferred from the gs to the governors of Asia; and the Roman magistrates frequently were adored as provincial deities, with the p of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices.[29] It was ral that the emperors should not refuse what the proconsuls accepted; and the divine honours which both the one and other received from the provinces attested rather the otism than the servitude of Rome. But the conquerors imitated the vanquished nations in the arts of flattery; the imperious spirit of the first Cæsar too easily consented ssume, during his life time, a place among the tutelar deities Rome. The milder temper of his successor declined so gerous an ambition, which was never afterwards revived, ept by the madness of Caligula and Domitian. Augustus nitted indeed some of the provincial cities to erect temples his honour, on condition that they should associate the ship of Rome with that of the sovereign; he tolerated ate superstition, of which he might be the object;[30] but he ented himself with being revered by the senate and people his human character, and wisely left to his successor care of his public deification. A regular custom was in-uced, that, on the decease of every emperor who had her lived nor died like a tyrant, the senate by a solemn ree should place him in the number of the gods: and the emonies of his apotheosis were blended with those of his eral. This legal, and, as it should seem, injudicious pro-tion, so abhorrent to our stricter principles, was received n a very faint murmur[31] by the easy nature of Polytheism; it was received as an institution, not of religion, but of cy. We should disgrace the virtues of the Antonines by paring them with the vices of Hercules or Jupiter. Even characters of Cæsar or Augustus were far superior to those he popular deities. But it was the misfortune of the former ive in an enlightened age, and their actions were too faith-y recorded to admit of such a mixture of fable and mystery the devotion of the vulgar requires. As soon as their

See a dissertation of the Abbé Mongault in the first volume of the Academy nscriptions. [For the whole subject see the admirable article of Mr. Purser *potheosis*, in the new edit. of Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.]

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus *aras*, says Horace to the emperor elf, and Horace was well acquainted with the court of Augustus.

See Cicero in Philippic, i. 6. Julian in Cæsaribus, Inque Deûm templis pit Roma per umbras, is the indignant expression of Lucan; but it is a iotic rather than a devout indignation.

divinity was established by law, it sunk into oblivion, with contributing either to their own fame or to the dignity succeeding princes.

Titles of *Augustus* and *Cæsar*

In the consideration of the Imperial government, we ha frequently mentioned the artful founder, under his well-kno title of Augustus, which was not however conferred upon h till the edifice was almost completed. The obscure name Octavianus he derived from a mean family in the little town Aricia. It was stained with the blood of the proscriptio and he was desirous, had it been possible, to erase all mem of his former life. The illustrious surname of Cæsar he h assumed, as the adopted son of the dictator; but he had much good sense either to hope to be confounded, or to wish be compared, with that extraordinary man. It was propo [27 B.C.] in the senate to dignify their minister with a new app lation; and after a very serious discussion, that of Augus was chosen, among several others, as being the most express of the character of peace and sanctity which he uniform affected.[32] *Augustus* was therefore a personal, *Cæsar* a fam distinction. The former should naturally have expired with prince on whom it was bestowed; and however the latter diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the prince who could allege any hereditary claim to the honours the Julian line. But, at the time of his death, the practice a century had inseparably connected those appellations with Imperial dignity, and they have been preserved by a long s cession of emperors,—Romans, Greeks, Franks, and Germans from the fall of the republic to the present time. A distinct was, however, soon introduced. The sacred title of Augus was always reserved for the monarch, whilst the name of Cæ was more freely communicated to his relations; and, from reign of Hadrian at least, was appropriated to the sec person in the state, who was considered as the presumptive h of the empire.

Character and policy of Augustus

The tender respect of Augustus for a free constitution wh he had destroyed can only be explained by an attentive c sideration of the character of that subtle tyrant. A cool he an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted h at the age of nineteen to assume the mask of hypocrisy, wh he never afterwards laid aside. With the same hand, and

[32] Dion Cassius, l. liii. p. 710 [16] with the curious Annotations of Rei [*Augustus*, rendered in Greek by Σεβαστός, cast a certain religious halo over head of the emperor, cp. Dion *loc. cit.*]

ly with the same temper, he signed the proscription of ero and the pardon of Cinna. His virtues, and even his es, were artificial; and according to the various dictates of interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father, of Roman world.[33] When he framed the artful system of the perial authority, his moderation was inspired by his fears. wished to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty, the armies by an image of civil government.

Image of liberty for the people

. The death of Cæsar was ever before his eyes. He had ished wealth and honours on his adherents; but the most oured friends of his uncle were in the number of the con- rators. The fidelity of the legions might defend his authority inst open rebellion, but their vigilance could not secure his son from the dagger of a determined republican; and the mans, who revered the memory of Brutus,[34] would applaud the tation of his virtue. Cæsar had provoked his fate as much the ostentation of his power as by his power itself. The sul or the tribune might have reigned in peace. The title king had armed the Romans against his life. Augustus was sible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he de- ved in his expectation that the senate and people would sub- to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured that they l enjoyed their ancient freedom. A feeble senate and ener- ed people cheerfully acquiesced in the pleasing illusion, as g as it was supported by the virtue, or by even the prudence, the successors of Augustus. It was a motive of self-preserva- n, not a principle of liberty, that animated the conspirators inst Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. They attacked the per- of the tyrant, without aiming their blow at the authority of emperor.

Attempt of the senate after the death of Caligula

There appears, indeed, *one* memorable occasion, in which the ate, after seventy years of patience, made an ineffectual empt to reassume its long-forgotten rights. When the throne s vacant by the murder of Caligula, the consuls convoked t assembly in the Capitol, condemned the memory of the sars, gave the watchword *liberty* to the few cohorts who

[33] As Octavianus advanced to the banquet of the Cæsars, his colour changed that of the chameleon; pale at first, then red, afterwards black, he at last umed the mild livery of Venus and the Graces (Cæsars, p. 309). This image, ployed by Julian in his ingenious fiction, is just and elegant; but, when he con- rs this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, does too much honour to philosophy and to Octavianus.

[34] Two centuries after the establishment of monarchy, the emperor Marcus oninus recommends the character of Brutus as a perfect model of Roman virtue.

faintly adhered to their standard, and during eight and for hours, acted as the independent chiefs of a free commonwealt But while they deliberated, the prætorian guards had resolve The stupid Claudius, brother of Germanicus, was already in the camp, invested with the Imperial purple, and prepared to su port his election by arms. The dream of liberty was at an en and the senate awoke to all the horrors of inevitable servitud Deserted by the people, and threatened by a military force, th feeble assembly was compelled to ratify the choice of the pra torians, and to embrace the benefit of an amnesty, whic Claudius had the prudence to offer, and the generosity to o serve.[35]

Image of government for the armies

II. The insolence of the armies inspired Augustus with fea of a still more alarming nature. The despair of the citize could only attempt what the power of the soldiers was, at a time, able to execute. How precarious was his own authori over men whom he had taught to violate every social duty! H had heard their seditious clamours; he dreaded their calm moments of reflection. One revolution had been purchased b immense rewards; but a second revolution might double tho rewards. The troops professed the fondest attachment to th house of Cæsar; but the attachments of the multitude a capricious and inconstant. Augustus summoned to his a whatever remained in those fierce minds of Roman prejudice enforced the rigour of discipline by the sanction of law; an interposing the majesty of the senate between the emperor an the army, boldly claimed their allegiance as the first magistra of the republic.[36]

Their obedience

During a long period of two hundred and twenty years, fro the establishment of this artful system to the death of Co modus, the dangers inherent to a military government were, a great measure, suspended. The soldiers were seldom roused that fatal sense of their own strength, and of the weakness the civil authority, which was, before and afterwards, productiv of such dreadful calamities. Caligula and Domitian were assa sinated in their palace by their own domestics:[37] the convu

[35] It is much to be regretted that we have lost the part of Tacitus which treat of that transaction. We are forced to content ourselves with the popular rumou of Josephus, and the imperfect hints of Dion and Suetonius.

[36] Augustus restored the ancient severity of discipline. After the civil wa he dropped the endearing name of Fellow-Soldiers, and called them only Soldie (Sueton. in August. c. 25). See the use Tiberius made of the senate in t mutiny of the Pannonian legions (Tacit. Annal. i. [25]).

[37] [Caligula was slain by officers of the prætorian guards.]

s which agitated Rome on the death of the former were
ined to the walls of the city. But Nero involved the whole
ire in his ruin. In the space of eighteen months four
ces perished by the sword; and the Roman world was
ten by the fury of the contending armies. Excepting only
short, though violent, eruption of military licence, the two
uries from Augustus to Commodus passed away, unstained
civil blood, and undisturbed by revolutions. The emperor
elected by the *authority of the senate* and *the consent of the*
ers.[38] The legions respected their oath of fidelity; and it
ires a minute inspection of the Roman annals to discover
e inconsiderable rebellions, which were all suppressed in a
months, and without even the hazard of a battle.[39]

Designation of a successor

n elective monarchies, the vacancy of the throne is a moment with danger and mischief. The Roman emperors, desirous pare the legions that interval of suspense, and the temptation n irregular choice, invested their designed successor with so e a share of present power, as should enable him, after their ease, to assume the remainder without suffering the empire erceive the change of masters. Thus Augustus, after all his

Of Tiberius

r prospects had been snatched from him by untimely deaths, ed his last hopes on Tiberius, obtained for his adopted son censorial and tribunitian powers, and dictated a law, by ch the future prince was invested with an authority equal to own over the provinces and the armies.[40] Thus Vespasian

Of Titus

lued the generous mind of his eldest son. Titus was adored he eastern legions, which, under his command, had recently eved the conquest of Judea. His power was dreaded, and, is virtues were clouded by the intemperance of youth, his gns were suspected. Instead of listening to such unworthy icions, the prudent monarch associated Titus to the full ers of the Imperial dignity; and the grateful son ever roved himself the humble and faithful minister of so indulgent ther.[41]

These words seem to have been the constitutional language. See Tacit. l. xiii. 4.

The first was Camillus Scribonianus, who took up arms in Dalmatia against dius, and was deserted by his own troops in five days; the second, L. nius, in Germany, who rebelled against Domitian; and the third, Avidius ius, in the reign of M. Antoninus. The two last reigned but a few months were cut off by their own adherents. We may observe, that both Camillu Cassius coloured their ambition with the design of restoring the republic k, said Cassius, peculiarly reserved for his name and family.

Velleius Paterculus, l.ii c. 121. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 20.

Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. Plin. in Præfat. Hist. Natur.

The race of the Cæsars and the Flavian family

The good sense of Vespasian engaged him indeed to embr every measure that might confirm his recent and precari elevation. The military oath, and the fidelity of the troops, l been consecrated, by the habits of an hundred years, to name and family of the Cæsars; and, although that family l been continued only by the fictitious rite of adoption, the Rom still revered, in the person of Nero, the grandson of Germani and the lineal successor of Augustus. It was not without luctance and remorse that the prætorian guards had been p suaded to abandon the cause of the tyrant.[42] The rapid do fall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, taught the armies to consi the emperors as the creatures of *their* will, and the instrume of *their* licence. The birth of Vespasian was mean; his gra father had been a private soldier, his father a petty officer of revenue,[43] his own merit had raised him, in an advanced age the empire; but his merit was rather useful than shining, his virtues were disgraced by a strict and even sordid parsimo Such a prince consulted his true interest by the association son whose more splendid and amiable character might turn public attention from the obscure origin to the future glorie the Flavian house. Under the mild administration of Titus, Roman world enjoyed a transient felicity, and his belo memory served to protect, above fifteen years, the vices of brother Domitian.

A.D. 96. Adoption and character of Trajan

Nerva had scarcely accepted the purple from the assassin Domitian before he discovered that his feeble age was unabl stem the torrent of public disorders which had multiplied un the long tyranny of his predecessor. His mild disposition respected by the good; but the degenerate Romans require more vigorous character, whose justice should strike terror i the guilty. Though he had several relations, he fixed his ch on a stranger. He adopted Trajan, then about forty years age, and who commanded a powerful army in the Lo Germany; and immediately, by a decree of the senate, decla

A.D. 98

him his colleague and successor in the empire.[44] It is since to be lamented, that, whilst we are fatigued with the disgus relation of Nero's crimes and follies, we are reduced to col the actions of Trajan from the glimmerings of an abridgment

[42] This idea is frequently and strongly inculcated by Tacitus. See Hist. i. ii. 76.

[43] The emperor Vespasian, with his usual good sense, laughed at the Gen gists, who deduced his family from Flavius, the founder of Reate (his n country), and one of the companions of Hercules. Sueton. in Vespasian. i. 1

[44] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 1121 [3]. Plin. Secund. in Panegyric. [7]

doubtful light of a panegyric. There remains, however, one egyric far removed beyond the suspicion of flattery. Above hundred and fifty years after the death of Trajan, the senate, ouring out the customary acclamations on the accession of a emperor, wished that he might surpass the felicity of gustus, and the virtue of Trajan.[45]

Ve may readily believe that the father of his country hesitated ether he ought to intrust the various and doubtful character his kinsman Hadrian with sovereign power. In his last nents, the arts of the empress Plotina either fixed the solution of Trajan, or boldly supposed a fictitious adoption,[46] truth of which could not be safely disputed; and Hadrian peaceably acknowledged as his lawful successor. Under reign, as has been already mentioned, the empire flourished peace and prosperity. He encouraged the arts, reformed the s, asserted military discipline, and visited all his provinces in son. His vast and active genius was equally suited to the st enlarged views and the minute details of civil policy. But ruling passions of his soul were curiosity and vanity. As y prevailed, and as they were attracted by different objects, drian was, by turns, an excellent prince, a ridiculous sophist, a jealous tyrant. The general tenor of his conduct deserved ise for its equity and moderation. Yet, in the first days of his gn, he put to death four consular senators, his personal mies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire; and tediousness of a painful illness rendered him, at last, peevish cruel. The senate doubted whether they should pronounce a god or a tyrant; and the honours decreed to his memory re granted to the prayers of the pious Antoninus.[47]

A.D. 117. Of Hadrian

The caprice of Hadrian influenced his choice of a successor. er revolving in his mind several men of distinguished merit, om he esteemed and hated, he adopted Ælius Verus, a gay voluptuous nobleman, recommended by uncommon beauty the lover of Antinous.[48] But whilst Hadrian was delighting

Adoption of the elder and younger Verus

Felicior Augusto, MELIOR TRAJANO. Eutrop. viii. 5.

Dion (l. lxix. p. 1249 [1]) affirms the whole to have been a fiction, on the ority of his father, who being governor of the province where Trajan died, very good opportunities of sifting this mysterious transaction. Yet Dodwell elect. Camden. xvii.) has maintained, that Hadrian was called to the certain e of the empire during the life-time of Trajan.

Dion, l. lxx. p. 1171 [1]. Aurel. Victor [13].

The deification of Antinous, his medals, statutes, temples, city, oracles, and stellation, are well known, and still dishonour the memory of Hadrian. Yet may remark, that of the first fifteen emperors Claudius was the only one whose e in love was entirely correct. For the honours of Antinous, see Spanheim, mmentaires sur les Cæsars de Julien, p. 80.

himself with his own applause, and the acclamations of t soldiers, whose consent had been secured by an immense donati the new Cæsar [49] was ravished from his embraces by an untim death. He left only one son. Hadrian commended the boy the gratitude of the Antonines. He was adopted by Pius; a on the accession of Marcus, was invested with an equal share sovereign power. Among the many vices of this younger Ver he possessed one virtue—a dutiful reverence for his wiser colleag to whom he willingly abandoned the ruder cares of empi The philosophic emperor dissembled his follies, lamented early death, and cast a decent veil over his memory.

Adoption of the two Antonines

As soon as Hadrian's passion was either gratified or d appointed, he resolved to deserve the thanks of posterity placing the most exalted merit on the Roman throne. His d cerning eye easily discovered a senator about fifty years of a blameless in all the offices of life; and a youth of about seventee whose riper years opened the fair prospect of every virtue: t elder of these was declared the son and successor of Hadrian, condition, however, that he himself should immediately ad the younger. The two Antonines (for it is of them that we are n speaking) governed the Roman world forty-two years with t

A.D. 138-180

same invariable spirit of wisdom and virtue. Although P had two sons, [50] he preferred the welfare of Rome to the inter of his family, gave his daughter Faustina in marriage to you Marcus, obtained from the senate the tribunitian and proconsu powers, and, with a noble disdain, or rather ignorance, of jealou associated him to all the labours of government. Marcus, on t other hand, revered the character of his benefactor, loved h as a parent, obeyed him as his sovereign, [51] and, after he was more, regulated his own administration by the example a maxims of his predecessor. Their united reigns are possibly t only period of history in which the happiness of a great peo was the sole object of government.

Character and reign of Pius

Titus Antoninus Pius had been justly denominated a secc Numa. The same love of religion, justice, and peace, was t distinguishing characteristic of both princes. But the situat of the latter opened a much larger field for the exercise of th

[49] Hist. August. p. 13 [ii. 1]. Aurelius Victor in Epitom. [9].

[50] Without the help of medals and inscriptions, we should be ignorant of fact, so honourable to the memory of Pius. [But see Hist. Aug. iii. i. 7. have their names from coins.]

[51] During the twenty-three years of Pius's reign, Marcus was only two ni absent from the palace, and even those were at different times. Hist. August. p. [iv. 7.]

ues. Numa could only prevent a few neighbouring villages
n plundering each other's harvests. Antoninus diffused
er and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth. His
gn is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few
terials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the
ister of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. In
vate life he was an amiable as well as a good man. The
ive simplicity of his virtue was a stranger to vanity or affec-
ion. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his
une, and the innocent pleasures of society;[52] and the bene-
ence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of
nper.

Character of Marcus

The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer
l more laborious kind.[53] It was the well-earned harvest of
ny a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many
idnight lucubration. At the age of twelve years he em-
ced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to
mit his body to his mind, his passions to his reason; to con-
er virtue as the only good, vice as the only evil, all things
ernal as things indifferent.[54] His Meditations, composed in
tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even condescended
give lessons on philosophy, in a more public manner than was
haps consistent with the modesty of a sage or the dignity
an emperor.[55] But his life was the noblest commentary on
precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to
imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all man-
d. He regretted that Avidius Cassius, who excited a rebellion
Syria, had disappointed him, by a voluntary death, of the

[52] He was fond of the theatre and not insensible to the charms of the fair sex.
rcus Antoninus, i. 16. Hist. August. p. 20. 21 [iii. 8 and 11]. Julian in
ar.

[53] The enemies of Marcus charged him with hypocrisy and with a want of that
olicity which distinguished Pius and even Verus (Hist. Aug. p. 34 [iii. 29]).
s suspicion, unjust as it was, may serve to account for the superior applause
owed upon personal qualifications, in preference to the social virtues. Even
rcus Antoninus has been called a hypocrite; but the wildest scepticism never
nuated that Cæsar might possibly be a coward, or Tully a fool. Wit and val-
are qualifications more easily ascertained than humanity or the love of jus-

[54] Tacitus has characterized, in a few words, the principles of the Portico:
tores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ
ia; potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque
is adnumerant. Tacit. Hist. iv. 5.

[55] Before he went on the second expedition against the Germans, he read
ures of philosophy to the Roman people, during three days. He had already
e the same in the cities of Greece and Asia. Hist. August. p. 41, in Cassio,

pleasure of converting an enemy into a friend; and he justi
the sincerity of that sentiment, by moderating the zeal of
senate against the adherents of the traitor.[56] War he detest
as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when
necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms,
readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns on
frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at
fatal to the weakness of his constitution. His memory
revered by a grateful posterity, and above a century after
death many persons preserved the image of Marcus Antoni
among those of their household gods.[57]

Happiness of the Romans

If a man were called to fix the period in the history of
world during which the condition of the human race was m
happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name t
which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accessio
Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire
governed by absolute power, under the guidance of
tue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm
gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters
authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of
civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Traj
Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image
liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the
countable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the hon
of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days b
capable of enjoying a rational freedom.

Its precarious nature

The labours of these monarchs were over-paid by the imme
reward that inseparably waited on their success; by the hon
pride of virtue, and by the exquisite delight of beholding
general happiness of which they were the authors. A just
melancholy reflection embittered, however, the noblest of hun
enjoyments. They must often have recollected the instabi
of a happiness which depended on the character of a single m
The fatal moment was perhaps approaching, when some licenti
youth, or some jealous tyrant, would abuse, to the destruct
that absolute power which they had exerted for the benefit
their people. The ideal restraints of the senate and the l
might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct
vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and i
sistible instrument of oppression; and the corruption of Ro
manners would always supply flatterers eager to applaud,

[56] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 1190 [23], Hist. August. in Avid. Cassio [8].
[57] Hist. August. in Marc. Antonin. c. 18.

isters prepared to serve, the fear or the avarice, the lust or cruelty, of their masters.

hese gloomy apprehensions had been already justified by experience of the Romans. The annals of the emperors bit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we ld vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of ern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may e the utmost lines of vice and virtue; the most exalted per- ion and the meanest degeneracy of our own species. The len age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by ge of iron. It is almost superfluous to enumerate the un- thy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved n from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious gula, the stupid Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the stly Vitellius,[58] and the timid inhuman Domitian, are con- ned to everlasting infamy. During fourscore years (ex- ing only the short and doubtful respite of Vespasian's n),[59] Rome groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which rminated the ancient families of the republic, and was l to almost every virtue and every talent that arose in that appy period.

Memory of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian

nder the reign of these monsters[60] the slavery of the Romans accompanied with two peculiar circumstances, the one sioned by their former liberty, the other by their extensive quests, which rendered their condition more wretched than of the victims of tyranny in any other age or country. m these causes were derived, 1. The exquisite sensibility of sufferers; and 2. The impossibility of escaping from the d of the oppressor.

Peculiar misery of the Romans under their tyrants

When Persia was governed by the descendants of Sefi, a of princes whose wanton cruelty often stained their divan, r table, and their bed with the blood of their favourites, re is a saying recorded of a young nobleman, That he never

Insensibility of the Orientals

Vitellius consumed in mere eating at least six millions of our money, in t seven months. It is not easy to express his vices with dignity, or even ncy. Tacitus fairly calls him a hog; but it is by substituting for a coarse l a very fine image. "At Vitellius, umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut *ignava alia*, quibus si cibum suggeras jacent torpentque, præterita, instantia, futura, oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem," &c. t. Hist. iii. 36, ii. 95. Sueton. in Vitell. c. 13. Dio. Cassius, l. lxv. p. 1062 [3].

The execution of Helvidius Priscus and of the virtuous Eponina disgraced reign of Vespasian.

[But there is another side to this picture, which may be seen by studying mmsen's volume on the provinces].

departed from the sultan's presence without satisfying him whether his head was still on his shoulders. The experience every day might almost justify the scepticism of Rustan.[61] the fatal sword, suspended above him by a single thread, se not to have disturbed the slumbers, or interrupted the t quillity, of the Persian. The monarch's frown, he well kn could level him with the dust; but the stroke of lightning apoplexy might be equally fatal; and it was the part of a man to forget the inevitable calamities of human life in the joyment of the fleeting hour. He was dignified with the ap lation of the king's slave; had, perhaps, been purchased f obscure parents, in a country which he had never known; was trained up from his infancy in the severe discipline of seraglio.[62] His name, his wealth, his honours, were the gift a master, who might, without injustice, resume what he bestowed. Rustan's knowledge, if he possessed any, could serve to confirm his habits by prejudices. His language affor not words for any form of government, except absolute m archy. The history of the East informed him that such ever been the condition of mankind.[63] The Koran, and interpreters of that divine book, inculcated to him that sultan was the descendant of the prophet, and the vicegeren heaven; that patience was the first virtue of a Mussulman, unlimited obedience the great duty of a subject.

Knowledge and free spirit of the Romans

The minds of the Romans were very differently prepared slavery. Oppressed beneath the weight of their own corrup and of military violence, they for a long while preserved the s timents, or at least the ideas, of their freeborn ancestors. education of Helvidius and Thrasea, of Tacitus and Pliny, the same as that of Cato and Cicero. From Grecian philoso they had imbibed the justest and most liberal notions of the dig of human nature and the origin of civil society. The histor their own country had taught them to revere a free, a virtu and a victorious commonwealth; to abhor the successful cri of Cæsar and Augustus; and inwardly to despise those tyra whom they adored with the most abject flattery. As magistr and senators, they were admitted into the great council wh

[61] Voyage de Chardin en Perse, vol. iii. p. 293.

[62] The practice of raising slaves to the great offices of state is still common among the Turks than among the Persians. The miserable coun of Georgia and Circassia supply rulers to the greatest part of the East.

[63] Chardin says that European travellers have diffused among the Per some ideas of the freedom and mildness of our governments. They have them a very ill office.

d once dictated laws to the earth, whose name gave still a action to the acts of the monarch, and whose authority was so en prostituted to the vilest purposes of tyranny. Tiberius, d those emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to dis-ise their murders by the formalities of justice, and perhaps joyed a secret pleasure in rendering the senate their accomplice well as their victim. By this assembly the last of the Romans re condemned for imaginary crimes and real virtues. Their famous accusers assumed the language of independent patriots, o arraigned a dangerous citizen before the tribunal of his ntry; and the public service was rewarded by riches and nours.[64] The servile judges professed to assert the majesty of e commonwealth, violated in the person of its first magistrate,[65] ose clemency they most applauded when they trembled the st at his inexorable and impending cruelty.[66] The tyrant held their baseness with just contempt, and encountered their ret sentiments of detestation with sincere and avowed hatred the whole body of the senate.

II. The division of Europe into a number of independent tes, connected, however, with each other, by the general re-mblance of religion, language and manners, is productive of e most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind. A dern tyrant, who should find no resistance either in his own east or in his people, would soon experience a gentle restraint m the example of his equals, the dread of present censure, e advice of his allies, and the apprehension of his enemies. ie object of his displeasure, escaping from the narrow limits of dominions, would easily obtain, in a happier climate, a secure fuge, a new fortune adequate to his merit, the freedom of mplaint, and perhaps the means of revenge. But the empire the Romans filled the world, and, when that empire fell into e hands of a single person, the world became a safe and

Extent of their empire left them no place of refuge

[64] They alleged the example of Scipio and Cato (Tacit. Annal. iii. 66.) rcellus Eprius and Crispius Vibius had acquired two millions and a half under ro. Their wealth, which aggravated their crimes, protected them under spasian. See Tacit. Hist. iv. 43. Dialog. de Orator, c. 8. For one accusation, gulus, the just object of Pliny's satire, received from the senate the consular aments, and a present of sixty thousand pounds.

[65] The crime of *majesty* was formerly a treasonable offence against the Roman ople. As tribunes of the people, Augustus and Tiberius applied it to their own sons, and extended it to an infinite latitude.

[66] After the virtuous and unfortunate widow of Germanicus had been put to th, Tiberius received the thanks of the senate for his clemency. She had been publicly strangled; nor was the body drawn with a hook to the Gemoniæ, ere those of common malefactors were exposed. See Tacit. Annal. vi. 25. eton. in Tiberio. c. 53.

dreary prison for his enemies. The slave of Imperial despo whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in I and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren of Seriphus, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expecte fate in silent despair.[67] To resist was fatal, and it was in sible to fly. On every side he was encompassed with a extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to tra without being discovered, seized, and restored to his irri master. Beyond the frontiers, his anxious view could dis nothing, except the ocean, inhospitable deserts, hostile trib barbarians, of fierce manners and unknown language, or pendent kings, who would gladly purchase the emperor's tection by the sacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive.[68] "Whe you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember you are equally within the power of the conqueror."[69]

[67] Seriphus was a small rocky island in the Ægean Sea, the inhabitants of were despised for their ignorance and obscurity. The place of Ovid's exile known by his just but unmanly lamentations. It should seem that he or ceived an order to leave Rome in so many days, and to transport himself to Guards and gaolers were unnecessary.

[68] Under Tiberius, a Roman knight attempted to fly to the Parthians. H stopt in the straits of Sicily; but so little danger did there appear in the exa that the most jealous of tyrants disdained to punish it. Tacit. Annal. vi. 14.

[69] Cicero ad Familiares, iv. 7.

CHAPTER IV

cruelty, follies, and murder of Commodus—Election of Pertinax —his attempts to reform the State—his assassination by the Pretorian Guards

mildness of Marcus, which the rigid discipline of the Stoics unable to eradicate, formed, at the same time, the most able, and the only defective, part of his character. His ellent understanding was often deceived by the unsuspect- goodness of his heart. Artful men, who study the passions rinces and conceal their own, approached his person in the uise of philosophic sanctity, and acquired riches and honours affecting to despise them.[1] His excessive indulgence to his her,[2] his wife, and his son, exceeded the bounds of private ue, and became a public injury, by the example and con- uences of their vices.

Indulgence of Marcus

austina, the daughter of Pius and the wife of Marcus, has n as much celebrated for her gallantries as for her beauty. grave simplicity of the philosopher was ill calculated to age her wanton levity, or to fix that unbounded passion for ety which often discovered personal merit in the meanest nankind.[3] The Cupid of the ancients was, in general, a sensual deity; and the amours of an empress, as they exact her side the plainest advances, are seldom susceptible of h sentimental delicacy. Marcus was the only man in the ire who seemed ignorant or insensible of the irregularities Faustina; which, according to the prejudices of every age, ected some disgrace on the injured husband. He promoted

to his wife Faustina;

See the complaints of Avidius Cassius. Hist. August. p. 45 [vi. 14]. These it is true, the complaints of faction; but even faction exaggerates, rather invents.

L. Verus, his brother by adoption.]

Siquidem] Faustinam satis constat [constet] apud Cayetam, *conditiones* sibi et icas et gladiatorias elegisse. Hist. August. p. 30 [iv. 19]. Lampridius explains ort of merit which Faustina chose, and the *conditions* which she exacted. Hist. ist. p. 102 [xvii, 5]. [There is no trustworthy evidence for the truth of these ges].

several of her lovers to posts of honour and profit,[4] and a connexion of thirty years, invariably gave her proofs most tender confidence, and of a respect which ended no her life. In his Meditations he thanks the gods, who ha stowed on him a wife so faithful, so gentle, and of s wonderful simplicity of manners.[5] The obsequious senate, earnest request, declared her a goddess. She was repres in her temples, with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and and it was decreed that, on the day of their nuptials, the of either sex should pay their vows before the altar of chaste patroness.[6]

to his son Commodus

The monstrous vices of the son have cast a shade on the of the father's virtues. It has been objected to Marcus, t sacrificed the happiness of millions to a fond partiality worthless boy; and that he chose a successor in his own rather than in the republic. Nothing, however, was neg by the anxious father, and by the men of virtue and le whom he summoned to his assistance, to expand the mind of young Commodus, to correct his growing vices, a render him worthy of the throne for which he was des But the power of instruction is seldom of much efficacy, in those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous. distasteful lesson of a grave philosopher was, in a mo obliterated by the whisper of a profligate favourite; and M himself blasted the fruits of this laboured education, by adm his son, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, to a full participat the Imperial power. He lived but four years afterwards; lived long enough to repent a rash measure, which raise impetuous youth above the restraint of reason and authori

Accession of the emperor Commodus

Most of the crimes which disturb the internal peace of s are produced by the restraints which the necessary, but un laws of property have imposed on the appetites of mankin confining to a few the possession of those objects that are co by many. Of all our passions and appetites, the love of is of the most imperious and unsociable nature, since the of one man requires the submission of the multitude.

[4] Hist. August. p. 34 [iv. 29].

[5] Meditat. l. i. [17]. The world has laughed at the credulity of Marc Madame Dacier assures us (and we may credit a lady) that the husba always be deceived, if the wife condescends to dissemble.

[6] Dio. Cassius, l. lxxi. p. 1195 [31]. Hist. August. p. 33. [iv. 26]. mentaire de Spanheim sur les Cæsars de Julien, p. 289. The deifica Faustina is the only defect which Julian's criticism is able to discover in accomplished character of Marcus.

ult of civil discord the laws of society lose their force, and r place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. The our of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers, all tribute to inflame the mind, and to silence the voice of pity. m such motives almost every page of history has been ned with civil blood; but these motives will not account for unprovoked cruelties of Commodus, who had nothing to , and everything to enjoy. The beloved son of Marcus A. D. 180
eeded to his father, amidst the acclamations of the senate armies;[7] and when he ascended the throne, the happy h saw round him neither competitor to remove, nor enemies unish. In this calm elevated station it was surely natural he should prefer the love of mankind to their detestation, mild glories of his five predecessors to the ignominious fate Tero and Domitian.

et Commodus was not, as he has been represented, a tiger Character of Commodus
with an insatiate thirst of human blood, and capable, from nfancy, of the most inhuman actions.[8] Nature had formed of a weak, rather than a wicked, disposition. His simpli- and timidity rendered him the slave of his attendants, who lually corrupted his mind. His cruelty, which at first ved the dictates of others, degenerated into habit, and at th became the ruling passion of his soul.[9]

pon the death of his father Commodus found himself em- He returns to Rome
assed with the command of a great army, and the conduct difficult war against the Quadi and Marcomanni.[10] The ile and profligate youths whom Marcus had banished soon ined their station and influence about the new emperor. y exaggerated the hardships and dangers of a campaign in wild countries beyond the Danube; and they assured the

Commodus was the first *Porphyrogenitus* (born since his father's accession e throne). By a new strain of flattery, the Egyptian medals date by the years s life; as if they were synonymous to those of his reign. Tillemont. Hist. Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 752. [The claim of Commodus to be *nobilissimus um principum* (Corp. Insc. Lat. v. 4867) was well grounded. He could to five emperors as his ancestors. His imperial name was M. Aurelius modus Antoninus. He had been made a Cæsar in 166, and Imperator in 176 at the age of 15.]

Hist. August. p. 46 [vii. 1].

Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1203 [1].

According to Tertullian (Apolog. c. 25.) he died at Sirmium. But the situation ndobona, or Vienna, where both the Victors place his death, is better adapted e operations of the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi. [Date 17th h, 180 A.D.]

indolent prince that the terror of his name and the arm his lieutenants would be sufficient to complete the conques the dismayed barbarians, or to impose such conditions as w more advantageous than any conquest. By a dexterous appl tion to his sensual appetites, they compared the tranquillity, splendour, the refined pleasures of Rome with the tumult Pannonian camp, which afforded neither leisure nor mate for luxury.[11] Commodus listened to the pleasing advice; whilst he hesitated between his own inclination and the which he still retained for his father's counsellors, the sum insensibly elapsed, and his triumphal entry into the capital deferred till the autumn. His graceful person,[12] popular addr and imagined virtues attracted the public favour; the hon able peace which he had recently granted to the barbar diffused an universal joy;[13] his impatience to revisit Rome fondly ascribed to the love of his country; and his disso course of amusements was faintly condemned in a prince nineteen years of age.

During the three first years of his reign, the forms, and e the spirit, of the old administration were maintained by th faithful counsellors, to whom Marcus had recommended his and for whose wisdom and integrity Commodus still entertai a reluctant esteem. The young prince and his profligate vourites reveled in all the license of sovereign power; but hands were yet unstained with blood; and he had even displa a generosity of sentiment, which might perhaps have ripe into solid virtue.[14] A fatal incident decided his fluctuat character.

Is wounded by an assassin A.D. 183

One evening, as the emperor was returning to the pal through a dark and narrow portico in the amphitheatre,[15]

[11] Herodian, l. i. p. 12 [6].

[12] Herodian, l. i. p. 16 [7].

[13] This universal joy is well described (from the medals as well as histor by Mr. Wotton, Hist. of Rome, p. 192, 193. [The terms of the peace were the Marcomanni and Quadi should not approach nearer than 150 Roman mil the Danube, should pay a tribute of corn, and furnish a contingent of rec and should not make war on the Vandals, Buri, and Jazyges, who were *Ro subjects*. The treaty was a good one if Commodus had been strong enoug insist on its execution. Its articles were not carried out, yet the peace not disturbed.]

[14] Manilius, the confidential secretary of Avidius Cassius, was discovered he had lain concealed for several years. The emperor nobly relieved the p anxiety by refusing to see him, and burning his papers without opening t Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1209.

[15] See Maffei degli Amphitheatri, p. 126.

sassin, who waited his passage, rushed upon him with a drawn ord, loudly exclaiming, *The senate sends you this.* The menace evented the deed; the assassin was seized by the guards, d immediately revealed the authors of the conspiracy. It had en formed, not in the state, but within the walls of the palace. ucilla, the emperor's sister, and widow of Lucius Verus, im- tient of the second rank, and jealous of the reigning empress, d armed the murderer against her brother's life. She had t ventured to communicate the black design to her second sband, Claudius Pompeianus, a senator of distinguished merit d unshaken loyalty; but among the crowd of her lovers (for e imitated the manners of Faustina) she found men of despe- te fortunes and wild ambition, who were prepared to serve her ore violent as well as her tender passions. The conspirators perienced the rigour of justice, and the abandoned princess s punished, first with exile, and afterwards with death.[16]

Hatred and cruelty of Commodus towards the senate

But the words of the assassin sunk deep into the mind of mmodus, and left an indelible impression of fear and hatred ainst the whole body of the senate. Those whom he had eaded as importunate ministers, he now suspected as secret emies. The Delators, a race of men discouraged, and almost tinguished, under the former reigns, again became formidable soon as they discovered that the emperor was desirous of find- g disaffection and treason in the senate. That assembly, whom arcus had ever considered as the great council of the nation, s composed of the most distinguished of the Romans; and stinction of every kind soon became criminal. The possession wealth stimulated the diligence of the informers; rigid virtue plied a tacit censure of the irregularities of Commodus; im- rtant services implied a dangerous superiority of merit, and e friendship of the father always insured the aversion of the n. Suspicion was equivalent to proof; trial to condemnation. ne execution of a considerable senator was attended with the ath of all who might lament or revenge his fate; and when mmodus had once tasted human blood, he became incap- le of pity or remorse.

The Quintilian brothers

Of these innocent victims of tyranny, none died more lamented an the two brothers of the Quintilian family, Maximus and ndianus, whose fraternal love has saved their names from livion, and endeared their memory to posterity. Their studies d their occupations, their pursuits and their pleasures, were

[16] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 1205 [4] Herodian, l. i. p. 16 [8] Hist. August. p. 46 [vii. 4.] ne would-be assassin was Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus, Lucilla's stepson.]

still the same. In the enjoyment of a great estate, they ne admitted the idea of a separate interest: some fragments now extant of a treatise[17] which they composed in common; a in every action of life it was observed that their two bodies we animated by one soul. The Antonines, who valued their virtu and delighted in their union, raised them, in the same year, the consulship; and Marcus afterwards intrusted to their jo care the civil administration of Greece, and a great milita command, in which they obtained a signal victory over t Germans. The kind cruelty of Commodus united them death.[18]

The minister Perennis

The tyrant's rage, after having shed the noblest blood of t senate, at length recoiled on the principal instrument of cruelty. Whilst Commodus was immersed in blood and luxu he devolved the detail of the public business on Perennis servile and ambitious minister, who had obtained his post the murder of his predecessor, but who possessed a considera share of vigour and ability. By acts of extortion, and the f feited estates of the nobles sacrificed to his avarice, he h accumulated an immense treasure. The Praetorian guards we under his immediate command; and his son, who already d covered a military genius, was at the head of the Illyri legions. Perennis aspired to the empire; or what, in the ey of Commodus, amounted to the same crime, he was capable aspiring to it, had he not been prevented, surprised, and put

A.D. 186 [185]

death. The fall of a minister is a very trifling incident in t general history of the empire; but it was hastened by extraordinary circumstance, which proved how much the ner of discipline were already relaxed. The legions of Britain, d contented with the administration of Perennis, formed a depu tion of fifteen hundred select men, with instructions to march Rome, and lay their complaints before the emperor. The military petitioners, by their own determined behaviour, by flaming the divisions of the guards, by exaggerating the streng of the British army, and by alarming the fears of Commodus, acted and obtained the minister's death, as the only redress their grievances.[19] This presumption of a distant army, a

[17] [On agriculture.]

[18] In a note upon the Augustan History, Casaubon has collected a numbe particulars concerning these celebrated brothers. See p. 94 of his learned c mentary.

[19] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 1210 [9]. Herodian, l. i. p. 22 [9]. Hist. August. p [vii. 6. 1-5]. Dion gives a much less odious character of Perennis, than

ir discovery of the weakness of government, was a sure sage of the most dreadful convulsions.

Revolt of Maternus

The negligence of the public administration was betrayed n afterwards by a new disorder, which arose from the smallest innings. A spirit of desertion began to prevail among the ops, and the deserters, instead of seeking their safety in flight concealment, infested the highways. Maternus, a private lier, of a daring boldness above his station, collected these ds of robbers into a little army, set open the prisons, invited slaves to assert their freedom, and plundered with impunity rich and defenceless cities of Gaul and Spain. The governors he provinces, who had long been the spectators, and perhaps partners, of his depredations, were, at length, roused from ir supine indolence by the threatening commands of the peror. Maternus found that he was encompassed, and fore- that he must be overpowered. A great effort of despair s his last resource. He ordered his followers to disperse, to s the Alps in small parties and various disguises, and to emble at Rome, during the licentious tumult of the festival Cybele.[20] To murder Commodus, and to ascend the vacant one, was the ambition of no vulgar robber. His measures re so ably concerted that his concealed troops already filled streets of Rome. The envy of an accomplice discovered [187 A.D.] l ruined this singular enterprise in the moment when it was e for execution.[21]

The minister Cleander

Suspicious princes often promote the last of mankind, from a n persuasion that those who have no dependence except on ir favour will have no attachment except to the person of ir benefactor. Cleander, the successor of Perennis, was a rygian by birth; of a nation, over whose stubborn but vile temper blows only could prevail.[22] He had been sent m his native country to Rome, in the capacity of a slave. As lave he entered the imperial palace, rendered himself useful

r historians. His moderation is almost a pledge of his veracity. [The policy Perennis, which caused his fall, aimed at ousting the senators from military ointments and substituting men of the Equestrian order. The intervention of Britannic legions rests on Dion. Date 185, cp. Müller, Hermes, 18, p. 623 *sqq.*]

[20] During the second Punic war, the Romans imported from Asia the worship of mother of the gods. Her festival, the *Megalesia*, began on the fourth of April, lasted six days. The streets were crowded with mad processions, the theatres spectators, and the public tables with unbidden guests. Order and police e suspended, and pleasure was the only serious business of the city. See Ovid Fastis, l. iv. 189, &c.

[21] Herodian, l. i. p. 23, 28 [10].

[22] Cicero pro Flacco, c. 27

to his master's passions, and rapidly ascended to the most exalt station which a subject could enjoy. His influence over t mind of Commodus was much greater than that of his predecess for Cleander was devoid of any ability or virtue which co inspire the emperor with envy or distrust. Avarice was t reigning passion of his soul, and the great principle of administration. The rank of consul, of Patrician, of senator, v exposed to public sale; and it would have been considered disaffection if any one had refused to purchase these em and disgraceful honours with the greatest part of his fortun In the lucrative provincial employments the minister shared w the governor the spoils of the people. The execution of the la was venal and arbitrary. A wealthy criminal might obtain only the reversal of the sentence by which he was justly c demned; but might likewise inflict whatever punishment pleased on the accuser, the witnesses, and the judge.

His avarice and cruelty

By these means Cleander, in the space of three years, accumulated more wealth than had ever yet been possessed any freedman.[24] Commodus was perfectly satisfied with magnificent presents which the artful courtier laid at his feet the most seasonable moments. To divert the public en Cleander, under the emperor's name, erected baths, portic and places of exercise, for the use of the people.[25] He flatte himself that the Romans, dazzled and amused by this appar liberality, would be less affected by the bloody scenes wh were daily exhibited; that they would forget the death Byrrhus, a senator to whose superior merit the late empe had granted one of his daughters; and that they would f give the execution of Arrius Antoninus, the last representat of the name and virtues of the Antonines. The former, w more integrity than prudence, had attempted to disclose to brother-in-law the true character of Cleander. An equita sentence pronounced by the latter, when proconsul of A against a worthless creature of the favourite, proved fatal

[23] One of these dear-bought promotions occasioned a current bon mot, Julius Solon was *banished* into the senate. [In one year there were no less t twenty-five consuls.]

[24] Dion (l. lxxii. p. 1213 [12]) observes that no freedman had possessed ri equal to those of Cleander. The fortune of Pallas amounted, however, to upw of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds—*ter millies.*

[25] Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1213 [12]. Herodian, l. i. p. 29 [12]. Hist. Augus 52 [vii. 17]. These baths were situated near the *Porta Capena.* See Na Roma Antica, p. 79.

.[26] After the fall of Perennis the terrors of Commodus had, a short time, assumed the appearance of a return to virtue. repealed the most odious of his acts, loaded his memory n the public execration, and ascribed to the pernicious nsels of that wicked minister all the errors of his inex- enced youth. But his repentance lasted only thirty days; , under Cleander's tyranny, the administration of Perennis often regretted.

Sedition; and death of Cleander A.D. 189

'estilence and famine contributed to fill up the measure of calamities of Rome.[27] The first could only be imputed to just indignation of the gods; but a monopoly of corn, sup- ted by the riches and power of the minister, was considered he immediate cause of the second. The popular discontent, r it had long circulated in whispers, broke out in the as- bled circus. The people quitted their favourite amusements the more delicious pleasure of revenge, rushed in crowds ards a palace in the suburbs, one of the emperor's retire- nts, and demanded, with angry clamours, the head of the lic enemy. Cleander, who commanded the Prætorian rds,[28] ordered a body of cavalry to sally forth and disperse seditious multitude. The multitude fled with precipitation ards the city; several were slain, and many more were mpled to death; but, when the cavalry entered the streets ir pursuit was checked by a shower of stones and darts from roofs and windows of the houses. The foot guards,[29] who been long jealous of the prerogatives and insolence of the torian cavalry, embraced the party of the people. The ault became a regular engagement, and threatened a general ssacre. The Prætorians at length gave way, oppressed with nbers; and the tide of popular fury returned with redoubled

[26] Hist. August. p. 48.

[27] Herodian, l. i. p. 28 [12]. Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1215 [14]. The latter says, two thousand persons died every day at Rome, during a considerable length ime. [The pestilence was probably a new outbreak of the same plague ch had ravaged the Empire under Marcus.]

[28] Tuncque primum tres præfecti prætorio fuere: inter quos libertinus. From e remains of modesty, Cleander declined the title, whilst he assumed the ers, of Prætorian Præfect. As the other freedmen were styled, from their ral departments, *a rationibus*, *ab epistolis*; Cleander called himself *a pugione*, ntrusted with the defence of his master's person. Salmasius and Casaubon n to have talked very idly upon this passage.

[29] Οἱ τῆς πόλεως πέζοι στρατιῶται. Herodian, l. i. p. 31 [12]. It is doubtful ther he means the Prætorian infantry, or the cohortes urbanæ, a body of six usand men, but whose rank and discipline were not equal to their numbers. ther Tillemont nor Wotton choose to decide this question. [Doubtless the *rtes urbanæ*.]

violence against the gates of the palace, where Commodus dissolved in luxury, and alone unconscious of the civil war. was death to approach his person with the unwelcome ne He would have perished in this supine security had not two wom his eldest sister Fadilla, and Marcia the most favoured of concubines, ventured to break into his presence. Bathed tears, and with dishevelled hair, they threw themselves at feet, and, with all the pressing eloquence of fear, discovered the affrighted emperor the crimes of the minister, the rage the people, and the impending ruin which in a few minu would burst over his palace and person. Commodus start from his dream of pleasure, and commanded that the head Cleander should be thrown out to the people. The desi spectacle instantly appeased the tumult; and the son of Mar might even yet have regained the affection and confidence his subjects.[30]

Dissolute pleasures of Commodus

But every sentiment of virtue and humanity was extinct in t mind of Commodus. Whilst he thus abandoned the reins empire to these unworthy favourites, he valued nothing sovereign power except the unbounded licence of indulging sensual appetites. His hours were spent in a seraglio of thr hundred beautiful women and as many boys, of every rank a of every province; and, wherever the arts of seduction prov ineffectual, the brutal lover had recourse to violence. T ancient historians [31] have expatiated on these abandoned scen of prostitution, which scorned every restraint of nature modesty; but it would not be easy to translate their too faith descriptions into the decency of modern language. The interv

His ignorance and low sports

of lust were filled up with the basest amusements. The fluence of a polite age and the labour of an attentive educati had never been able to infuse into his rude and brutish mi the least tincture of learning; and he was the first of the Rom emperors totally devoid of taste for the pleasures of the und standing. Nero himself excelled, or affected to excel, in t elegant arts of music and poetry; nor should we despise pursuits, had he not converted the pleasing relaxation of leisure hour into the serious business and ambition of his li But Commodus, from his earliest infancy, discovered an aversi to whatever was rational or liberal, and a fond attachment

[30] Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1215 [13]. Herodian, l. i, p. 32 [13] Hist. Aug p. 48 [vii. 7].

[31] Sororibus suis constupratis. Ipsas concubinas suas sub oculis suis stup jubebat. Nec irruentium in se juvenum carebat infamiâ, omni parte corp atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus. Hist. August. p. 47 [vii. 5].

e amusements of the populace,—the sports of the circus and
mphitheatre, the combats of gladiators, and the hunting of
ld beasts. The masters in every branch of learning, whom
arcus provided for his son, were heard with inattention and
sgust; whilst the Moors and Parthians, who taught him to
rt the javelin and to shoot with the bow, found a disciple
no delighted in his application, and soon equaled the most
ilful of his instructors in the steadiness of the eye and the
xterity of the hand.

Hunting of wild beasts

The servile crowd, whose fortune depended on their master's
ces, applauded these ignoble pursuits. The perfidious voice of
ttery reminded him that, by exploits of the same nature, by
e defeat of the Nemean lion, and the slaughter of the wild
ar of Erymanthus, the Grecian Hercules had acquired a place
nong the gods, and an immortal memory among men. They
ly forgot to observe that, in the first ages of society, when the
rcer animals often dispute with man the possession of an un-
ttled country, a successful war against those savages is one of
e most innocent and beneficial labours of heroism. In the
vilized state of the Roman empire the wild beasts had long
nce retired from the face of man and the neighbourhood of
pulous cities. To surprise them in their solitary haunts, and
transport them to Rome, that they might be slain in pomp by
e hand of an emperor, was an enterprise equally ridiculous for
e prince and oppressive for the people.[32] Ignorant of these
stinctions, Commodus eagerly embraced the glorious resem-
ance, and styled himself (as we still read on his medals)[33] the
oman Hercules. The club and the lion's hide were placed by
e side of the throne amongst the ensigns of sovereignty; and
atues were erected, in which Commodus was represented in
e character and with the attributes of the God whose valour
d dexterity he endeavoured to emulate in the daily course of
s ferocious amusements.[34]

Commodus displays his skill in the amphitheatre

Elated with these praises, which gradually extinguished the
nate sense of shame, Commodus resolved to exhibit, before the
es of the Roman people, those exercises which till then he had

[32] The African lions, when pressed by hunger, infested the open villages and
tivated country; and they infested them with impunity. The royal beast was
erved for the pleasures of the emperor and the capital; and the unfortunate
asant, who killed one of them, though in his own defence, incurred a very heavy
nalty. This extraordinary *game law* was mitigated by Honorius, and finally
ealed by Justinian. Codex Theodos. tom. v. p. 92, et Comment. Gothofred.

[33] Spanheim de Numismat. Dissertat. xii. tom. ii. 493. [*Herc. Comm.*, and on
exandrine coins Ῥωμαῖον Ἡρακλέα].

[34] Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1216 [15]. Hist. August. p. 49 [vii. 8].

decently confined within the walls of his palace and to the p
sence of a few favourites. On the appointed day the vari
motives of flattery, fear, and curiosity, attracted to the amp
theatre an innumerable multitude of spectators; and so
degree of applause was deservedly bestowed on the uncommon sk
of the Imperial performer. Whether he aimed at the head or he
of the animal, the wound was alike certain and mortal. W
arrows, whose point was shaped into the form of a cresce
Commodus often intercepted the rapid career and cut asun
the long bony neck of the ostrich.[35] A panther was let loo
and the archer waited till he had leaped upon a trembling ma
factor. In the same instant the shaft flew, the beast dropt de
and the man remained unhurt. The dens of the amphithea
disgorged at once a hundred lions; a hundred darts from t
unerring hand of Commodus laid them dead as they ran ragi
round the *Arena*. Neither the huge bulk of the elephant
the scaly hide of the rhinoceros could defend them from
stroke. Æthiopia and India yielded their most extraordina
productions; and several animals were slain in the amphithea
which had been seen only in the representations of art, or p
haps of fancy.[36] In all these exhibitions, the surest precauti
were used to protect the person of the Roman Hercules from t
desperate spring of any savage who might possibly disregard t
dignity of the emperor and the sanctity of the god.[37]

Acts as a gladiator

But the meanest of the populace were affected with sha
and indignation, when they beheld their sovereign enter t
lists as a gladiator, and glory in a profession which the laws a
manners of the Romans had branded with the justest note
infamy.[38] He chose the habit and arms of the *Secutor*, wh
combat with the *Retiarius* formed one of the most lively scen
in the bloody sports of the amphitheatre. The *Secutor* was arm

[35] The ostrich's neck is three feet long, and composed of seventeen verteb
See Buffon Hist. Naturelle.

[36] Commodus killed a camelopardalis or giraffe (Dion, l. lxxii p. 1211 [
the tallest, the most gentle, and the most useless of the large quadrupeds. T
singular animal, a native only of the interior parts of Africa, has not been seen
Europe since the revival of letters, and though M. de Buffon (Hist. Nature
tom. xiii.) has endeavoured to describe, he has not ventured to delineate,
giraffe.

[37] Herodian, l, i. p. 37 [15]. Hist. August. p. 50 [vii. 11].

[38] The virtuous, and even the wise, princes forbade the senators and knights
embrace this scandalous profession, under pain of infamy, or what was m
dreaded by those profligate wretches, of exile. The tyrants allured them to
honour by threats and rewards. Nero once produced, in the arena, fo
senators and sixty knights. See Lipsius, Saturnalia, l. ii. c. 2. He has happ
corrected a passage of Suetonius, in Nerone, c. 12.

n an helmet, sword, and buckler; his naked antagonist had
a large net and a trident; with the one he endeavoured to
ngle, with the other to dispatch, his enemy. If he missed
first throw he was obliged to fly from the pursuit of the
tor till he had prepared his net for a second cast.[39] The
peror fought in this character seven hundred and thirty-five
ral times. These glorious achievements were carefully re-
led in the public acts of the empire; and, that he might
t no circumstance of infamy, he received from the common
l of gladiators a stipend so exorbitant that it became a new
most ignominious tax upon the Roman people.[40] It may
easily supposed that in these engagements the master of the
ld was always successful: in the amphitheatre his victories
e not often sanguinary; but when he exercised his skill in
school of gladiators, or his own palace, his wretched
gonists were frequently honoured with a mortal wound from
hand of Commodus, and obliged to seal their flattery with
r blood.[41] He now disdained the appellation of Hercules. His infamy and extravagance
name of Paulus, a celebrated Secutor, was the only one
ch delighted his ear. It was inscribed on his colossal statues,
repeated in the redoubled acclamations[42] of the mournful
applauding senate.[43] Claudius Pompeianus, the virtuous
band of Lucilla, was the only senator who asserted the honour
is rank. As a father he permitted his sons to consult their
ty by attending the amphitheatre. As a Roman he declared
his own life was in the emperor's hands, but that he would
er behold the son of Marcus prostituting his person and
nity. Notwithstanding his manly resolution, Pompeianus
ped the resentment of the tyrant, and, with his honour, had
good fortune to preserve his life.[44]
ommodus had now attained the summit of vice and infamy.

Lipsius, l. ii. c. 7, 8. Juvenal in the eighth satire gives a picturesque de-
tion of this combat.

Hist. August. p. 50 [vii. 11]. Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1220 [19]. He received, for
time, *decies*, about £8000 pounds sterling.

Victor tells us that Commodus only allowed his antagonists a leaden weapon,
ding most probably the consequences of their despair. [*Cæsar.*, 4.]

They were obliged to repeat six hundred and twenty-six times, *Paulus, first
e Secutors*, &c.

Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1221 [20]. He speaks of his own baseness and danger.

He mixed however some prudence with his courage, and passed the greatest
of his time in a country retirement; alleging his advanced age, and the
kness of his eyes. "I never saw him in the senate," says Dion, "except during
short reign of Pertinax." All his infirmities had suddenly left him, and they
ned as suddenly upon the murder of that excellent prince. Dion, l. lxxiii. p.
[3].

Amidst the acclamations of a flattering court, he was unabl
disguise from himself that he had deserved the contempt
hatred of every man of sense and virtue in his empire.
ferocious spirit was irritated by the consciousness of that hat
by the envy of every kind of merit, by the just apprehensio
danger, and by the habit of slaughter which he contracted in

Conspiracy of his domestics

daily amusements. History has preserved a long list of cons
senators sacrificed to his wanton suspicion, which sought
with peculiar anxiety, those unfortunate persons connec
however remotely, with the family of the Antonines, wit
sparing even the ministers of his crimes or pleasures.[45]
cruelty proved at last fatal to himself. He had shed with
punity the noblest blood of Rome: he perished as soon as
was dreaded by his own domestics. Marcia, his favourite
cubine, Eclectus, his chamberlain, and Lætus, his Præto
præfect, alarmed by the fate of their companions and predeces
resolved to prevent the destruction which every hour hung
their heads, either from the mad caprice of the tyrant, or the sud
indignation of the people. Marcia seized the occasion of presen
a draught of wine to her lover, after he had fatigued him

Death of Commodus A.D. 192. 31st December

with hunting some wild beasts. Commodus retired to sleep;
whilst he was labouring with the effects of poison and drunk
ness, a robust youth, by profession a wrestler, entered
chamber, and strangled him without resistance. The body
secretly conveyed out of the palace, before the least suspi
was entertained in the city, or even in the court, of the empe
death. Such was the fate of the son of Marcus, and so easy
it to destroy a hated tyrant, who, by the artificial power
government, had oppressed, during thirteen years, so m
millions of subjects, every one of whom was equal to t
master in personal strength and personal abilities.[46]

Choice of Pertinax for emperor

The measures of the conspirators were conducted with
deliberate coolness and celerity which the greatness of
occasion required. They resolved instantly to fill the va
throne with an emperor whose character would justify

[45] The præfects were changed almost hourly or daily; and the capri
Cominodus was often fatal to his most favoured chamberlains. Hist. Augus
51 [vii. 14 and 15].

[46] Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1222 [22]. Herodian, l. i. p. 43. Hist. August. p. 52
17]. [The situation on the death of Commodus has been well compared wi
situation on the death of Nero. The general joy at deliverance from tyr
the measures taken by the senate in branding the memory of the fallen t
were alike; and Pertinax, the successor of Commodus, closely resembled G
the successor of Nero, in age, respectability, good intentions, and unfitne
the imperial power (Schiller, i. 668).]

ıtain the action that had been committed. They fixed on inax, præfect of the city, an ancient senator of consular rank, se conspicuous merit had broke through the obscurity of his ı, and raised him to the first honours of the state. He had essively governed most of the provinces of the empire ; and ll his great employments, military as well as civil, he had ormly distinguished himself, by the firmness, the prudence, the integrity of his conduct.[47] He now remained almost e of the friends and ministers of Marcus ; and, when, at a hour of the night, he was awakened with the news that the nberlain and the præfect were at his door, he received them ı intrepid resignation, and desired they would execute their ter's orders. Instead of death, they offered him the throne he Roman world. During some moments he distrusted their ntions and assurances. Convinced at length of the death of ımodus, he accepted the purple with a sincere reluctance, natural effect of his knowledge both of the duties and of dangers of the supreme rank.[48]

He is acknowledged by the prætorian guards

ætus conducted without delay his new emperor to the camp he Prætorians, diffusing at the same time through the city a onable report that Commodus died suddenly of an apoplexy ; that the virtuous Pertinax had *already* succeeded to the ne. The guards were rather surprised than pleased with suspicious death of a prince whose indulgence and liberality alone had experienced; but the emergency of the occasion, authority of their præfect, the reputation of Pertinax, and clamours of the people, obliged them to stifle their secret

Pertinax was a native of Alba Pompeia, in Piedmont, and son of a timber hant. The order of his employments (it is marked by Capitolinus) well ves to be set down as expressive of the form of government and manners of ge. 1. He was a centurion. 2. Præfect of a cohort in Syria, in the Parthian and in Britain. 3. He obtained an *Ala*, or squadron of horse, in Mæsia. 4. vas commissary of provisions on the Æmilian way. [This refers to the distri- on of alimentary state charity. Alimentary institutions had been founded by a and Trajan. See Desjardins, De tabulis alimentariis, 1854 ; Hirschfeld, ische Verwaltungsgeschichte, 113 *sqq.*] 5. He commanded the fleet upon the e. 6. He was procurator of Dacia, with a salary of about 1600*l.* a year. 7. ommanded the Veterans of a legion. 8. He obtained the rank of senator. f prætor. 10. With the command of the first legion in Rhætia and Noricum. He was consul about the year 175. 12. He attended Marcus into the east. He commanded an army on the Danube. 14. He was consular legate of ia. 15. Of Dacia. 16. Of Syria. 17. Of Britain. 18. He had the care of ublic provisions at Rome. 19. He was proconsul of Africa. 20. Præfect of city. Herodian (l. i. p. 48 [ii. 1]) does justice to his disinterested spirit ; but tolinus, who collected every popular rumour, charges him with a great fortune ired by bribery and corruption. [He is a favourite with the historian Dion ius. His full name was P. Helvius Pertinax, and he was born in 126 A.D.]

Julian, in the Cæsars, taxes him with being accessary to the death of ımodus.

discontents, to accept the donative promised by the n emperor, to swear allegiance to him, and, with joyful acclar tions and laurels in their hands, to conduct him to the sena house, that the military consent might be ratified by the c authority.

and by the senate, A.D 193, 1st January

This important night was now far spent; with the dawn of d and the commencement of the new year, the senators expecte summons to attend an ignominious ceremony. In spite of remonstrances, even of those of his creatures who yet preserv any regard for prudence or decency, Commodus had resolved pass the night in the gladiators' school, and from thence to ta possession of the consulship, in the habit and with the attenda of that infamous crew. On a sudden, before the break of d the senate was called together in the temple of Concord, meet the guards, and to ratify the election of a new emper For a few minutes they sat in silent suspense, doubtful their unexpected deliverance, and suspicious of the cruel artifi of Commodus: but, when at length they were assured that t tyrant was no more, they resigned themselves to all the tra ports of joy and indignation. Pertinax, who modestly rep sented the meanness of his extraction, and pointed out seve noble senators more deserving than himself of the empire, v constrained by their dutiful violence to ascend the throne, a received all the titles of Imperial power, confirmed by the m

The memory of Commodus declared in famous

sincere vows of fidelity. The memory of Commodus was brand with eternal infamy. The names of tyrant, of gladiator, public enemy, resounded in every corner of the house. Th decreed in tumultuous[49] votes, that his honours should be revers his titles erased from the public monuments, his statues thro down, his body dragged with a hook into the stripping-room the gladiators, to satiate the public fury; and they expres some indignation against those officious servants who had alrea presumed to screen his remains from the justice of the sena But Pertinax could not refuse those last rites to the memory Marcus and the tears of his first protector Claudius Pompeian who lamented the cruel fate of his brother-in-law, and lamen still more that he had deserved it.[50]

[49] [By this epithet Gibbon alludes to the rhythmical acclamations which were usage in the proceedings of the senate. In the *acclamationes graves* recorded by Lampridius, the words *hostis* and *parricide* recur as a sort of refrain.]

[50] Capitolinus gives us the particulars of these tumultuary votes, which were moved by one senator, and repeated, or rather chaunted by the whole h Hist. August. p. 52. [vii. 18].

Legal jurisdiction of the senate over the emperors

ıese effusions of impotent rage against a dead emperor, n the senate had flattered when alive with the most abject lity, betrayed a just but ungenerous spirit of revenge. The lity of these decrees was, however, supported by the prin- s of the Imperial constitution. To censure, to depose, or ınish with death, the first magistrate of the republic who abused his delegated trust, was the ancient and undoubted ogative of the Roman senate;[51] but that feeble assembly obliged to content itself with inflicting on a fallen tyrant public justice from which, during his life and reign, he had shielded by the strong arm of military despotism.

Virtues of Pertinax

ertinax found a nobler way of condemning his predecessor's ıory,—by the contrast of his own virtues with the vices of ımodus. On the day of his accession he resigned over to wife and son his whole private fortune;[52] that they might e no pretense to solicit favours at the expense of the state. refused to flatter the vanity of the former with the title of usta, or to corrupt the inexperienced youth of the latter by rank of Cæsar. Accurately distinguishing between the es of a parent and those of a sovereign, he educated his son a severe simplicity, which, while it gave him no assured pect of the throne, might in time have rendered him worthy . In public the behaviour of Pertinax was grave and affable. lived with the virtuous part of the senate[53] (and, in a private ion, he had been acquainted with the true character of each vidual), without either pride or jealousy; considered them as ıds and companions, with whom he had shared the dangers he tyranny, and with whom he wished to enjoy the security of present time. He very frequently invited them to familiar ertainments, the frugality of which was ridiculed by those remembered and regretted the luxurious prodigality of ımodus.[54]

The senate condemned Nero to be put to death *more majorum*. Sueton. c. 40. [This act has considerable significance in the history of the exchequer of oman Empire. Antoninus Pius had already acted in the same way, making iis private property to his daughter Faustina. The principle involved was eparation of the Emperor's private purse from the *fiscus*, or public money ı came to him as Emperor. This separation was systematically carried out ptimius Severus.]

[The note of the policy of Pertinax was the restoration of the authority of nate, which, during the preceding century, had been gradually becoming less ·ss. He assumed the title *princeps senatus*, and things looked like a return · system of Augustus.]

Dion (l. lxxiii. p. 122 [3]) speaks of these entertainments, as a senator who upped with the emperor; Capitolinus (Hist. August. p. 58 [viii. 12]) like e who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions.

He endeavours to reform the state

To heal, as far as it was possible, the wounds inflicted by t hand of tyranny, was the pleasing, but melancholy, task of P tinax. The innocent victims who yet survived were recalled fr exile, released from prison, and restored to the full possess of their honours and fortunes. The unburied bodies of murde senators (for the cruelty of Commodus endeavoured to exte itself beyond death) were deposited in the sepulchres of th ancestors; their memory was justified; and every consolat was bestowed on their ruined and afflicted families. Amo these consolations, one of the most grateful was the punishm of the Delators, the common enemies of their master, of virt and of their country. Yet, even in the inquisition of these le assassins, Pertinax proceeded with a steady temper, which g everything to justice, and nothing to popular prejudice a resentment.

His regulations

The finances of the state demanded the most vigilant care the emperor. Though every measure of injustice and extort had been adopted which could collect the property of the s ject into the coffers of the prince, the rapaciousness of Co modus had been so very inadequate to his extravagance th upon his death, no more than eight thousand pounds were fou in the exhausted treasury,[55] to defray the current expenses government, and to discharge the pressing demand of a libe donative, which the new emperor had been obliged to promise the Prætorian guards. Yet, under these distressed circumstanc Pertinax had the generous firmness to remit all the oppress taxes invented by Commodus, and to cancel all the unjust cla of the treasury; declaring, in a decree of the senate, "that was better satisfied to administer a poor republic with innocen than to acquire riches by the ways of tyranny and dishonou Economy and industry he considered as the pure and genu sources of wealth; and from them he soon derived a copi supply for the public necessities. The expense of the hou hold was immediately reduced to one half. All the instrume of luxury Pertinax exposed to public auction,[56] gold and sil plate, chariots of a singular construction, a superfluous wardr of silk and embroidery, and a great number of beautiful sla

[55] *Decies.* The blameless economy of Pius, left his successors a treasu *vicies septies millies*, above two and twenty millions sterling. Dion, l. lxxi 1231 [8].

[56] Besides the design of converting these useless ornaments into money, l (l. lxxiii. p. 1229 [5]) assigns two secret motives of Pertinax. He wished to ex the vices of Commodus, and to discover by the purchasers those who most sembled him.

oth sexes; excepting only, with attentive humanity, those
were born in a state of freedom, and had been ravished
n the arms of their weeping parents. At the same time
he obliged the worthless favourites of the tyrant to resign
rt of their ill-gotten wealth, he satisfied the just creditors of
state, and unexpectedly discharged the long arrears of honest
ices. He removed the oppressive restrictions which had been
upon commerce, and granted all the uncultivated lands in
y and the provinces to those who would improve them; with
exemption from tribute during the term of ten years.[57]
uch an uniform conduct had already secured to Pertinax the and popularity
lest reward of a sovereign, the love and esteem of his people.
se who remembered the virtues of Marcus were happy to
template in their new emperor the features of that bright
inal, and flattered themselves that they should long enjoy
benign influence of his administration. A hasty zeal to
rm the corrupted state, accompanied with less prudence
n might have been expected from the years and experience
Pertinax, proved fatal to himself and to his country. His
est indiscretion united against him the servile crowd, who
id their private benefit in the public disorders, and who pre-
ed the favour of a tyrant to the inexorable equality of the
s.[58]

midst the general joy the sullen and angry countenance of Discontent of the Prætorians
Prætorian guards betrayed their inward dissatisfaction. They
reluctantly submitted to Pertinax; they dreaded the strict-
s of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore;
they regretted the licence of the former reign. Their dis-
tents were secretly fomented by Lætus, their præfect, who
id, when it was too late, that his new emperor would reward
rvant, but would not be ruled by a favourite. On the third
of his reign, the soldiers seized on a noble senator, with a
gn to carry him to the camp, and to invest him with the
erial purple. Instead of being dazzled by the dangerous
our, the affrighted victim escaped from their violence, and
refuge at the feet of Pertinax. A short time afterwards A conspiracy prevented
us Falco, one of the consuls of the year, a rash youth,[59] but

Though Capitolinus has picked up many idle tales of the private life of Per-
, he joins with Dion and Herodian in admiring his public conduct [viii. 13].
Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse. T. Liv. ii. 3.
If we credit Capitolinus (which is rather difficult) Falco behaved with the
petulant indecency to Pertinax on the day of his accession. The wise
or only admonished him of his youth and inexperience. Hist. August. p. 55
5].

of an ancient and opulent family, listened to the voic
ambition ; and a conspiracy was formed during a short abs
of Pertinax, which was crushed by his sudden return to R
and his resolute behaviour. Falco was on the point of b
justly condemned to death as a public enemy, had he not
saved by the earnest and sincere entreaties of the inj
emperor ; who conjured the senate that the purity of his r
might not be stained by the blood even of a guilty senator.

Murder of Pertinax by the Prætorians, A.D. 193, March 28

These disappointments served only to irritate the rage of
Prætorian guards. On the twenty-eight of March, eighty-six
only after the death of Commodus, a general sedition broke
in the camp, which the officers wanted either power or inclina
to suppress. Two or three hundred of the most despe
soldiers marched at noon-day, with arms in their hands and
in their looks, towards the Imperial palace. The gates
thrown open by their companions upon guard ; and by
domestics of the old court, who had already formed a se
conspiracy against the life of the too virtuous emperor. On
news of their approach, Pertinax, disdaining either flight or
cealment, advanced to meet his assassins ; and recalled to t
minds his own innocence, and the sanctity of their recent c
For a few moments they stood in silent suspense, ashame
their atrocious design, and awed by the venerable aspect
majestic firmness of their sovereign, till at length, the despa
pardon reviving their fury, a barbarian of the country
Tongres [60] levelled the first blow against Pertinax, who
instantly dispatched with a multitude of wounds. His h
separated from his body, and placed on a lance, was carried
triumph to the Prætorian camp, in the sight of a mournful
indignant people, who lamented the unworthy fate of
excellent prince, and the transient blessings of a reign,
memory of which could serve only to aggravate their approac
misfortunes.[61]

[60] The modern bishopric of Liege. This soldier probably belonged to the
vian horse-guards, who were mostly raised in the Duchy of Gueldres an
neighbourhood, and were distinguished by their valour, and by the boldnes
which they swam their horses across the broadest and most rapid rivers.
Hist. iv. 12. Dion, l. lv. p. 797 [24]. Lipsius de magnitudine Romanâ,
c. 4.

[61] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1232 [10]. Herodian, l. ii. p. 60. [5]. Hist. Augus
58 [viii. 11]. Victor in Epitom., and in Cæsarib. Eutropius, viii. 16.

CHAPTER V

blic sale of the empire to Didius Julianus by the Prætorian Guards—Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia, declare against the murderers of Pertinax—Civil wars, and victory of Severus over his three rivals—Relaxation of discipline—New maxims of government

Proportion of the military force, to the number of the people

IE power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive onarchy than in a small community. It has been calculated the ablest politicians that no state, without being soon exusted, can maintain above the hundredth part of its members arms and idleness. But, although this relative proportion y be uniform, its influence over the rest of the society will vary cording to the degree of its positive strength. The advanges of military science and discipline cannot be exerted, unless proper number of soldiers are united into one body, and tuated by one soul. With a handful of men, such an union ould be ineffectual; with an unwieldy host, it would be imacticable; and the powers of the machine would be alike stroyed by the extreme minuteness, or the excessive weight, its springs. To illustrate this observation we need only rect that there is no superiority of natural strength, artificial eapons, or acquired skill, which could enable one man to keep constant subjection one hundred of his fellow-creatures: the rant of a single town, or a small district, would soon discover at an hundred armed followers were a weak defence against n thousand peasants or citizens; but an hundred thousand wellsciplined soldiers will command, with despotic sway, ten illions of subjects; and a body of ten or fifteen thousand ards will strike terror into the most numerous populace that er crowded the streets of an immense capital.

The Prætorian guards

Their institution

The Prætorian bands, whose licentious fury was the first mptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, arcely amounted to the last mentioned number.[1] They de-

[1] * They were originally nine or ten thousand men (for Tacitus and Dion are not reed upon the subject), divided into as many cohorts. Vitellius increased them

* Since this note was written, the work of Borghesi on the history of the etorian Prefects has been completed (mainly by E. Cuq) and published as vol. of his collected works, in two parts, 1897. It contains a list of the prefects, h before and after Constantine, with the evidence set out in full.

rived their institution from Augustus. That crafty tyra sensible that laws might colour, but that arms alone cou maintain, his usurped dominion, had gradually formed t powerful body of guards, in constant readiness to protect person, to awe the senate, and either to prevent or to crush t first motions of rebellion. He distinguished these favour troops by a double pay, and superior privileges; but, as th formidable aspect would at once have alarmed and irritated t Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capit whilst the remainder was dispersed in the adjacent towns Italy.[2] But after fifty years of peace and servitude, Tiber ventured on a decisive measure, which for ever riveted t fetters of his country. Under the fair pretences of relievi Italy from the heavy burden of military quarters, and of int ducing a stricter discipline among the guards, he assembl them at Rome, in a permanent camp,[3] which was fortified w skilful care,[4] and placed on a commanding situation.[5]

Their camp

Such formidable servants are always necessary, but oft fatal, to the throne of despotism. By thus introducing t Prætorian guards, as it were, into the palace and the senate, t emperors taught them to perceive their own strength, and t weakness of the civil government; to view the vices of th masters with familiar contempt, and to lay aside that revere tial awe which distance only, and mystery, can preserve towa an imaginary power. In the luxurious idleness of an opule city, their pride was nourished by the sense of their irresistil weight; nor was it possible to conceal from them that t person of the sovereign, the authority of the senate, the pub

Their strength and confidence

to sixteen thousand, and, as far as we can learn from inscriptions, they never af wards sunk much below that number. See Lipsius de magnitudine Romanâ, i [The last statement must be modified. The Prætorian guard was a reorganisat of the bodyguard of the generals of the republic. Augustus fixed the Prætori in Rome, and determined, as the number of the guard, nine cohorts, each col consisting of a thousand men. A tenth cohort was subsequently added, but exact date of this addition is not clear. Vitellius, as Gibbon says (Tacitus, H ii. 93), increased the number to sixteen; but Vespasian restored the original n (Aurelius Victor, Cæs. 40, 24, cp. Zosimus ii. 17). There is some evidence in scriptions suggesting that there were twelve cohorts between the reign of Ga and that of Vitellius. For number of præfects, see Appendix 11.]

[2] Sueton. in August. c. 49.

[3] Tacit. Annal. iv. 2. Suet. in Tiber. c. 37. Dion Cassius, l. lvii. p. 867 [19]

[4] In the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the Prætorian camp attacked and defended with all the machines used in the siege of the best forti cities. Tacit. Hist. iii. 84.

[5] Close to the walls of the city, on the broad summit of the Quirinal and Vi nal hills. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 174. Donatus de Româ Antiquâ, p. [Not on the hills, but to the east of them.]

sure, and the seat of empire, were all in their hands. divert the Prætorian bands from these dangerous reflections firmest and best established princes were obliged to mix idishments with commands, rewards with punishments, to er their pride, indulge their pleasures, connive at their gularities, and to purchase their precarious faith by a liberal ative; which, since the elevation of Claudius, was exacted legal claim on the accession of every new emperor.[6]

Their specious claims

he advocates of the guards endeavoured to justify by argu- nts the power which they asserted by arms; and to maintain , according to the purest principles of the constitution, *their* sent was essentially necessary in the appointment of an eror. The election of consuls, of generals, and of magistrates, ever it had been recently usurped by the senate, was the ient and undoubted right of the Roman people.[7] But where the Roman people to be found? Not surely amongst the ed multitude of slaves and strangers that filled the streets of ne; a servile populace, as devoid of spirit as destitute of pro- ty. The defenders of the state, selected from the flower of ian youth,[8] and trained in the exercise of arms and virtue, e the genuine representatives of the people, and the best itled to elect the military chief of the republic. These asser- s, however defective in reason, became unanswerable, when fierce Prætorians increased their weight, by throwing, like barbarian conqueror of Rome, their swords into the scale.[9]

They offer the empire to sale

he Prætorians had violated the sanctity of the throne, by the cious murder of Pertinax; they dishonoured the majesty of by their subsequent conduct. The camp was without a ler, for even the præfect Lætus, who had excited the tempest, dently declined the public indignation. Amidst the wild rder, Sulpicianus, the emperor's father-in-law, and governor

laudius, raised by the soldiers to the empire, was the first who gave a dona- He gave *quina dena*, 120*l.* (Sueton in Claud. c. 10): when Marcus, with his ague Lucius Verus, took quiet possession of the throne, he gave *vicena*, 160*l.* ach of the guards. Hist. August. p. 25 [iv. 7]. (Dion, lxxiii. p. 1231 [8].) may form some idea of the amount of these sums, by Hadrian's complaint, the promotion of a Cæsar had cost him *ter millies*, two millions and a half ng.

Cicero de Legibus, iii. 3. The first book of Livy, and the second of Dionysius Halicarnassus, show the authority of the people, even in the election of the s.

They were originally recruited in Latium, Etruria, and the old colonies (Tacit. il. iv. 5). The emperor Otho compliments their vanity, with the flattering of Italiæ Alumni, Romana vere juventus. Tacit. Hist. i. 84.

n the siege of Rome by the Gauls. See Livy, v. 48. Plutarch. in Camill. p. 29].

of the city, who had been sent to the camp on the first alarm mutiny, was endeavouring to calm the fury of the multitude, w he was silenced by the clamorous return of the murderers, bea on a lance the head of Pertinax. Though history has ac tomed us to observe every principle and every passion yield to the imperious dictates of ambition, it is scarcely credible t in these moments of horror, Sulpicianus should have aspired ascend a throne polluted with the recent blood of so ne relation, and so excellent a prince. He had already begun use the only effectual argument, and to treat for the Impe dignity; but the more prudent of the Prætorians, apprehen that, in this private contract, they should not obtain a just p for so valuable a commodity, ran out upon the ramparts; with a loud voice, proclaimed that the Roman world was to disposed of to the best bidder by public auction.[10]

It is purchased by Julian, A.D. 193, March 28

This infamous offer, the most insolent excess of military lice diffused an universal grief, shame, and indignation through the city. It reached at length the ears of Didius Julianu wealthy senator, who, regardless of the public calamities, indulging himself in the luxury of the table.[11] His wife and daughter, his freedmen and his parasites, easily convinced that he deserved the throne, and earnestly conjured him to brace so fortunate an opportunity. The vain old man haste to the Prætorian camp, where Sulpicianus was still in treaty the guards; and began to bid against him from the foot of rampart. The unworthy negotiation was transacted by fait emissaries, who passed alternately from one candidate to other, and acquainted each of them with the offers of his r Sulpicianus had already promised a donative of five thous drachms (above one hundred and sixty pounds) to each sold when Julian, eager for the prize, rose at once to the sum of six t sand two hundred and fifty drachms, or upwards of two hund pounds sterling. The gates of the camp were instantly thr open to the purchaser; he was declared emperor, and rece an oath of allegiance from the soldiers, who retained huma enough to stipulate that he should pardon and forget the petition of Sulpicianus.

Julian is acknowledged by the senate

It was now incumbent on the Prætorians to fulfil the co tions of the sale. They placed their new sovereign, whom

[10] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1234 [11]. Herodian, l. ii. p. 63 [6]. Hist. August. [ix. 2]. Though the three historians agree that it was in fact an auction, dian alone affirms that it was proclaimed as such by the soldiers.

[11] Spartianus softens the most odious parts of the character and elevation of J

rved and despised, in the centre of their ranks, surrounded n on every side with their shields, and conducted him in close ler of battle through the deserted streets of the city. The nate was commanded to assemble, and those who had been the tinguished friends of Pertinax, or the personal enemies of lian, found it necessary to affect a more than common share of isfaction at this happy revolution.[12] After Julian had filled e senate house with armed soldiers, he expatiated on the eedom of his election, his own eminent virtues, and his full surance of the affections of the senate. The obsequious sembly congratulated their own and the public felicity; gaged their allegiance, and conferred on him all the several anches of the Imperial power.[13] From the senate Julian was nducted by the same military procession, to take possession of e palace. The first objects which struck his eyes were the andoned trunk of Pertinax, and the frugal entertainment epared for his supper. The one he viewed with indifference; e other with contempt. A magnificent feast was prepared by s order, and he amused himself till a very late hour, with dice, d the performances of Pylades, a celebrated dancer. Yet it as observed that, after the crowd of flatterers dispersed, and ft him to darkness, solitude, and terrible reflection, he passed sleepless night; revolving most probably in his mind his own sh folly, the fate of his virtuous predecessor, and the doubtful d dangerous tenure of an empire, which had not been ac- uired by merit, but purchased by money.[14]

Takes possession of the palace

He had reason to tremble. On the throne of the world he und himself without a friend, and even without an adherent. he guards themselves were ashamed of the prince whom their arice had persuaded them to accept; nor was there a citizen ho did not consider his elevation with horror, as the last sult on the Roman name. The nobility, whose conspicuous ation and ample possessions exacted the strictest caution, dis- embled their sentiments, and met the affected civility of the

The public discontent

[12] Dion Cassius, at that time prætor, had been a personal enemy to Julian, lxxiii. p. 1235 [12].

[13] Hist. August. p. 61 [ix. 3, 3]. We learn from thence one curious circum- nce, that the new emperor, whatever had been his birth, was immediately gregated to the number of Patrician families. [His imperial name was M. lius Severus Julianus. His wife, Mallia Scantilla, and his daughter, Didia ra, received the title of Augusta (Hist. Aug. ix. 3). Pertinax had declined that nour for his consort.]

[14] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1235 [13]. Hist. August. p. 61 [ix. 3, 10]. I have endeavoured blend into one consistent story, the seeming contradictions of the two writers.

emperor with smiles of complacency and professions of dut
But the people, secure in their numbers and obscurity, gave
free vent to their passions. The streets and public places
Rome resounded with clamours and imprecations. The enrag
multitude affronted the person of Julian, rejected his liberalit
and, conscious of the impotence of their own resentment, th
called aloud on the legions of the frontiers to assert the violat
majesty of the Roman empire.

The armies of Britain, Syria, and Pannonia declare against Julian

The public discontent was soon diffused from the centre
the frontiers of the empire. The armies of Britain, of Syria, a
of Illyricum, lamented the death of Pertinax, in whose compan
or under whose command, they had so often fought and co
quered. They received with surprise, with indignation, a
perhaps with envy, the extraordinary intelligence that t
Prætorians had disposed of the empire by public auction; a
they sternly refused to ratify the ignominious bargain. Th
immediate and unanimous revolt was fatal to Julian, but it w
fatal at the same time to the public peace; as the generals
the respective armies, Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, a
Septimius Severus, were still more anxious to succeed than
revenge the murdered Pertinax. Their forces were exact
balanced. Each of them was at the head of three legions
with a numerous train of auxiliaries; and, however different
their characters, they were all soldiers of experience and cap
city.

Clodius Albinus in Britain

Clodius Albinus,[16] governor of Britain, surpassed both h
competitors in the nobility of his extraction, which he deriv
from some of the most illustrious names of the old republic
But the branch, from whence he claimed his descent, was su
into mean circumstances, and transplanted into a remote pr
vince. It is difficult to form a just idea of his true charact
Under the philosophic cloak of austerity, he stands accused
concealing most of the vices which degrade human nature
But his accusers are those venal writers who adored the fortu
of Severus, and trampled on the ashes of an unsuccessful riv
Virtue, or the appearances of virtue, recommended Albinus
the confidence and good opinion of Marcus; and his preservi

[15] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1235 [14].

[16] [D. Clodius Septimus Albinus.]

[17] The Postumian and the Cejonian; the former of whom was raised to
consulship in the fifth year after its institution.

[18] Spartianus in his undigested collections, mixes up all the virtues and all
vices that enter into the human composition, and bestows them on the sa
object. Such, indeed, are many of the characters in the Augustan history.

the son the same interest which he had acquired with father is a proof at least that he was possessed of a very ble disposition. The favour of a tyrant does not always ose a want of merit in the object of it; he may, without nding it, reward a man of worth and ability, or he may find a man useful to his own service. It does not appear that nus served the son of Marcus, either as the minister of his lties, or even as the associate of his pleasures. He was em-ed in a distant honourable command, when he received a dential letter from the emperor, acquainting him of the sonable designs of some discontented generals, and authoriz-him to declare himself the guardian and successor of the ne, by assuming the title and ensigns of Cæsar.[19] The rnor of Britain wisely declined the dangerous honour, which d have marked him for the jealousy, or involved him in the oaching ruin, of Commodus. He courted power by nobler, t least, by more specious, arts. On a premature report of death of the emperor, he assembled his troops; and, in an uent discourse, deplored the inevitable mischiefs of des-m, described the happiness and glory which their ancestors enjoyed under the consular government, and declared his resolution to reinstate the senate and people in their legal ority. This popular harangue was answered by the loud mations of the British legions, and received at Rome with ret murmur of applause. Safe in the possession of his little d, and in the command of an army less distinguished indeed iscipline than for numbers and valour,[20] Albinus braved the aces of Commodus, maintained towards Pertinax a stately guous reserve, and instantly declared against the usurpation ulian. The convulsions of the capital added new weight to sentiments, or rather to his professions, of patriotism. A rd to decency induced him to decline the lofty titles of ustus and Emperor, and he imitated perhaps the example of a, who, on a similar occasion, had styled himself the tenant of the senate and people.[21]

Pescennius Niger in Syria

ersonal merit alone had raised Pescennius Niger[22] from an ure birth and station to the government of Syria; a lucra-

Hist. August. p. 80, 84 [xii. 2, and 6, 4, 5].

Pertinax, who governed Britain a few years before, had been left for dead nutiny of the soldiers. Hist. August. p. 54 [viii. 3]. Yet they loved and ted him; admirantibus eam virtutem cui irascebantur.

Sueton. in Galb. c. 10. [Legatum se senatus ac pop. R. professus est.]

C. Pescennius Niger Justus.]

tive and important command, which in times of civil confusio gave him a near prospect of the throne. Yet his parts seem t have been better suited to the second than to the first rank ; h was an unequal rival, though he might have approved himself a excellent lieutenant, to Severus, who afterwards displayed th greatness of his mind by adopting several useful institution from a vanquished enemy.[23] In his government, Niger ac quired the esteem of the soldiers and the love of the provincial His rigid discipline fortified the valour and confirmed th obedience of the former, whilst the voluptuous Syrians were les delighted with the mild firmness of his administration than wit the affability of his manners and the apparent pleasure wit which he attended their frequent and pompous festivals.[24] A soon as the intelligence of the atrocious murder of Pertinax ha reached Antioch, the wishes of Asia invited Niger to assume th Imperial purple and revenge his death. The legions of th eastern frontier embraced his cause ; the opulent but unarme provinces, from the frontiers of Æthiopia[25] to the Hadriati cheerfully submitted to his power ; and the kings beyond th Tigris and the Euphrates congratulated his election, and offere him their homage and services. The mind of Niger was n capable of receiving this sudden tide of fortune ; he flattere himself that his accession would be undisturbed by competitio and unstained by civil blood ; and whilst he enjoyed the va pomp of triumph, he neglected to secure the means of victor Instead of entering into an effectual negotiation with th powerful armies of the West, whose resolution might decide, at least must balance, the mighty contest ; instead of advancin without delay towards Rome and Italy, where his presence w impatiently expected,[26] Niger trifled away in the luxury Antioch those irretrievable moments which were diligent improved by the decisive activity of Severus.[27]

[23] Hist. August. p. 76 [xi. 7].

[24] Herod. l. ii. p. 68 [7]. The Chronicle of John Malala, of Antioch, shows zealous attachment of his countrymen to these festivals, which at once gratif their superstition, and their love of pleasure.

[25] A king of Thebes, in Egypt, is mentioned in the Augustan History, as an a and, indeed, as a personal friend of Niger. If Spartianus is not, as I stron suspect, mistaken, he has brought to light a dynasty of tributary princes tota unknown to history.

[26] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1238 [15]. Herod, l. ii. p. 67 [7]. A verse in every or mouth at that time, seems to express the general opinion of the three riva Optimus est *Niger*, bonus *Afer*, pessimus *Albus*. Hist. August. p. 75 [xi. 8]. [T verse was originally in Greek, but the Latin of Spartianus was innocent of false quantity which Gibbon ascribes to it. It ran *optimus est Fuscus*, &c.]

[27] Herodian, l. ii. p. 71 [8].

e country of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which occupied the between the Danube and the Hadriatic, was one of the nd most difficult conquests of the Romans. In the defence tional freedom, two hundred thousand of these barbarians nce appeared in the field, alarmed the declining age of stus, and exercised the vigilant prudence of Tiberius at ead of the collected force of the empire.[28] The Pannonians ed at length to the arms and institutions of Rome. Their t subjection, however, the neighbourhood, and even the re of the unconquered tribes, and perhaps the climate, ted, as it has been observed, to the production of great s and slow minds,[29] all contributed to preserve some remains eir original ferocity, and, under the tame resemblance of n provincials, the hardy features of the natives were still discerned. Their warlike youth afforded an inexhaustible y of recruits to the legions stationed on the banks of the be, and which, from a perpetual warfare against the ans and Sarmatians, were deservedly esteemed the best s in the service. Pannonia and Dalmatia

e Pannonian army was at this time commanded by Septimius rus, a native of Africa, who, in the gradual ascent of private urs, had concealed his daring ambition, which was never ted from its steady course by the allurements of pleasure, apprehension of danger, or the feelings of humanity.[30] he first news of the murder of Pertinax, he assembled his s, painted in the most lively colours the crime, the insolence, the weakness of the Prætorian guards, and animated the ns to arms and to revenge. He concluded (and the perora- was thought extremely eloquent) with promising every er about four hundred pounds; an honourable donative, le in value to the infamous bribe with which Julian had hased the empire.[31] The acclamations of the army im- ately saluted Severus with the names of Augustus, Pertinax, Emperor; and he thus attained the lofty station to which Septimius Severus declared emperor by the Pannonian legions, A.D. 193, April 13

See an account of that memorable war in Velleius Paterculus, ii. 119, &c., who in the army of Tiberius.

Such is the reflection of Herodian, l. ii. p. 74 [9]. Will the modern Austrians the influence?

In the letter to Albinus, already mentioned, Commodus accuses Severus as the ambitious generals who censured his conduct, and wished to occupy his Hist. August. p. 80 [xii. 2].

Pannonia was too poor to supply such a sum. It was probably promised in mp, and paid at Rome, after the victory. In fixing the sum, I have adopted njecture of Casaubon. See Hist. August. p. 65 [x. 5]. Comment. p. 115.

he was invited by conscious merit and a long train of drea and omens, the fruitful offspring either of his superstition policy.[32]

The new candidate for empire saw and improved the peculi advantage of his situation. His province extended to t Julian Alps, which gave an easy access into Italy; and remembered the saying of Augustus, That a Pannonian arm might in ten days appear in sight of Rome.[33] By a celeri proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, he might reaso ably hope to revenge Pertinax, punish Julian, and receive t homage of the senate and people, as their lawful emper before his competitors, separated from Italy by an immen tract of sea and land, were apprized of his success, or even his election. During the whole expedition, he scarcely allow himself any moments for sleep or food; marching on foot, a in complete armour, at the head of his columns, he insinuat himself into the confidence and affection of his troops, press their diligence, revived their spirits, animated their hopes, a was well satisfied to share the hardships of the meanest soldi whilst he kept in view the infinite superiority of his reward.

Marches into Italy

The wretched Julian had expected, and thought hims prepared, to dispute the empire with the governor of Syri but in the invincible and rapid approach of the Pannoni legions, he saw his inevitable ruin.[34] The hasty arrival every messenger increased his just apprehensions. He w successively informed that Severus had passed the Alps; t the Italian cities, unwilling or unable to oppose his progre had received him with the warmest professions of joy and dut that the important place of Ravenna had surrendered witho resistance, and that the Hadriatic fleet was in the hands of t conqueror. The enemy was now within two hundred and fi

Advances towards Rome

[32] Herodian, l. ii. p. 78 [11]. Severus was declared emperor on the banks the Danube, either at Carnuntum, according to Spartianus (Hist. August. p [x. 5]) or else at Sabaria, according to Victor [Cæs. xx. 1]. Mr. Hume, in suppo that the birth and dignity of Severus were too much inferior to the Imperial cro and that he marched into Italy as general only, has not considered this transac with his usual accuracy. (Essay on the original contract.) [The date in Hist. A is *idibus Augustis*, but Baronius (followed by Pagi, Gibbon, Clinton and Ceuleneer) amended *idibus April.*, 13th April.]

[33] Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 111. We must reckon the march from nearest verge of Pannonia, and extend the sight of the city, as far as two hun miles.

[34] [Schiller remarks that the events which attended the elevation of Vespa repeat themselves in that of Severus. His march recalls the march of Anto Primus with the Pannonian legions. Julianus neglected to occupy the Al passes.]

s of Rome; and every moment diminished the narrow span
fe and empire allotted to Julian.

e attempted, however, to prevent, or at least to protract, Distress of Julian
uin. He implored the venal faith of the Prætorians, filled
city with unavailing preparations for war, drew lines round
suburbs, and even strengthened the fortifications of the
ce; as if those last intrenchments could be defended,
out hope of relief, against a victorious invader. Fear and
ne prevented the guards from deserting his standard; but
trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, commanded
an experienced general, and accustomed to vanquish the
arians on the frozen Danube.[35] They quitted, with a sigh,
pleasures of the baths and theatres, to put on arms, whose
they had almost forgotten, and beneath the weight of
ch they were oppressed. The unpractised elephants, whose
outh appearance, it was hoped, would strike terror into the
y of the north, threw their unskilful riders; and the awk-
d evolutions of the marines, drawn from the fleet of Misenum,
e an object of ridicule to the populace; whilst the senate
oyed, with secret pleasure, the distress and weakness of the
per.[36]

very motion of Julian betrayed his trembling perplexity. His uncertain conduct
insisted that Severus should be declared a public enemy by
senate. He entreated that the Pannonian general might be
ciated to the empire. He sent public ambassadors of con-
r rank to negotiate with his rival; he dispatched private
ssins to take away his life. He designed that the Vestal
ins, and all the colleges of priests, in their sacerdotal habits,
bearing before them the sacred pledges of the Roman re-
on, should advance, in solemn procession, to meet the
nonian legions; and, at the same time, he vainly tried to
rrogate, or to appease, the fates, by magic ceremonies, and
awful sacrifices.[37]

everus, who dreaded neither his arms nor his enchantments, Is deserted by the Prætorians
rded himself from the only danger of secret conspiracy by
faithful attendance of six hundred chosen men, who never
ted his person or their cuirasses, either by night or by day,
ng the whole march. Advancing with a steady and rapid

This is not a puerile figure of rhetoric, but an allusion to a real fact recorded
ion, l. lxxi. p. 1181 [7]. It probably happened more than once.
Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1238 [16]. Herodian, l. ii. p. 81 [11]. There is no surer
of the military skill of the Romans, than their first surmounting the idle
, and afterwards disdaining the dangerous use, of elephants in war.
Hist. August. p. 62, 63 [ix. 5, 6].

course, he passed, without difficulty, the defiles of the Apenni
received into his party the troops and ambassadors sent to reta
his progress, and made a short halt at Interamna, about seven
miles from Rome. His victory was already secure; but t
despair of the Prætorians might have rendered it bloody; a
Severus had the laudable ambition of ascending the thro
without drawing the sword.[38] His emissaries, dispersed in t
capital, assured the guards that, provided they would aband
their worthless prince, and the perpetrators of the murder
Pertinax, to the justice of the conqueror, he would no long
consider that melancholy event as the act of the whole bo
The faithless Prætorians, whose resistance was supported o
by sullen obstinacy, gladly complied with the easy conditio
seized the greatest part of the assassins, and signified to t
senate that they no longer defended the cause of Julian. Th
assembly, convoked by the consul, unanimously acknowledg
Severus as lawful emperor, decreed divine honours to Pertin
and pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against
unfortunate successor. Julian was conducted into a priva
apartment of the baths of the palace, and beheaded as a comm
criminal, after having purchased, with an immense treasure,
anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days.[39] T
almost incredible expedition of Severus, who, in so short a spa
of time, conducted a numerous army from the banks of t
Danube to those of the Tiber, proves at once the plenty
provisions produced by agriculture and commerce, the goodn
of the roads, the discipline of the legions, and the indol
subdued temper of the provinces.[40]

and condemned and executed by order of the senate, A.D. 193, June 2

Disgrace of the Prætorian guards

The first cares of Severus were bestowed on two measures, t
one dictated by policy, the other by decency; the revenge, a
the honours due to the memory of Pertinax. Before the n
emperor entered Rome, he issued his commands to the P

[38] Victor [Cæs. 19] and Eutropius, viii. 17, mention a combat near
Milvian Bridge, the Ponte Molle, unknown to the better and more anc
writers.

[39] Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1240 [17]. Herodian, l. ii. p. 83 [12]. Hist. Augus
63 [ix. 9].

[40] From these sixty-six days, we must first deduct sixteen, as Pertinax
murdered on the 28th of March, and Severus most probably elected on the 13t
April. (See Hist. August. p. 65, and Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i
393, Note 7.) We cannot allow less than ten days after his election, to p
numerous army in motion. Forty days remain for this rapid march, and, as
may compute about eight hundred miles from Rome to the neighbourhoo
Vienna, the army of Severus marched twenty miles every day, without halt or i
mission.

n guards, directing them to wait his arrival on a large plain
the city, without arms, but in the habits of ceremony in
h they were accustomed to attend their sovereign. He was
ed by those haughty troops, whose contrition was the effect
heir just terrors. A chosen part of the Illyrian army en-
passed them with leveled spears. Incapable of flight or
tance, they expected their fate in silent consternation.
erus mounted the tribunal, sternly reproached them with
idy and cowardice, dismissed them with ignominy from the
t which they had betrayed, despoiled them of their splendid
ments, and banished them, on pain of death, to the distance
n hundred miles from the capital. During the transaction,
her detachment had been sent to seize their arms, occupy
r camp, and prevent the hasty consequences of their despair.[41]
he funeral and consecration of Pertinax was next solemnized
every circumstance of sad magnificence.[42] The senate, Funeral and apotheosis of Pertinax
a melancholy pleasure, performed the last rites to that
llent prince, whom they had loved and still regretted. The
cern of his successor was probably less sincere. He esteemed
virtues of Pertinax, but those virtues would for ever have
ined his ambition to a private station. Severus pronounced
funeral oration with studied eloquence, inward satisfaction,
well-acted sorrow; and by this pious regard to his memory,
vinced the credulous multitude that *he alone* was worthy to
ly his place. Sensible, however, that arms, not ceremonies,
t assert his claim to the empire, he left Rome at the end
hirty days, and, without suffering himself to be elated by this
victory, prepared to encounter his more formidable rivals.
he uncommon abilities and fortune of Severus have induced Success of Severus against Niger and against Albinus
legant historian to compare him with the first and greatest
he Cæsars.[43] The parallel is, at least, imperfect. Where
we find, in the character of Severus, the commanding
eriority of soul, the generous clemency, and the various
ius, which could reconcile and unite the love of pleasure,
thirst of knowledge, and the fire of ambition?[44] In one

Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1241 [1]. Herodian, l. ii. p. 84 [13].

Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1244 [4], who assisted at the ceremony as a senator, gives
st pompous description of it.

Herodian, l. iii. p. 112 [7, 7].

Though it is not, most assuredly, the intention of Lucan to exalt the
acter of Cæsar, yet the idea he gives of that hero, in the tenth book of the Phar-
where he describes him, at the same time, making love to Cleopatra,
ining a siege against the power of Egypt, and conversing with the sages of
ountry, is, in reality, the noblest panegyric.

A.D. 193-197

instance only, they may be compared, with some degree of pr priety, in the celerity of their motion, and their civil victori In less than four years,[45] Severus subdued the riches of the ea and the valour of the west. He vanquished two competitors reputation and ability, and defeated numerous armies, provid with weapons and discipline equal to his own. In that age, t art of fortification and the principles of tactics, were well und stood by all the Roman generals; and the constant superior of Severus was that of an artist, who uses the same instrume with more skill and industry than his rivals. I shall not, ho ever, enter into a minute narrative of these military operatio but as the two civil wars against Niger and against Albin were almost the same in their conduct, event, and consequenc I shall collect into one point of view the most striking circu stances, tending to develop the character of the conqueror, a the state of the empire.

Conduct of the two civil wars. Arts of Severus

Falsehood and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to t dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degradi idea of meanness than when they are found in the intercou of private life. In the latter, they discover a want of courag in the other, only a defect of power; and, as it is impossible the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers a enemies by their own personal strength, the world, under t name of policy, seems to have granted them a very liberal dulgence of craft and dissimulation. Yet the arts of Seve cannot be justified by the most ample privileges of state-reas He promised only to betray, he flattered only to ruin; a however he might occasionally bind himself by oaths a treaties, his conscience, obsequious to his interest, always leased him from the inconvenient obligation.[46]

toward Niger

If his two competitors, reconciled by their common dang had advanced upon him without delay, perhaps Severus wo have sunk under their united effort. Had they even attack him at the same time, with separate views and separate armi the contest might have been long and doubtful. But they f singly and successively, an easy prey to the arts as well as ar of their subtle enemy, lulled into security by the moderation his professions, and overwhelmed by the rapidity of his acti He first marched against Niger, whose reputation and power the most dreaded: but he declined any hostile declaratio

[45] Reckoning from his election, April 13, 193, to the death of Albinus, Febr 19, 197. See Tillemont's Chronology.

[46] Herodian, l. iii. p. 85 [13].

pressed the name of his antagonist, and only signified to senate and people his intention of regulating the eastern inces. In private he spoke of Niger, his old friend and nded successor,[47] with the most affectionate regard, and ly applauded his generous design of revenging the murder ertinax. To punish the vile usurper of the throne was the of every Roman general. To persevere in arms, and to st a lawful emperor, acknowledged by the senate, would e render him criminal.[48] The sons of Niger had fallen into hands among the children of the provincial governors, de- ed at Rome as pledges for the loyalty of their parents.[49] As as the power of Niger inspired terror, or even respect, they e educated with the most tender care, with the children of erus himself; but they were soon involved in their father's , and removed, first by exile, and afterwards by death, from eye of public compassion.[50]

towards Albinus

Whilst Severus was engaged in his eastern war, he had reason pprehend that the governor of Britain might pass the sea the Alps, occupy the vacant seat of empire, and oppose return with the authority of the senate and the forces of the st. The ambiguous conduct of Albinus, in not assuming the perial title, left room for negotiation. Forgetting at once professions of patriotism and the jealousy of sovereign power, ccepted the precarious rank of Cæsar, as a reward for his l neutrality. Till the first contest was decided, Severus ted the man whom he had doomed to destruction with ry mark of esteem and regard. Even in the letter in which announced his victory over Niger he styles Albinus the ther of his soul and empire, sends him the affectionate saluta- s of his wife Julia, and his young family, and entreats him to serve the armies and the republic faithful to their common rest. The messengers charged with this letter were in- cted to accost the Cæsar with respect, to desire a private ence, and to plunge their daggers into his heart.[51] The

Whilst Severus was very dangerously ill, it was industriously given out that he ded to appoint Niger and Albinus his successors. As he could not be sincere respect to both, he might not be so with regard to either. Yet Severus carried ypocrisy so far as to profess that intention in the memoirs of his own life.

Hist. August. p. 65 [x. 8, 7; and cp. 6].

This practice, invented by Commodus, proved very useful to Severus. He l, at Rome, the children of many of the principal adherents of his rivals; ie employed them more than once to intimidate, or seduce, the parents. Herodian, l. iii. p. 96. Hist. August. p. 67, 68 [x. 8, 9].

Hist. August. p. 81 [xii. 7]. Spartianus has inserted this curious letter at full n.

conspiracy was discovered, and the too credulous Albinus length passed over to the continent, and prepared for an uneq contest with his rival, who rushed upon him at the head o veteran and victorious army.

Events of the civil wars

The military labours of Severus seem inadequate to the i portance of his conquests. Two engagements, the one n the Hellespont, the other in the narrow defiles of Cilicia,

[194 A.D.]

cided the fate of his Syrian competitor; and the troops of Eur asserted their usual ascendant over the effeminate natives Asia.[52] The battle of Lyons, where one hundred and fifty th sand Romans[53] were engaged, was equally fatal to Albinus. T

[197 A.D.]

valour of the British army maintained, indeed, a sharp and dou ful contest with the hardy discipline of the Illyrian legio The fame and person of Severus appeared, during a few momer irrecoverably lost, till that warlike prince rallied his faint troops, and led them on to a decisive victory.[54] The war finished by that memorable day.

decided by one or two battles

The civil wars of modern Europe have been distinguished, only by the fierce animosity, but likewise by the obstinate p severance, of the contending factions. They have genera been justified by some principle, or, at least, coloured by so pretext, of religion, freedom, or loyalty. The leaders w nobles of independent property and hereditary influence. T troops fought like men interested in the decision of the quarr and as military spirit and party zeal were strongly diffu throughout the whole community, a vanquished chief was i mediately supplied with new adherents, eager to shed th blood in the same cause. But the Romans, after the fall of republic, combated only for the choice of masters. Under standard of a popular candidate for empire, a few enlis from affection, some from fear, many from interest, none fr principle. The legions, uninflamed by party zeal, were allu into civil war by liberal donatives, and still more liberal promi A defeat, by disabling the chief from the performance of engagements, dissolved the mercenary allegiance of his follow and left them to consult their own safety by a timely de tion of an unsuccessful cause. It was of little moment to provinces under whose name they were oppressed or governe

[52] Consult the third book of Herodian, and the seventy-fourth book of D Cassius.

[53] Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1260 [6].

[54] Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1261 [6]. Herodian, l. iii. p. 110 [7]. Hist. August 68 [x. 11]. The battle was fought in the plain of Trevoux, three or four lea from Lyons. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 406, note 18.

y were driven by the impulsion of the present power, and as n as that power yielded to a superior force, they hastened to flore the clemency of the conqueror, who, as he had an nense debt to discharge, was obliged to sacrifice the most ty countries to the avarice of his soldiers. In the vast ex- t of the Roman empire there were few fortified cities able of protecting a routed army; nor was there any person, family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported the powers of government, was capable of restoring the cause sinking party.[55]

Yet, in the contest between Niger and Severus, a single city erves an honourable exception. As Byzantium was one of greatest passages from Europe into Asia, it had been vided with a strong garrison, and a fleet of five hundred sels was anchored in the harbour.[56] The impetuosity of erus disappointed this prudent scheme of defence; he left his generals the siege of Byzantium, forced the less guarded sage of the Hellespont, and, impatient of a meaner enemy, ssed forward to encounter his rival. Byzantium, attacked by umerous and increasing army, and afterwards by the whole al power of the empire, sustained a siege of three years, and nained faithful to the name and memory of Niger. The zens and soldiers (we know not from what cause) were mated with equal fury; several of the principal officers of ger, who despaired of, or who disdained a pardon, had thrown mselves into this last refuge; the fortifications were esteemed pregnable, and, in the defence of the place, a celebrated gineer displayed all the mechanic powers known to the cients.[57] Byzantium, at length, surrendered to famine. The [A.D. 196] gistrates and soldiers were put to the sword, the walls nolished, the privileges suppressed, and the destined capital the East subsisted only as an open village, subject to the ulting jurisdiction of Perinthus. The historian Dion, who had nired the flourishing, and lamented the desolate, state of zantium, accused the revenge of Severus for depriving the

Siege of Byzantium

[55] Montesquieu, Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, ii.

[56] Most of these, as may be supposed, were small open vessels; some, however, e galleys of two, and a few of three, ranks of oars.

[57] The engineer's name was Priscus. His skill saved his life, and he was taken the service of the conqueror. For the particular facts of the siege consult n Cassius (l. lxx[i]v. p. 1251 [11-13]) and Herodian (l. iii. p. 95 [6]): for the ry of it, the fanciful Chevalier de Folard may be looked into. See Polybe, i. p. 76.

Roman people of the strongest bulwark against the barbaria of Pontus and Asia.[58] The truth of this observation was but t well justified in the succeeding age, when the Gothic flee covered the Euxine, and passed through the undefend Bosphorus into the centre of the Mediterranean.

Death of Niger and Albinus. Cruel consequences of the civil wars

Both Niger and Albinus were discovered and put to death their flight from the field of battle. Their fate excited neith surprise nor compassion. They had staked their lives again the chance of empire, and suffered what they would ha inflicted; nor did Severus claim the arrogant superiority suffering his rivals to live in a private station. But his u forgiving temper, stimulated by avarice, indulged a spirit revenge, where there was no room for apprehension. The mo considerable of the provincials, who, without any dislike to t fortunate candidate, had obeyed the governor under who authority they were accidentally placed, were punished death, exile, and especially by the confiscation of their estat Many cities of the East were stript of their ancient honours, a obliged to pay, into the treasury of Severus, four times t amount of the sums contributed by them for the service of Niger

Animosity of Severus against the senate

Till the final decision of the war, the cruelty of Severus wa in some measure, restrained by the uncertainty of the event a his pretended reverence for the senate. The head of Albinu accompanied with a menacing letter, announced to the Roma that he was resolved to spare none of the adherents of his u fortunate competitors. He was irritated by the just suspici that he had never possessed the affections of the senate, a he concealed his old malevolence under the recent discovery some treasonable correspondencies. Thirty-five senators, ho ever, accused of having favoured the party of Albinus, he free pardoned; and, by his subsequent behaviour, endeavoured convince them that he had forgotten, as well as forgiven, th supposed offences. But, at the same time, he condemn forty-one[60] other senators, whose names history has recorde

[58] Notwithstanding the authority of Spartianus and some modern Greeks, may be assured, from Dion and Herodian, that Byzantium, many years after death of Severus, lay in ruins. [But the statement of Spartianus (xiii. 1), t Severus repented of his harshness, owing (ostensibly?) to the intercession of Ca calla, is confirmed by the legend Ἀντωνείνια Σεβαστά, on Byzantine coins; Eckh ii. 32 (cp. Schiller, i. 713). Not Byzantium, but its fortifications, were demolishe

[59] Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1250 [8].

[60] Dion (l. lxxv. p. 1262 [8]), only twenty-nine senators are mentioned by h but forty-one are named in the Augustan History, p. 69 [x. 13], among whom w six of the name of Pescennius. Herodian (l. iii. p. 115 [8]) speaks in genera the cruelties of Severus. [It is safer here to follow Dion.]

r wives, children, and clients, attended them in death, and noblest provincials of Spain and Gaul were involved in the e ruin. Such rigid justice, for so he termed it, was, in the ion of Severus, the only conduct capable of ensuring peace ne people, or stability to the prince; and he condescended ntly to lament that, to be mild, it was necessary that he ld first be cruel.[61]

The wisdom and justice of his government

he true interest of an absolute monarch generally coincides that of his people. Their numbers, their wealth, their r, and their security, are the best and only foundations of real greatness; and, were he totally devoid of virtue, prudence ht supply its place, and would dictate the same rule of luct. Severus considered the Roman empire as his property, had no sooner secured the possession, than he bestowed his on the cultivation and improvement of so valuable an isition. Salutary laws, executed with inflexible firmness, corrected most of the abuses with which, since the death Marcus, every part of the government had been infected. In administration of justice, the judgments of the emperor e characterized by attention, discernment, and impartiality: whenever he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was erally in favour of the poor and oppressed; not so much ed from any sense of humanity, as from the natural pro- sity of a despot to humble the pride of greatness, and to all his subjects to the same common level of absolute endence. His expensive taste for building, magnificent vs, and, above all, a constant and liberal distribution of corn provisions, were the surest means of captivating the ction of the Roman people.[62] The misfortunes of civil ord were obliterated. The calm of peace and prosperity was e more experienced in the provinces, and many cities, ored by the munificence of Severus, assumed the title of his nies, and attested by public monuments their gratitude and city.[63] The fame of the Roman arms was revived by that

General peace and prosperity

Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 20, 13].

Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1272 [1]. Hist. August. p. 67 [x. 8]. Severus celebrated secular games with extraordinary magnificence, and he left in the public aries a provision of corn for seven years, at the rate of 75,000 modii, out 2500 quarters per day. I am persuaded that the granaries of Severus supplied for a long term, but I am not less persuaded that policy on one , and admiration on the other, magnified the hoard far beyond its true contents. See Spanheim's treatise of ancient medals, the inscriptions, and our learned ilers Spon and Wheeler, Shaw, Pocock, &c., who, in Africa, Greece, and have found more monuments of Severus, than of any other Roman emperor soever.

warlike and successful emperor,[64] and he boasted, with a j pride, that, having received the empire oppressed with forei and domestic wars, he left it established in profound, univer and honourable peace.[65]

Relaxation of military discipline

Although the wounds of civil war appeared completely heal its mortal poison still lurked in the vitals of the constituti Severus possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability ; b the daring soul of the first Cæsar, or the deep policy of August were scarcely equal to the task of curbing the insolence of t victorious legions. By gratitude, by misguided policy, by see ing necessity, Severus was induced to relax the nerves of dis pline.[66] The vanity of his soldiers was flattered with the honour wearing gold rings ; their ease was indulged in the permission living with their wives in the idleness of quarters. He increas their pay beyond the example of former times, and taught th to expect, and soon to claim, extraordinary donatives on eve public occasion of danger or festivity. Elated by success, en vated by luxury, and raised above the level of subjects by th dangerous privileges,[67] they soon became incapable of milit fatigue, oppressive to the country, and impatient of a just su ordination. Their officers asserted the superiority of rank by more profuse and elegant luxury. There is still extant a let of Severus, lamenting the licentious state of the army, and horting one of his generals to begin the necessary reformati from the tribunes themselves ; since, as he justly observes, t officer who has forfeited the esteem, will never command t obedience, of his soldiers.[68] Had the emperor pursued the tr of reflection, he would have discovered that the primary ca of this general corruption might be ascribed, not indeed to t example, but to the pernicious indulgence, however, of the co mander-in-chief.

New establishment of the Prætorian guards

The Prætorians, who murdered their emperor and sold t

[64] He carried his victorious arms to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capitals of Parthian monarchy. I shall have occasion to mention this war in its proper pl

[65] *Etiam in Britannis*, was his own just and emphatic expression. H August. 73 [x. 23].

[66] Herodian, l. iii. p. 115 [8]. Hist. August. p. 68 [x. 12]. [The popularity Severus and his son Caracalla with the soldiers is illustrated by the vast num of inscriptions in their honour. It is true that discipline was in some resp relaxed ; but in other respects the efficacy of the army was improved.]

[67] Upon the insolence and privileges of the soldiers [prætorian guards], the satire, falsely ascribed to Juvenal, may be consulted ; the style and circumstan of it would induce me to believe that it was composed under the reign of Severu that of his son. [The opinion of modern scholars inclines to regard it as genui

[68] Hist. August. p. 75 [xi. 3].

ire, had received the just punishment of their treason; but necessary, though dangerous, institution of guards was soon ored on a new model by Severus, and increased to four times ancient number.[69] Formerly these troops had been recruited taly; and, as the adjacent provinces gradually imbibed the er manners of Rome, the levies were extended to Macedonia, icum and Spain. In the room of these elegant troops, better oted to the pomp of courts than to the uses of war, it was blished by Severus, that, from all the legions of the frontiers, soldiers most distinguished for strength, valour, and fidelity, uld be occasionally draughted, and promoted, as an honour reward, into the more eligible service of the guards.[70] By new institution, the Italian youth were diverted from the rcise of arms, and the capital was terrified by the strange ect and manners of a multitude of barbarians. But Severus ered himself that the legions would consider these chosen torians as the representatives of the whole military order; that the present aid of fifty thousand men, superior in arms appointments to any force that could be brought into the against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, secure the empire to himself and his posterity.

The office of Prætorian præfect

he command of these favoured and formidable troops soon ame the first office of the empire. As the government de- erated into military despotism, the Prætorian præfect, who his origin had been a simple captain of the guards, was ed, not only at the head of the army, but of the finances, even of the law. In every department of administration, he resented the person, and exercised the authority, of the peror. The first præfect who enjoyed and abused this nense power was Plautianus, the favourite minister of erus. His reign lasted above ten years, till the marriage of daughter with the eldest son of the emperor, which seemed assure his fortune, proved the occasion of his ruin.[71] The nosities of the palace, by irritating the ambition and alarm-

Herodian, l. iii. p. 131 [13].

Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1243 [2]. [It was the policy of Severus (the *African*) to the distinctions which had subsisted between Italy and the provinces. Some of Hadrian had already pointed in the same direction. See Appendix 11. calla, as we shall see, carried the policy to its logical end.]

One of his most daring and wanton acts of power was the castration of a lred free Romans, some of them married men, and even fathers of families; ly that his daughter, on her marriage with the young emperor, might be ded by a train of eunuchs worthy of an Eastern queen. Dion, l. lxxvi. p. [1]. [The daughter's name was Fulvia Plautilla. Caracalla hated her.].

ing the fears of Plautianus, threatened to produce a revolutio and obliged the emperor, who still loved him, to consent wi reluctance to his death.[72] After the fall of Plautianus, eminent lawyer, the celebrated Papinian, was appointed execute the motley office of Prætorian præfect.[73]

The senate oppressed by military despotism

Till the reign of Severus, the virtue, and even the good sen of the emperors had been distinguished by their zeal or affect reverence for the senate, and by a tender regard to the ni frame of civil policy instituted by Augustus. But the youth Severus had been trained in the implicit obedience of camp and his riper years spent in the despotism of military comman His haughty and inflexible spirit could not discover, or wou not acknowledge, the advantage of preserving an intermedia power, however imaginary, between the emperor and the arm He disdained to profess himself the servant of an assembly th detested his person and trembled at his frown; he issued commands, where his request would have proved as effectua assumed the conduct and style of a sovereign and a conquer and exercised, without disguise, the whole legislative as well the executive power.

New maxims of the Imperial prerogative

The victory over the senate was easy and inglorious. Eve eye and every passion were directed to the supreme magistra who possessed the arms and treasure of the state; whilst t senate, neither elected by the people, nor guarded by t military force, nor animated by public spirit, rested its declini authority on the frail and crumbling basis of ancient opinio The fine theory of a republic insensibly vanished, and made w for the more natural and substantial feelings of monarchy. As t freedom and honours of Rome were successfully communicated the provinces, in which the old government had been either u known, or was remembered with abhorrence, the tradition of publican maxims was gradually obliterated. The Greek historia of the age of the Antonines[74] observe, with a malicious pleasu that, although the sovereign of Rome, in compliance with an ob lete prejudice, abstained from the name of king, he possessed t full measure of regal power. In the reign of Severus, the sena was filled with polished and eloquent slaves from the eastern p

[73] Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1274 [4]. Herodian, l. iii. p. 122, 129 [12]. The grammar of Alexandria seems, as it is not unusual, much better acquainted with mysterious transaction; and more assured of the guilt of Plautianus than Roman senator ventures to be. [Date 205 A.D.]

[73] [But not alone. He shared the office with Maecius Lætus.]

[74] Appian in Procem. [6].

s, who justified personal flattery by speculative principles of
ude. These new advocates of prerogative were heard with
ire by the court, and with patience by the people, when they
ated the duty of passive obedience, and descanted on the
able mischiefs of freedom. The lawyers and the historians
rred in teaching that the Imperial authority was held, not
e delegated commission, but by the irrevocable resignation,
e senate; that the emperor was freed from the restraint
il laws, could command by his arbitrary will the lives and
nes of his subjects, and might dispose of the empire as of
ivate patrimony.[75] The most eminent of the civil lawyers,
particularly Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, flourished under
house of Severus; and the Roman jurisprudence, having
y united itself with the system of monarchy, was supposed
ve attained its full maturity and perfection.

e contemporaries of Severus, in the enjoyment of the peace
lory of his reign, forgave the cruelties by which it had been
duced. Posterity, who experienced the fatal effect of his
ms and example, justly considered him as the principal
r of the decline of the Roman empire.[76]

ion Cassius seems to have written with no other view, than to form these
ns into an historical system. The Pandects will show how assiduously the
s, on their side, laboured in the cause of prerogative.
Cp. Appendix II.]

CHAPTER VI

The death of Severus — Tyranny of Caracalla — Usurpation Macrinus — Follies of Elagabalus — Virtues of Alexan Severus — Licentiousness of the army — General state of Roman Finances

Greatness and discontent of Severus

THE ascent to greatness, however steep and dangerous, n entertain an active spirit with the consciousness and exercise its own powers: but the possession of a throne could never afford a lasting satisfaction to an ambitious mind. This mel choly truth was felt and acknowledged by Severus. Fortu and merit had, from an humble station, elevated him to the f place among mankind. He had been "all things," as he s himself, "and all was of little value".[1] Distracted with care, not of acquiring, but of preserving, an empire, oppres with age and infirmities, careless of fame,[2] and satiated w power, all his prospects of life were closed. The desire of p petuating the greatness of his family was the only remain wish of his ambition and paternal tenderness.

His wife the Empress Julia

Like most of the Africans, Severus was passionately addic to the vain studies of magic and divination, deeply versed the interpretation of dreams and omens, and perfectly acquain with the science of judicial astrology; which, in almost ev age except the present, has maintained its dominion over mind of man. He had lost his first wife whilst he was gover of the Lyonnese Gaul.[3] In the choice of a second, he sou only to connect himself with some favourite of fortune; and soon as he had discovered that a young lady of Emesa in S had *a royal nativity*, he solicited and obtained her hand.[4] J

[1] Hist. August. p. 71 [x. 18]. "Omnia fui, et nihil expedit."

[2] Dion Cassius, l. lxxvi. p. 1284 [16].

[3] About the year 186. M. de Tillemont is miserably embarrassed with a pas of Dion, in which the Empress Faustina, who died in the year 175, is introd as having contributed to the marriage of Severus and Julia (l. lxxiv. p. 1243 The learned compiler forgot that Dion is relating, not a real fact, but a drea Severus; and dreams are circumscribed to no limits of time or space. Di de Tillemont imagine that marriages were *consummated* in the Temple of V at Rome? Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 389. Note 6.

[4] Hist. August. p. 65 [x. 3].

na (for that was her name) deserved all that the stars promise her. She possessed, even in an advanced age, the ctions of beauty,[5] and united to a lively imagination a firm- of mind, and strength of judgment, seldom bestowed on ex. Her amiable qualities never made any deep impres- on the dark and jealous temper of her husband; but, in son's reign, she administered the principal affairs of the re with a prudence that supported his authority; and with deration that sometimes corrected his wild extravagancies.[6] applied herself to letters and philosophy with some success, vith the most splendid reputation. She was the patroness ery art, and the friend of every man of genius.[7] The ful flattery of the learned has celebrated her virtues; but, if ay credit the scandal of ancient history, chastity was very om being the most conspicuous virtue of the Empress Julia.[8]

Their two sons, Caracalla and Geta

o sons, Caracalla[9] and Geta, were the fruit of this marriage, he destined heirs of the empire. The fond hopes of the r, and of the Roman world, were soon disappointed by vain youths, who displayed the indolent security of hered- princes, and a presumption that fortune would supply lace of merit and application. Without any emulation of e or talents, they discovered, almost from their infancy, a and implacable antipathy for each other.

Their mutual aversion to each other

eir aversion, confirmed by years, and fomented by the arts eir interested favourites, broke out in childish, and gradu- n more serious, competitions; and at length divided the re, the circus, and the court, into two factions, actuated e hopes and fears of their respective leaders. The prudent ror endeavoured, by every expedient of advice and author- o allay this growing animosity. The unhappy discord of ns clouded all his prospects, and threatened to overturn a e raised with so much labour, cemented with so much , and guarded with every defence of arms and treasure. an impartial hand he maintained between them an exact

st. August. p. 85 [xiii. 10].
on Cassius, l. lxxvii. p. 1304, 1312 [18 and lxxviii. 4].
e a Dissertation of Menage, at the end of his edition of Diogenes Laertius, minis Philosophis.
on, l. lxxvi. p. 1285 [16]. Aurelius Victor [Cæsar, xx. 23].
ssianus was his first name, as it had been that of his maternal grandfather. his reign he assumed the appellation of Antoninus, which is employed by s and ancient historians. [But see next note.] After his death, the public ation loaded him with the nick-names of Tarantus and Caracalla. The first rrowed from a celebrated Gladiator, the second from a long Gallic gown he distributed to the people of Rome. [Hist. Aug. x. 11.]

balance of favour, conferred on both the rank of August with the revered name of Antoninus; and for the first ti the Roman world beheld three emperors.[10] Yet even t equal conduct served only to inflame the contest, wh the fierce Caracalla asserted the right of primogenitu and the milder Geta courted the affections of the peo and the soldiers. In the anguish of a disappointed fath Severus foretold that the weaker of his sons would fall sacrifice to the stronger; who, in his turn, would be ruin by his own vices.[11]

Three emperors

The Caledonian war, A.D. 208

In these circumstances the intelligence of a war in Brita and of an invasion of the province by the barbarians of t North, was received with pleasure by Severus. Though t vigilance of his lieutenants might have been sufficient to re the distant enemy, he resolved to embrace the honourable p text of withdrawing his sons from the luxury of Rome, wh enervated their minds and irritated their passions, and of inur their youth to the toils of war and government. Notwithsta ing his advanced age (for he was above threescore), and gout, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, he transport himself in person into that remote island, attended by his t sons, his whole court, and a formidable army. He immediat passed the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, and entered t enemy's country, with the design of completing the long-tempted conquest of Britain. He penetrated to the north extremity of the island without meeting an enemy. But t concealed ambuscades of the Caledonians, who hung unseen the rear and flanks of his army, the coldness of the climate, a the severity of a winter march across the hills and morasses Scotland, are reported to have cost the Romans above fi

[10] The elevation of Caracalla is fixed by the accurate M. de Tillemont to year 198; the association of Geta, to the year 208. [Caracalla (the proper f is Caracallus) was made Cæsar in 196 at Viminacium, imperator under the n M. Aurelius Antoninus in 197, and finally Augustus with "tribunician pow in 198 (in the tenth year of his age). It is to be observed that on his first el tion Severus associated his name with the memory of Pertinax, and he app on inscriptions as L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus. But afterward resolved to affiliate his family to the more august house of the Antonines. Imperial style he was the son of Marcus and brother of Commodus; both and his sons were Antonines. He even thought of perpetuating *Antoninus* *Augustus*) as a synonym of the Imperial title. See Spartianus, Geta, ii. 2, *animo habuit Severus ut omnes deinceps principes quemadmodum Augusti etiam Antonini dicerentur idque amore Marci*, &c. As for the associatio Geta as Augustus, it must be placed in Sept. or Oct. 209 A.D.; cp. Corp. Att. iii. p. 9.]

[11] Herodian, l. iii. p. 130 [13]. The lives of Caracalla and Geta, in Augustan History.

sand men.[12] The Caledonians at length yielded to the rful and obstinate attack, sued for peace, and surrendered rt of their arms, and a large tract of territory.[13] But their rent submission lasted no longer than the present terror. oon as the Roman legions had retired, they resumed their le independence. Their restless spirit provoked Severus to a new army into Caledonia, with the most bloody orders, o subdue, but to extirpate the natives. They were saved ne death of their haughty enemy.[14]

Fingal and his heroes

his Caledonian war, neither marked by decisive events, nor nded with any important consequences, would ill deserve our ntion; but it is supposed, not without a considerable degree robability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the shining period of the British history or fable. Fingal, se fame, with that of his heroes and bards, has been revived ur language by a recent publication, is said to have com- ded the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have ed the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signa ry on the banks of the Carun, in which the son of *the King e World*, Caracul, fled from his arms along the fields of his e.[15] Something of a doubtful mist still hangs over these nland traditions; nor can it be entirely dispelled by the ingenious researches of modern criticism:[16] but if we d, with safety, indulge the pleasing supposition that Fingal l, and that Ossian sung, the striking contrast of the situation manners of the contending nations might amuse a philo- ic mind. The parallel would be little to the advantage of more civilized people, if we compared the unrelenting nge of Severus with the generous clemency of Fingal; the

Contrast of the Caledonians and the Romans

[An exaggeration of Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 13. That some battles of im- nce were fought is proved by an inscription discovered some years ago *m. Epig.* iv. p. 327).]

[The wall of Antoninus Pius had been abandoned; but Severus seems to have ed the wall of Hadrian from Tunnocelum to Segedunum. Hist. Aug. x. 18, 2. per transversam insulam ducto utrinque ad finem oceani munivit. Whence t the name *Britannicus Maximus.*]

Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1280, &c. [12]. Herodian, l. iii. p. 132, &c. [14].

Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 175.

That the Caracul of Ossian is the Caracalla of the Roman history, is, ps, the only point of British antiquity in which Mr. Macpherson and Mr. aker are of the same opinion; and yet the opinion is not without difficulty. e Caledonian war, the son of Severus was known only by the appellation of inus; and it may seem strange that the Highland bard should describe him nick-name, invented four years afterwards, scarcely used by the Romans till the death of that emperor, and seldom employed by the most ancient ians. See Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1317 [9]. Hist. August. p. 89 [xiii. 9]. . Victor [epit. 21]. Euseb. in Chron. ad ann. 214.

timid and brutal cruelty of Caracalla, with the bravery, t tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chie who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the Imper standard, with the freeborn warriors who started to arms at t voice of the King of Morven; if, in a word, we contemplat the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm virtues nature, and the degenerate Romans, polluted with the me vices of wealth and slavery.

Ambition of Caracalla

The declining health and last illness of Severus inflamed t wild ambition and black passions of Caracalla's soul. Impatie of any delay or division of empire, he attempted, more th once, to shorten the small remainder of his father's days, a endeavoured, but without success, to excite a mutiny among t troops.[17] The old emperor had often censured the misguid lenity of Marcus, who, by a single act of justice, might ha saved the Romans from the tyranny of his worthless son. Plac in the same situation, he experienced how easily the rigour o judge dissolves away in the tenderness of a parent. He delibe ated, he threatened, but he could not punish; and this last a only instance of mercy was more fatal to the empire than a lo series of cruelty.[18] The disorder of his mind irritated the pai of his body; he wished impatiently for death, and hastened t

Death of Severus, and accession of his two sons, A.D. 211, 4th February

instant of it by his impatience. He expired at York in t sixty-fifth year of his life, and in the eighteenth of a glorio and successful reign. In his last moments he recommend concord to his sons, and his sons to the army. The saluta advice never reached the heart, or even the understanding, the impetuous youths; but the more obedient troops, mindful their oath of allegiance, and of the authority of their deceas master, resisted the solicitations of Caracalla, and proclaim both brothers emperors of Rome. The new princes soon left t Caledonians in peace, returned to the capital, celebrated th father's funeral with divine honours, and were cheerfu acknowledged as lawful sovereigns by the senate, the people, a the provinces. Some pre-eminence of rank seems to have be allowed to the elder brother; but they both administered t empire with equal and independent power.[19]

Jealousy and hatred of the two emperors

Such a divided form of government would have proved

[17] Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1282 [14]. Hist. August. p. 72 [x. 20]. Aurel. Victor.
[18] Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1283 [14]. Hist. August. p. 89 [xiii. 11, 3].
[19] Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1284 [15]. Herodian, l. iii. p. 135 [15]. [The title *P Max.* seems to have been reserved for the elder brother; Geta is only *Pont.* coins and inscriptions. Eckhel, vii. 230.]

e of discord between the most affectionate brothers. It mpossible that it could long subsist between two implacable ies, who neither desired nor could trust a reconciliation. as visible that one only could reign, and that the other fall; and each of them, judging of his rival's designs by his guarded his life with the most jealous vigilance from the ted attacks of poison or the sword. Their rapid journey gh Gaul and Italy, during which they never ate at the table, or slept in the same house, displayed to the provinces odious spectacle of fraternal discord. On their arrival at e, they immediately divided the vast extent of the Imperial e.[20] No communication was allowed between their apart- s; the doors and passages were diligently fortified, and ds posted and relieved with the same strictness as in a ged place. The emperors met only in public, in the nce of their afflicted mother; and each surrounded by a erous train of armed followers. Even on these occasions of mony, the dissimulation of courts could ill disguise the our of their hearts.[21]

Fruitless negotiation for dividing the empire between them

is latent civil war already distracted the whole government, a scheme was suggested that seemed of mutual benefit to ostile brothers. It was proposed, that, since it was impos- to reconcile their minds, they should separate their est, and divide the empire between them. The conditions e treaty were already drawn with some accuracy. It was ed, that Caracalla, as the elder brother, should remain in ssion of Europe and the western Africa; and that he should quish the sovereignty of Asia and Egypt to Geta, who t fix his residence at Alexandria or Antioch, cities little in- r to Rome itself in wealth and greatness; that numerous

Mr. Hume is justly surprised at a passage of Herodian (l. iv. p. 139 [1]), who, is occasion, represents the Imperial palace as equal in extent to [greater the rest of Rome. The whole region of the Palatine Mount on which it was occupied, at most, a circumference of eleven or twelve thousand feet. (See otitia and Victor, in Nardini's Roma Antica.) But we should recollect that ulent senators had almost surrounded the city with their extensive gardens burb palaces, the greatest part of which had been gradually confiscated by perors. If Geta resided in the gardens that bore his name on the Jani- and if Caracalla inhabited the gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline, the rothers were separated from each other by the distance of several miles; t the intermediate space was filled by the Imperial gardens of Sallust, of us, of Agrippa, of Domitian, of Caius, &c., all skirting round the city, and nected with each other, and with the palace, by bridges thrown over the and the streets. But this explanation of Herodian would require, though it erves, a particular dissertation, illustrated by a map of ancient Rome. [See , Essay on Populousness of Ancient Nations.—Milman.]

Herodian, l. iv. p. 139 [1].

armies should be constantly encamped on either side of Thracian Bosphorus, to guard the frontiers of the rival monarc and that the senators of European extraction should acknowl the sovereign of Rome, whilst the natives of Asia followed emperor of the East. The tears of the empress Julia interru the negotiation, the first idea of which had filled every Ro breast with surprise and indignation. The mighty mas conquest was so intimately connected by the hand of time policy, that it required the most forcible violence to ren asunder. The Romans had reason to dread that the disjoi members would soon be reduced by a civil war under dominion of one master; but, if the separation was perma the division of the provinces must terminate in the dissolu of an empire whose unity had hitherto remained inviolate.[22]

Murder of Geta, A.D. 212, February 27

Had the treaty been carried into execution, the sovereig Europe might soon have been the conqueror of Asia; but C calla obtained an easier though a more guilty victory. He fully listened to his mother's entreaties, and consented to his brother in her apartment, on terms of peace and recon tion. In the midst of their conversation, some centurions, had contrived to conceal themselves, rushed with drawn sw upon the unfortunate Geta. His distracted mother strov protect him in her arms; but in the unavailing struggle, she wounded in the hand, and covered with the blood of her you son, while she saw the elder animating and assisting[23] the of the assassins. As soon as the deed was perpetrated, Cara with hasty steps and horror in his countenance, ran toward Prætorian camp, as his only refuge, and threw himself on ground before the statues of the tutelar deities.[24] The sol

[22] Herodian, l. iv. p. 144 [4]. [Yet, in this proposal, we can see foresha the geographical division of the Empire among two or more Emperors, whi made a principle of government by Diocletian. The tendency to disrupti tween the eastern and western groups of provinces had been already seen revolt of Avidius Cassius, and the "tyranny" of Pescennius Niger. In fact, elevation of Severus, the four sovereignties of Diocletian,—the four Præfect Constantine—are shadowed forth. (1) Albinus in Gaul; (2) Julianus in (3) Severus in the Illyrian Peninsula; (4) Niger in Asia, are, in a sense runners of Constantine, Maximian, Galerius, and Diocletian respectively.]

[23] Caracalla consecrated, in the temple of Serapis, the sword, with which boasted, he had slain his brother Geta. Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307 [23].

[24] Herodian, l. iv. p. 147 [4]. In every Roman camp there was a chapel near the head-quarters, in which the statues of the tutelar deities preserved and adored; and we may remark that the eagles, and other m ensigns, were in the first rank of these deities; an excellent institution, confirmed discipline by the sanction of religion. See Lipsius de Militiâ Ro iv. 5, v. 2.

ıpted to raise and comfort him. In broken and disordered
s he informed them of his imminent danger and fortunate
e: insinuating that he had prevented the designs of his
y, and declared his resolution to live and die with his faith-
roops. Geta had been the favourite of the soldiers; but
laint was useless, revenge was dangerous, and they still rever-
l the son of Severus. Their discontent died away in idle
ıurs, and Caracalla soon convinced them of the justice of
ıuse, by distributing in one lavish donative the accumulated
ıres of his father's reign.[25] The real *sentiments* of the
rs alone were of importance to his power or safety. Their
ration in his favour commanded the dutiful *professions* of the
e. The obsequious assembly was always prepared to ratify
ecision of fortune; but as Caracalla wished to assuage the
emotions of public indignation, the name of Geta was
ioned with decency, and he received the funeral honours
Roman emperor.[26] Posterity, in pity to his misfortune, has
a veil over his vices. We consider that young prince as
nnocent victim of his brother's ambition, without recollect-
hat he himself wanted power, rather than inclination, to
ımmate the same attempts of revenge and murder.

Remorse and cruelty of Caracalla

e crime went not unpunished. Neither business, nor
ure, nor flattery, could defend Caracalla from the stings of
lty conscience; and he confessed, in the anguish of a tor-
l mind, that his disordered fancy often beheld the angry
s of his father and his brother rising into life, to threaten and
aid him.[27] The consciousness of his crime should have in-
l him to convince mankind, by the virtues of his reign,
the bloody deed had been the involuntary effect of fatal
ssity. But the repentance of Caracalla only prompted him
move from the world whatever could remind him of his
, or recall the memory of his murdered brother. On his
n from the senate to the palace, he found his mother in the
pany of several noble matrons, weeping over the untimely
of her younger son. The jealous emperor threatened them
instant death: the sentence was executed against Fadilla,
ast remaining daughter of the Emperor Marcus; and even
afflicted Julia was obliged to silence her lamentations, to

Herodian, l. iv. p. 148 [4]. Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1289 [3].
Geta was placed among the gods. Sit *divus*, dum non sit *vivus*, said his
r. Hist. August. p. 91 [xiv. 2, 8]. Some marks of Geta's consecration are
und upon medals.
Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1301 [15].

suppress her sighs, and to receive the assassin with smiles of and approbation. It was computed that, under the vague pellation of the friends of Geta, above twenty thousand pers of both sexes suffered death. His guards and freedmen, ministers of his serious business, and the companions of his loo hours, those who by his interest had been promoted to any co mands in the army or provinces, with the long connected ch of their dependants, were included in the proscription; wh endeavoured to reach every one who had maintained smallest correspondence with Geta, who lamented his dea or who even mentioned his name.[28] Helvius Pertinax, son to prince of that name, lost his life by an unseasonable witticisr It was a sufficient crime of Thrasea Priscus to be descend from a family in which the love of liberty seemed an heredit quality.[30] The particular causes of calumny and suspicion w at length exhausted; and when a senator was accused of be a secret enemy to the government, the emperor was satisf with the general proof that he was a man of property and virt From this well-grounded principle, he frequently drew the m bloody inferences.

Death of Papinian

The execution of so many innocent citizens was bewailed the secret tears of their friends and families. The death Papinian, the Prætorian præfect,[31] was lamented as a pul calamity. During the last seven years of Severus, he had ex cised the most important offices of the state, and, by his salut influence, guided the emperor's steps in the paths of justice moderation. In full assurance of his virtue and abilities, Seve on his deathbed, had conjured him to watch over the prospe and union of the Imperial family.[32] The honest labours Papinian served only to inflame the hatred which Caracalla already conceived against his father's minister. After murder of Geta, the præfect was commanded to exert the pow

[28] Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1290 [4]. Herodian, l. iv. p. 150 [6]. Dion (p. [lxxvii. 12]) says that the comic poets no longer durst employ the name of in their plays, and that the estates of those who mentioned it in their testam were confiscated.

[29] Caracalla had assumed the names of several conquered nations; Pert observed, that the name of *Geticus* (he had obtained some advantage over Goths or Getæ) would be a proper addition to Parthicus, Alemannicus, &c. August. p. 89 [xiii. 10, 6].

[30] Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1291 [5]. He was probably descended from Helvi Priscus, and Thrasea Pætus, those patriots whose firm, but useless and unsea able, virtue has been immortalized by Tacitus.

[31] [Dion says that Caracalla, on his accession, had deposed Papinian from office; and Dion was in a position to know.]

[32] It is said that Papinian was himself a relation of the empress Julia.

s skill and eloquence in a studied apology for that atrocious . The philosophic Seneca had condescended to compose a ar epistle to the senate, in the name of the son and assassin grippina.[33] "That it was easier to commit than to justify rricide," was the glorious reply of Papinian,[34] who did not iate between the loss of life and that of honour. Such in- d virtue, which had escaped pure and unsullied from the gues of courts, the habits of business, and the arts of his ession, reflects more lustre on the memory of Papinian than is great employments, his numerous writings, and the supe- reputation as a lawyer, which he has preserved through every of the Roman jurisprudence.[35]

His tyranny extended over the whole empire

had hitherto been the peculiar felicity of the Romans, and ie worst of times their consolation, that the virtue of the erors was active, and their vice indolent. Augustus, Trajan, rian, and Marcus, visited their extensive dominions in on, and their progress was marked by acts of wisdom and ficence. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who ed almost constantly at Rome, or in the adjacent villas, confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders.[36] But calla was the common enemy of mankind. He left the A.D. 213 al (and he never returned to it)[37] about a year after the ler of Geta. The rest of his reign was spent in the several inces of the empire, particularly those of the East, and y province was, by turns, the scene of his rapine and cruelty. senators, compelled by fear to attend his capricious ons, were obliged to provide daily entertainments at an ense expense, which he abandoned with contempt to his ds; and to erect, in every city, magnificent palaces and tres, which he either disdained to visit, or ordered to be ediately thrown down. The most wealthy families were ed by partial fines and confiscations, and the great body of ubjects oppressed by ingenious and aggravated taxes.[38] In

Tacit. Annal. xiv. 2.
Hist. August. p. 88 [xiii. 8, 5].
With regard to Papinian, see Heineccius's Historia Juris Romani, l. 330, &c.
true cause of Papinian's execution was probably that he was highly un- ar with the soldiers, whose wishes Caracalla was always ready to humour.]
Tiberius and Domitian never moved from the neighbourhood of Rome. made a short journey into Greece. "Et laudatorum Principum usus ex quamvis procul agentibus. Sævi proximis ingruunt." Tacit. Hist. iv. 75.
There is a coin, however, which suggests that Caracalla returned to Italy Rome in 214 A.D., after his successful campaigns on the Rhine and Neckar; el, vii. 211.]
Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1294 [9].

the midst of peace, and upon the slightest provocation, issued his commands, at Alexandria in Egypt, for a gene massacre. From a secure post in the temple of Serapis, viewed and directed the slaughter of many thousand citize as well as strangers, without distinguishing either the numb or the crime of the sufferers; since, as he coolly informed t senate, *all* the Alexandrians, those who had perished and th who had escaped, were alike guilty.[39]

Relaxation of discipline

The wise instructions of Severus never made any last impression on the mind of his son, who, although not destit of imagination and eloquence, was equally devoid of judgm and humanity.[40] One dangerous maxim, worthy of a tyra was remembered and abused by Caracalla, "To secure affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subje as of little moment".[41] But the liberality of the father h been restrained by prudence, and his indulgence to the tro was tempered by firmness and authority. The careless profus of the son was the policy of one reign, and the inevitable r both of the army and of the empire. The vigour of the soldie instead of being confirmed by the severe discipline of cam melted away in the luxury of cities. The excessive increase their pay and donatives[42] exhausted the state to enrich

[39] Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307 [23]. Herodian, l. iv. p. 158 [9]. The for represents it as a cruel massacre, the latter as a perfidious one too. It se probable that the Alexandrians had irritated the tyrant by their railleries, perhaps by their tumults. [The punishment of Alexandria, which was gi over to the soldiers to plunder, was hardly such an act of caprice as Gib represents it. The harshness of Caracalla to that city was inherited from Seve under both reigns Alexandrine coins are very rare. There seem to have b serious conspiracies in Egypt, which demanded summary dealing.]

[40] Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1296 [11].

[41] Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1284 [15]. M. Wotton (Hist. of Rome, p. 330) susp that this maxim was invented by Caracalla himself and attributed to his father.

[42] Dion (l. lxxviii. p. 1343 [36]) informs us that the extraordinary gift Caracalla to the army amounted annually to seventy millions of drachmæ (ab two millions three hundred and fifty thousand pounds). There is another pass in Dion, concerning the military pay, infinitely curious; were it not obsc imperfect, and probably corrupt. The best sense seems to be, that the Prætor guards received twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ (forty pounds) a year. (D l. lxxvii. p. 1307 [24].) Under the reign of Augustus, they were paid at the of two drachmæ, or denarii, per day, 720 a year (Tacit. Annal. i. 17). Domit who increased the soldiers' pay one-fourth, must have raised the Prætorians to drachmæ (Gronovius de Pecuniâ Veteri, l. iii. c. 2). These successive augme tions ruined the empire, for, with the soldiers' pay, their numbers too were creased. We have seen the Prætorians alone increased from 10,000 to 50, men. {It has been pointed out by Guizot that Gibbon misunderstood the pass of Dion, which refers not to the annual pay of soldiers, but to the recompe given at the end of their term of service. But, as Valois saw, the numbers s to be transposed, for the prætorians received a larger sum than the legionaries.

ary order, whose modesty in peace, and service in war, is secured by an honourable poverty. The demeanour of calla was haughty and full of pride; but with the troops he ot even the proper dignity of his rank, encouraged their ent familiarity, and, neglecting the essential duties of a ral, affected to imitate the dress and manners of a common er.

Murder of Caracalla, A.D. 217 8th March [43]

was impossible that such a character and such a conduct as of Caracalla could inspire either love or esteem; but, as as his vices were beneficial to the armies, he was secure the danger of rebellion. A secret conspiracy, provoked by own jealousy, was fatal to the tyrant. The Prætorian ecture was divided between two ministers. The military rtment was intrusted to Adventus, an experienced rather an able soldier; and the civil affairs were transacted by ius Macrinus, who, by his dexterity in business, had raised elf, with a fair character, to that high office. But his ır varied with the caprice of the emperor, and his life might nd on the slightest suspicion, or the most casual circum-ce. Malice or fanaticism had suggested to an African, ly skilled in the knowledge of futurity, a very dangerous iction, that Macrinus and his son were destined to reign the empire. The report was soon diffused through the ince; and, when the man was sent in chains to Rome, he asserted, in the presence of the præfect of the city, the of his prophecy. That magistrate, who had received the pressing instructions to inform himself of the *successors* of calla, immediately communicated the examination of the an to the Imperial court, which at that time resided in a. But notwithstanding the diligence of the public engers, a friend of Macrinus found means to apprize him e approaching danger. The emperor received the letters Rome; and, as he was then engaged in the conduct of a iot race, he delivered them unopened to the Prætorian ect, directing him to dispatch the ordinary affairs, and to rt the more important business that might be contained in n. Macrinus read his fate and resolved to prevent it. He med the discontents of some inferior officers, and employed nand of Martialis, a desperate soldier, who had been refused ank of centurion. The devotion of Caracalla had prompted to make a pilgrimage from Edessa to the celebrated temple e Moon at Carrhæ. He was attended by a body of cavalry;

[43] [8th April, see Clinton ad ann.]

but having stopped on the road for some necessary occas his guards preserved a respectful distance, and Marti approaching his person under a pretence of duty, stabbed with a dagger. The bold assassin was instantly killed b Scythian archer of the Imperial guard. Such was the end monster whose life disgraced human nature, and whose r accused the patience of the Romans.[44] The grateful sold forgot his vices, remembered only his partial liberality, obliged the senate to prostitute their own dignity and tha religion by granting him a place among the gods. Whilst

Imitation of Alexander

was upon earth, Alexander the Great was the only hero wh this god deemed worthy his admiration. He assumed the n and ensigns of Alexander, formed a Macedonian phalanx guards,[45] persecuted the disciples of Aristotle, and displa with a puerile enthusiasm the only sentiment by which discovered any regard for virtue or glory. We can ea conceive that, after the battle of Narva and the conques Poland, Charles the Twelfth (though he still wanted the n elegant accomplishments of the son of Philip) might boas having rivalled his valour and magnanimity; but in no action of his life did Caracalla express the faintest resembla of the Macedonian hero, except in the murder of a great num of his own and of his father's friends.[46]

Election and character of Macrinus

After the extinction of the house of Severus, the Ro world remained three days without a master. The choic the army (for the authority of a distant and feeble senate little regarded) hung in anxious suspense; as no candidate sented himself whose distinguished birth and merit could eng their attachment and unite their suffrages. The decisive we of the Prætorian guards elevated the hopes of their præfe and these powerful ministers began to assert their *legal* clain fill the vacancy of the Imperial throne. Adventus, howe the senior præfect, conscious of his age and infirmities, of

[44] Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1312 [5, 4]. Herodian, l. iv. p. 168 [13]. [Gibbon not give this emperor due credit for his ability as an administrator (carryin his father's policy) and his important military works.]

[45] [Those who have studied the question say that Caracalla's development o phalanx was, under the circumstances of the empire, a benefit and a nece Hadrian had already pointed the way to this tactical change.]

[46] The fondness of Caracalla for the name and ensigns of Alexander, is preserved on the medals of that emperor. See Spanheim, de Usu Numisma Dissertat. xii. Herodian (l. iv. p. 154 [8]) had seen very ridiculous picture which a figure was drawn with one side of the face like Alexander, and the like Caracalla. [Admiration for Alexander as an ideal was a feature of the Sulla and Hannibal were also special favourites of Caracalla.]

l reputation and his smaller abilities, resigned the dangerous ur to the crafty ambition of his colleague Macrinus, whose dissembled grief removed all suspicion of his being acces- to his master's death.[47] The troops neither loved nor es- ied his character. They cast their eyes around in search competitor, and at last yielded with reluctance to his pro- s of unbounded liberality and indulgence. A short time his accession he conferred on his son Diadumenianus, at A.D. 217, March 11 age of only ten years, the Imperial title and the popular e of Antoninus.[48] The beautiful figure of the youth, assisted n additional donative, for which the ceremony furnished a ext, might attract, it was hoped, the favour of the army, secure the doubtful throne of Macrinus.

ne authority of the new sovereign had been ratified by the Discontent of the senate rful submission of the senate and provinces. They ex- l in their unexpected deliverance from a hated tyrant, and emed of little consequence to examine into the virtues of successor of Caracalla. But as soon as the first transports of and surprise had subsided, they began to scrutinize the ts of Macrinus with a critical severity, and to arraign the y choice of the army. It had hitherto been considered as ndamental maxim of the constitution that the emperor must ys be chosen in the senate, and the sovereign power, no er exercised by the whole body, was always delegated to of its members. But Macrinus was not a senator.[49] The len elevation of the Prætorian præfects betrayed the mean- of their origin; and the equestrian order was still in pos- on of that great office, which commanded with arbitrary the lives and fortunes of the senate. A murmur of in- ation was heard, that a man, whose obscure[50] extraction

Herodian, l. iv. p. 169 [14]. Hist. August. p. 94 [xv. 4].

M. Opellius (Opilius in Hist. Aug.) Antoninus Diadumenianus nobiliss. r. Macrinus himself took the name of Severus.]

Dion, l. lxxxix. p. 1350 [1]. Elagabalus reproached his predecessor, with to seat himself on the throne; though, as Prætorian præfect, he could ive been admitted into the senate after the voice of the crier had cleared the . The personal favour of Plautianus and Sejanus had broke through the ished rule. They rose indeed from the equestrian order; but they pre- l the præfecture with the rank of senator, and even with the consulship. inus was the first man of equestrian order who became emperor.]

He was a native of Cæsarea, in Numidia, and began his fortune by serving household of Plautian, from whose ruin he narrowly escaped. His enemies ed that he was born a slave, and had exercised, among other infamous pro- ns, that of Gladiator. The fashion of aspersing the birth and condition of an sary seems to have lasted from the time of the Greek orators to the learned narians of the last age.

had never been illustrated by any signal service, should dare invest himself with the purple, instead of bestowing it on so distinguished senator, equal in birth and dignity to the splend of the Imperial station. As soon as the character of Macri was surveyed by the sharp eye of discontent, some vices, many defects, were easily discovered. The choice of ministers was in several instances justly censured, and the satisfied people, with their usual candour, accused at once indolent tameness and his excessive severity.[51]

and the army

His rash ambition had climbed a height where it was diffic to stand with firmness, and impossible to fall without inst destruction. Trained in the arts of courts and the forms of c business, he trembled in the presence of the fierce and un ciplined multitude, over whom he had assumed the comma his military talents were despised, and his personal courage s pected: a whisper that circulated in the camp, disclosed fatal secret of the conspiracy against the late emperor, aggrava the guilt of murder by the baseness of hypocrisy, and heighte contempt by detestation. To alienate the soldiers, and to p voke inevitable ruin, the character of a reformer was o wanting; and such was the peculiar hardship of his fate, t Macrinus was compelled to exercise that invidious office. T prodigality of Caracalla had left behind it a long train of r and disorder: and, if that worthless tyrant had been capable reflecting on the sure consequences of his own conduct, he wo perhaps have enjoyed the dark prospect of the distress a calamities which he bequeathed to his successors.

Macrinus attempts a reformation of the army

In the management of this necessary reformation, Macri proceeded with a cautious prudence which would have resto health and vigour to the Roman army in an easy and alm imperceptible manner. To the soldiers already engaged in service, he was constrained to leave the dangerous privile and extravagant pay given by Caracalla; but the new recru were received on the more moderate, though liberal, establi ment of Severus, and gradually formed to modesty and obe ence.[52] One fatal error destroyed the salutary effects of t

[51] Both Dion and Herodian speak of the virtues and vices of Macrinus w candour and impartiality; but the author of his Life, in the Augustan Hist seems to have implicitly copied some of the venal writers employed by Elagab to blacken the memory of his predecessor.

[52] Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1336 [28]. The sense of the author is as clear as intention of the emperor; but M. Wotton has mistaken both, by understanding distinction, not of veterans and recruits, but of old and new legions. History Rome, p. 347.

cious plan. The numerous army, assembled in the East by late emperor, instead of being immediately dispersed by rinus through the several provinces, was suffered to remain ed in Syria during the winter that followed his elevation. he luxurious idleness of their quarters, the troops viewed r strength and numbers, communicated their complaints, and lved in their minds the advantages of another revolution. veterans, instead of being flattered by the advantageous nction, were alarmed by the first steps of the emperor, h they considered as the presage of his future intentions. recruits, with sullen reluctance, entered on a service, whose urs were increased while its rewards were diminished by a tous and unwarlike sovereign. The murmurs of the army led with impunity into seditious clamours; and the partial inies betrayed a spirit of discontent and disaffection, that ed only for the slightest occasion to break out on every side a general rebellion. To minds thus disposed the occasion presented itself.

Death of the Empress Julia. Education, pretensions, and revolt of Elagabalus, called at first Bassianus and Antoninus

he Empress Julia had experienced all the vicissitudes of ıne. From an humble station, she had been raised to great- , only to taste the superior bitterness of an exalted rank. was doomed to weep over the death of one of her sons, and the life of the other. The cruel fate of Caracalla, though her l sense must have long taught her to expect it, awakened feelings of a mother and of an empress. Notwithstanding the ectful civility expressed by the usurper towards the widow everus, she descended with a painful struggle into the con- ɔn of a subject, and soon withdrew herself by a voluntary h from the anxious and humiliating dependence.[53] Julia sa, her sister, was ordered to leave the court and Antioch. retired to Emesa with an immense fortune, the fruit of nty years' favour, accompanied by her two daughters, mias and Mamæa, each of whom was a widow, and each had ɔnly son. Bassianus, for that was the name of the son of mias, was consecrated to the honourable ministry of high st of the Sun; and this holy vocation, embraced either from lence or superstition, contributed to raise the Syrian youth the empire of Rome. A numerous body of troops were ioned at Emesa; and, as the severe discipline of Macrinus constrained them to pass the winter encamped, they were er to revenge the cruelty of such unaccustomed hardships.

Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1330 [23]. The abridgment of Xiphilin, though less cular, is in this place clearer than the original.

The soldiers, who resorted in crowds to the temple of the S beheld with veneration and delight the elegant dress and fig of the young pontiff: they recognized, or thought that they re nized, the features of Caracalla, whose memory they now ado The artful Mæsa saw and cherished their rising partiality, readily sacrificing her daughter's reputation to the fortune of grandson, she insinuated that Bassianus was the natural so their murdered sovereign. The sums distributed by her e saries with a lavish hand[54] silenced every objection, and profusion sufficiently proved the affinity, or at least the semblance, of Bassianus with the great original. The yo Antoninus (for he had assumed and polluted that respect

A.D. 218 May 16

name) was declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, asserted hereditary right, and called aloud on the armies to follow standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken up arm revenge his father's death and the oppression of the military ord

Defeat and death of Macrinus

Whilst a conspiracy of women and eunuchs was conce with prudence, and conducted with rapid vigour, Macrinus, by a decisive motion might have crushed his infant ene floated between the opposite extremes of terror and secu which alike fixed him inactive at Antioch. A spirit of rebel diffused itself through all the camps and garrisons of S successive detachments murdered their officers,[56] and joined party of the rebels; and the tardy restitution of military and privileges was imputed to the acknowledged weaknes Macrinus. At length he marched out of Antioch, to meet increasing and zealous army of the young pretender. His troops seemed to take the field with faintness and reluctan

A.D. 218 7th June

but, in the heat of battle,[57] the Prætorian guards, almost b

[54] [The temple of the Sun was rich.]

[55] According to Lampridius (Hist. August. p. 135 [xviii. 60]) Alexander Se lived twenty-nine years, three months, and seven days. As he was killed M 19, 235, he was born December 12, 205, and was consequently about this thirteen years old, as his elder cousin might be about seventeen. This com tion suits much better the history of the young princes than that of Herodian p. 181 [3]), who represents them as three years younger; whilst, by an opp error of chronology, he lengthens the reign of Elagabalus two years beyond it duration. For the particulars of the conspiracy, see Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1339 Herodian, l. v. p. 184 [3]. [The author's conclusion is probably mist Alexander was born October 1, 208, and was thus thirteen and a half years o his elevation in March, 222 (Aur. Victor, Cæs. 24, 1). The statement of pridius may well be a slip.]

[56] By a most dangerous proclamation of the pretended Antoninus, every s who brought in his officer's head became entitled to his private estate, as w to his military commission.

[57] Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1344 [37]. Herodian, l. v. p. 186 [4]. The battle fought near the village of Immæ, about two and twenty miles from Antioch.

luntary impulse, asserted the superiority of their valour and pline. The rebel ranks were broken; when the mother and dmother of the Syrian prince, who, according to their eastern om, had attended the army, threw themselves from their red chariots, and, by exciting the compassion of the soldiers, avoured to animate their drooping courage. Antoninus elf, who in the rest of his life never acted like a man, in important crisis of his fate approved himself a hero, mounted orse, and, at the head of his rallied troops, charged sword in among the thickest of the enemy; whilst the eunuch ys, whose occupation had been confined to female cares the soft luxury of Asia, displayed the talents of an able experienced general. The battle still raged with doubtful nce, and Macrinus might have obtained the victory, had he betrayed his own cause by a shameful and precipitate flight. cowardice served only to protract his life a few days, and to p deserved ignominy on his misfortunes. It is scarcely ssary to add that his son Diadumenianus was in- d in the same fate. As soon as the stubborn Prætorians be convinced that they fought for a prince who had y deserted them, they surrendered to the conqueror; contending parties of the Roman army, mingling of joy and tenderness, united under the banners of the ined son of Caracalla, and the East[58] acknowledged with ure the first emperor of Asiatic extraction.

Elagabalus writes to the senate

e letters of Macrinus had condescended to inform the e of the slight disturbance occasioned by an impostor in , and a decree immediately passed, declaring the rebel and mily public enemies; with a promise of pardon, however, ch of his deluded adherents as should merit it by an diate return to their duty. During the twenty days that ed from the declaration to the victory of Antoninus (for in ort an interval was the fate of the Roman world decided), apital and the provinces, more especially those of the East, distracted with hopes and fears, agitated with tumult, and ed with a useless effusion of civil blood, since whosoever of ivals prevailed in Syria must reign over the empire. The ous letters in which the young conqueror announced his ry to the obedient senate were filled with professions of e and moderation; the shining examples of Marcus and stus he should ever consider as the great rule of his

[In this episode, the opposition between East and West was probably an ant element.]

administration; and he affected to dwell with pride on striking resemblance of his own age and fortunes with thos Augustus, who in the earliest youth had revenged by a succes war the murder of his father. By adopting the style of Ma Aurelius Antoninus, son of Antoninus, and grandson of Seve he tacitly asserted his hereditary claim to empire; but, assuming the tribunitian and proconsular powers[59] before t had been conferred on him by a decree of the senate, he offen the delicacy of Roman prejudice. This new and injudic violation of the constitution was probably dictated either by ignorance of his Syrian courtiers, or the fierce disdain of military followers.[60]

Picture of Elagabalus, A.D. 219

As the attention of the new emperor was diverted by most trifling amusements, he wasted many months in luxurious progress from Syria to Italy, passed at Nicomedia first winter after his victory, and deferred till the ensu summer his triumphal entry into the capital. A faithful pict however, which preceded his arrival, and was placed by his mediate order over the altar of Victory in the senate-house, veyed to the Romans the just but unworthy resemblance of person and manners. He was drawn in his sacerdotal robes of and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phe cians; his head was covered with a lofty tiara, his numerous co and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable va His eye-brows were tinged with black, and his cheeks pain with an artificial red and white.[61] The grave senators confe with a sigh, that, after having long experienced the stern tyra of their own countrymen, Rome was at length humbled ben the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism.

His superstition

The sun was worshipped at Emesa under the name of El balus,[62] and under the form of a black conical stone, which it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on sacred place. To this protecting deity, Antoninus, not with some reason, ascribed his elevation to the throne. The dis of superstitious gratitude was the only serious business of

[59] [*Pius felix proconsul trib. pot.* was the form stereotyped by Caracalla. senate conferred the title *Augusta* on Julia Mæsa.]

[60] Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1353 [4].

[61] Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1363 [14]. Herodian, l. v. p. 189 [5].

[62] This name is derived by the learned, from two Syriac words, *Ela*, a god *Gabal*, to form, the forming, or plastic God; a proper, and even happy epith the Sun. Wotton's History of Rome, p. 378. [The newer derivation is *al* " the mountain ". The Greeks made the name into *Helio*-gabalos by a tem popular etymology.]

n. The triumph of the god of Emesa over all the religions
e earth, was the great object of his zeal and vanity; and
appellation of Elagabalus (for he presumed as pontiff and
rite to adopt that sacred name) was dearer to him than all
itles of Imperial greatness.[63] In a solemn procession through
streets of Rome, the way was strewed with gold dust; the
stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn
ix milk-white horses richly caparisoned. The pious em-
r held the reins, and, supported by his ministers, moved
ly backwards, that he might perpetually enjoy the felicity
ne divine presence. In a magnificent temple raised on the
tine Mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were
rated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. The
st wines, the most extraordinary victims, and the rarest
natics, were profusely consumed on his altar. Around the
a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious
es to the sound of barbarian music, whilst the gravest
onages of the state and army, clothed in long Phœnician
s, officiated in the meanest functions, with affected zeal and
t indignation.[64]

this temple, as to the common centre of religious worship,
Imperial fanatic attempted to remove the Ancilia, the
dium,[65] and all the sacred pledges of the faith of Numa.
rowd of inferior deities attended in various stations the
sty of the god of Emesa; but his court was still imperfect,
a female of distinguished rank was admitted to his bed.
s had been first chosen for his consort; but, as it was
ded that her warlike terrors might affright the soft delicacy
Syrian deity, the Moon, adored by the Africans[66] under the
e of Astarte, was deemed a more suitable companion for the
Her image, with the rich offerings of her temple as a
iage portion, was transported with solemn pomp from
hage to Rome, and the day of these mystic nuptials was a
ral festival in the capital and throughout the empire.[67]

His imperial name was M. Aurelius Antoninus, that of his reputed father.]
Herodian, l. v. 190 [5].
He broke into the sanctuary of Vesta, and carried away a statue, which he
sed to be the Palladium; but the vestals boasted that, by a pious fraud, they
nposed a counterfeit image on the profane intruder. Hist. August. p. 103
6].
That is, the Phœnician settlers in Africa; for Astarte was a Syrian goddess.]
Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1360 [12]. Herodian, l. v. p. 193 [6]. The subjects of
npire were obliged to make liberal presents to the new-married couple; and
ver they had promised during the life of Elagabalus was carefully exacted
the administration of Mamæa.

His profligate and effeminate luxury

A rational voluptuary adheres with invariable respect to t temperate dictates of nature, and improves the gratifications sense by social intercourse, endearing connexions, and the s colouring of taste and imagination. But Elagabalus (I speak the emperor of that name), corrupted by his youth, his coun and his fortune, abandoned himself to the grossest pleasu with ungoverned fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art w summoned to his aid: the confused multitude of women, wines, and of dishes, and the studied variety of attitudes a sauces, served to revive his languid appetites. New terms a new inventions in these sciences, the only ones cultivated a patronized by the monarch,[68] signalized his reign, and tra mitted his infamy to succeeding times. A capricious prodigal supplied the want of taste and elegance; and, whilst Elagaba lavished away the treasures of his people in the wildest extra gance, his own voice and that of his flatterers applauded a sp and magnificence unknown to the tameness of his predecesso To confound the order of seasons and climates,[69] to sport w the passions and prejudices of his subjects, and to subvert ev law of nature and decency, were in the number of his m delicious amusements. A long train of concubines, and a ra succession of wives, among whom was a vestal virgin, ravish by force from her sacred asylum,[70] were insufficient to satisfy impotence of his passions. The master of the Roman wo affected to copy the dress and manners of the female sex, p ferred the distaff to the sceptre, and dishonoured the princi dignities of the empire by distributing them among his numer lovers; one of whom was publicly invested with the title a authority of the emperor's, or, as he more properly sty himself, of the empress's husband.[71]

[68] The invention of a new sauce was liberally rewarded: but if it was not relish the inventor was confined to eat of nothing else, till he had discovered another m agreeable to the Imperial palate. Hist. August. p. 111 [xvii. 29].

[69] He never would eat sea-fish except at a great distance from the sea; he t would distribute vast quantities of the rarest sorts, brought at an immense expe to the peasants of the inland country. Hist. August. p. 109 [xvii. 23].

[70] Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1358 [9]. Herodian, l. v. p. 192 [6].

[71] Hierocles enjoyed that honour; but he would have been supplanted by Zoticus, had he not contrived, by a potion, to enervate the powers of his rival, w being found on trial unequal to his reputation, was driven with ignominy from palace. Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1363, 1364 [15, 16]. A dancer was made præfec the city, a charioteer præfect of the watch, a barber præfect of the provisi These three ministers, with many inferior officers, were all recommended *enor tate membrorum*. Hist. August. p. 105 [xvii. 12].

may seem probable the vices and follies of Elagabalus have adorned by fancy and blackened by prejudice.[72] Yet, con- ourselves to the public scenes displayed before the Roman e, and attested by grave and contemporary historians, their ressible infamy surpasses that of any other age or country. icence of an eastern monarch is secluded from the eye of sity by the inaccessible walls of the seraglio. The senti- s of honour and gallantry have introduced a refinement of ure, a regard for decency, and a respect for the public on, into the modern courts of Europe; but the corrupt and nt nobles of Rome gratified every vice that could be ted from the mighty conflux of nations and manners. e of impunity, careless of censure, they lived without re- t in the patient and humble society of their slaves and ites. The emperor, in his turn, viewing every rank of his cts with the same contemptuous indifference, asserted ut control his sovereign privilege of lust and luxury.

Contempt of decency which distinguished the Roman tyrants

e most worthless of mankind are not afraid to condemn in s the same disorders which they allow in themselves; and eadily discover some nice difference of age, character, or n, to justify the partial distinction. The licentious soldiers, had raised to the throne the dissolute son of Caracalla, ed at their ignominious choice, and turned with disgust from monster, to contemplate with pleasure the opening virtues cousin Alexander, the son of Mamæa. The crafty Mæsa, ble that her grandson Elagabalus must inevitably destroy lf by his own vices, had provided another and surer sup- of her family. Embracing a favourable moment of fondness levotion, she had persuaded the young emperor to adopt nder, and to invest him with the title of Cæsar, that his divine occupations might be no longer interrupted by the of the earth. In the second rank, that amiable prince soon red the affections of the public, and excited the tyrant's sy, who resolved to terminate the dangerous competition r by corrupting the manners, or by taking away the life, of his

Discontents of the army

Alexander Severus declared Cæsar, A.D. 221

His arts proved unsuccessful; his vain designs were con- ly discovered by his own loquacious folly, and disappointed ose virtuous and faithful servants whom the prudence of æa had placed about the person of her son. In a hasty of passion, Elagabalus resolved to execute by force what he been unable to compass by fraud, and by a despotic sentence

ven the credulous compiler of his Life, in the Augustan History (p. 111 [*ib.* inclined to suspect that his vices may have been exaggerated.

degraded his cousin from the rank and honours of Cæsar. message was received in the senate with silence, and in camp with fury. The Prætorian guards swore to protect Al ander, and to revenge the dishonoured majesty of the thro The tears and promises of the trembling Elagabalus, who c begged them to spare his life, and to leave him in the possess of his beloved Hierocles, diverted their just indignation; they contented themselves with empowering their præfects watch over the safety of Alexander and the conduct of emperor.[73]

Sedition of the guards and murder of Elagabalus, A.D. 222, 10th March

It was impossible that such a reconciliation should last, or t even the mean soul of Elagabalus could hold an empire on s humiliating terms of dependence. He soon attempted, b dangerous experiment, to try the temper of the soldiers. report of the death of Alexander, and the natural suspicion t he had been murdered, inflamed their passions into fury, and tempest of the camp could only be appeased by the prese and authority of the popular youth. Provoked at this new stance of their affection for his cousin, and their contempt for person, the emperor ventured to punish some of the leaders the mutiny. His unseasonable severity proved instantly fata his minions, his mother, and himself. Elagabalus was massac by the indignant Prætorians, his mutilated corpse drag through the streets of the city, and thrown into the Til His memory was branded with eternal infamy by the sena the justice of whose decree has been ratified by posterity.[74]

Accession of Alexander Severus

In the room of Elagabalus, his cousin Alexander was raised the throne by the Prætorian guards. His relation to the fan of Severus, whose name he assumed,[75] was the same as that

[73] Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1366 [19]. Herodian, l. v. p. 195——201 [8]. H August. p. 105 [xvii. 13]. The last of the three historians [Lampridius] seem have followed the best authors in his account of the revolution. [His chief au rity was Marius Maximus.]

[74] The æra of the death of Elagabalus, and of the accession of Alexander, employed the learning and ingenuity of Pagi, Tillemont, Valsecchi, Vignoli, Torre, bishop of Adria. The question is most assuredly intricate; but I still ad to the authority of Dion, the truth of whose calculations is undeniable, and purity of whose text is justified by the agreement of Xiphilin, Zonaras, and renus. Elagabalus reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from victory over Macrinus, and was killed March 10, 222. But what shall we reply to medals, undoubtedly genuine, which reckon the fifth year of his tribunitian pow We shall reply, with the learned Valsecchi, that the usurpation of Macrinus annihilated, and that the son of Caracalla dated his reign from his father's de After resolving this great difficulty, the smaller knots of this question may be e untied, or cut asunder. [Exact date uncertain, but probably falls in the first of March, 222; cp., however, Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 234, 236. Eckhel, 8, 4

[75] [M. Aurelius Severus Alexander.]

predecessor; his virtue and his danger had already endeared to the Romans, and the eager liberality of the senate conferred upon him, in one day, the various titles and powers of the imperial dignity.[76] But, as Alexander was a modest and dutiful youth of only seventeen years of age, the reins of government were in the hands of two women, of his mother Mamæa, and of Mæa, his grandmother. After the death of the latter, who had lived but a short time the elevation of Alexander, Mamæa remained the sole regent of her son and of the empire.

Power of his mother Mamæa

In every age and country, the wiser, or at least the stronger, sex has usurped the powers of the state, and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life. In hereditary monarchies, however, and especially in those of modern Europe, the gallant spirit of chivalry, and the law of succession, have accustomed us to allow a singular exception; that a woman is often acknowledged the absolute sovereign of a great kingdom, in which she would be deemed incapable of exercising the smallest employment, civil or military. But as the Roman emperors were still considered as the generals and magistrates of the republic, their wives and mothers, although distinguished by the name of Augusta, were never associated to their personal honours; and a female reign would have appeared an inexpiable prodigy in the eyes of those primitive Romans, who married without love, or loved without delicacy and reserve.[77] The haughty Agrippina aspired, indeed, to share the honours of the empire, which she had conferred on her son; but her mad ambition, detested by every citizen who felt for the dignity of Rome, was disappointed by the artful firmness of Seneca and Burrhus.[78] The good sense, or the indifference, of succeeding princes, restrained them from offending the prejudices of their subjects; and it was reserved for the profligate Elagabalus to disgrace the acts of the senate with the name of his mother Semias, who was placed by the side of the consuls, and subscribed, as a regular member, the decrees of the legislative assembly. Her more prudent sister, Mamæa, declined the use-

Hist. August. p. 114. [xvii. 1]. By this unusual precipitation, the senate meant to confound the hopes of pretenders, and prevent the factions of the camp.

Metellus Numidicus, the censor, acknowledged to the Roman people, in a public oration, that, had kind Nature allowed us to exist without the help of woman, we should be delivered from a very troublesome companion; and he could recommend matrimony only as the sacrifice of private pleasure to public duty. Aulus Gellius, i. 6.

Tacit. Annal. xiii. 5. [After Agrippina, the title Augusta had no political significance.]

less and odious prerogative, and a solemn law was enact
excluding women for ever from the senate, and devoting to
infernal gods the head of the wretch by whom this sanct
should be violated.[79] The substance, not the pageantry,
power was the object of Mamæa's manly ambition. She m
tained an absolute and lasting empire over the mind of her
and in his affection the mother could not brook a rival. Al
ander, with her consent, married the daughter of a Patrician
but his respect for his father-in-law, and love for the empr
were inconsistent with the tenderness or interest of Mam
The patrician was executed on the ready accusation of trea
and the wife of Alexander driven with ignominy from
palace, and banished into Africa.[81]

Wise and moderate administration

Notwithstanding this act of jealous cruelty, as well as s
instances of avarice, with which Mamæa is charged, the gen
tenor of her administration was equally for the benefit of
son and of the empire. With the approbation of the senate,
chose sixteen of the wisest and most virtuous senators, as a
petual council of state, before whom every public busines
moment was debated and determined. The celebrated Ulp
equally distinguished by his knowledge of, and his respect
the laws of Rome, was at their head; and the prudent firm
of this aristocracy restored order and authority to the gov
ment. As soon as they had purged the city from foreign su
stition and luxury, the remains of the capricious tyranny
Elagabalus, they applied themselves to remove his worth
creatures from every department of public administration,
to supply their places with men of virtue and ability. Learn
and the love of justice, became the only recommendations
civil offices; valour, and the love of discipline, the
qualifications for military employments.[82]

Education and virtuous temper of Alexander

But the most important care of Mamæa and her wise c

[79] Hist. August. p. 102, 107 [xvii. 4 and 18].

[80] [Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, daughter of Sallustius Macrinus, who cons
against the life of Alexander. Gibbon is too ready to assume that Mamæa w
blame.]

[81] Dion, l. lxxx. p. 1369 [2]. Herodian, l. vi. p. 206 [1]. Hist. Augu
131 [xviii. 49]. Herodian represents the patrician as innocent. The Aug
History, on the authority of Dexippus, condemns him as guilty of a consp
against the life of Alexander. It is impossible to pronounce between them
Dion is an irreproachable witness of the jealousy and cruelty of Mamæa to
the young empress, whose hard fate Alexander lamented, but durst not oppo

[82] Herodian, l. vi. p. 203 [1]. Hist. August. p. 119 [xviii. 15]. The
insinuates that, when any law was to be passed, the council was assisted
number of able lawyers and experienced senators, whose opinions were sepa
given and taken down in writing.

llors was to form the character of the young emperor, on whose rsonal qualities the happiness or misery of the Roman world ıst ultimately depend. The fortunate soil assisted, and even evented, the hand of cultivation. An excellent understanding on convinced Alexander of the advantages of virtue, the plea- re of knowledge, and the necessity of labour. A natural ldness and moderation of temper preserved him from the saults of passion and the allurements of vice. His unalterable gard for his mother, and his esteem for the wise Ulpian, arded his unexperienced youth from the poison of flattery.

Journal of his ordinary life

The simple journal of his ordinary occupations exhibits a easing picture of an accomplished emperor,[83] and, with some owance for the difference of manners, might well deserve the itation of modern princes. Alexander rose early; the first oments of the day were consecrated to private devotion, and s domestic chapel was filled with the images of those heroes ıo, by improving or reforming human life, had deserved the ateful reverence of posterity. But, as he deemed the service mankind the most acceptable worship of the gods, the eatest part of his morning hours was employed in his council, ıere he discussed public affairs, and determined private causes, th a patience and discretion above his years. The dryness of siness was relieved by the charms of literature; and a portion time was always set apart for his favourite studies of poetry, story, and philosophy. The works of Virgil and Horace, the publics of Plato and Cicero, formed his taste, enlarged his derstanding, and gave him the noblest ideas of man and vernment. The exercises of the body succeeded to those of e mind; and Alexander, who was tall, active, and robust, sur- ssed most of his equals in the gymnastic arts. Refreshed by e use of the bath and a slight dinner, he resumed, with new gour, the business of the day, and, till the hour of supper, the incipal meal of the Romans, he was attended by his secretaries, th whom he read and answered the multitude of letters, emorials, and petitions, that must have been addressed to the ıster of the greatest part of the world. His table was served th the most frugal simplicity; and, whenever he was at liberty consult his own inclination, the company consisted of a few lect friends, men of learning and virtue, amongst whom Ulpian ıs constantly invited. Their conversation was familiar and

[83] See his life in the Augustan History. The undistinguishing compiler has ried these interesting anecdotes under a load of trivial and unmeaning circum- nces.

instructive; and the pauses were occasionally enlivened by t recital of some pleasing composition, which supplied the pla of the dancers, comedians, and even gladiators, so frequent summoned to the tables of the rich and luxurious Romans The dress of Alexander was plain and modest, his demeano courteous and affable: at the proper hours his palace was op to all his subjects, but the voice of a crier was heard, as in t Eleusinian mysteries, pronouncing the same salutary admonitio "Let none enter these holy walls, unless he is conscious o pure and innocent mind".[85]

General happiness of the Roman world, A.D. 222-235

Such an uniform tenor of life, which left not a moment for vi or folly, is a better proof of the wisdom and justice of Alexande government than all the trifling details preserved in the co pilation of Lampridius. Since the accession of Commodus t Roman world had experienced, during a term of forty years, t successive and various vices of four tyrants. From the death Elagabalus it enjoyed an auspicious calm of thirteen years. T provinces, relieved from the oppressive taxes invented Caracalla and his pretended son, flourished in peace and pr perity under the administration of magistrates, who were co vinced by experience that to deserve the love of the subje was their best and only method of obtaining the favour of th sovereign. While some gentle restraints were imposed on t innocent luxury of the Roman people, the price of provisio and the interest of money were reduced by the paternal ca of Alexander, whose prudent liberality, without distressing t industrious, supplied the wants and amusements of the popula The dignity, the freedom, the authority of the senate w restored; and every virtuous senator might approach the pers of the emperor without a fear and without a blush.

Alexander refuses the name of Antoninus

The name of Antoninus, ennobled by the virtues of Pius a Marcus, had been communicated by adoption to the dissolu Verus, and by descent to the cruel Commodus. It became t honourable appellation of the sons of Severus, was bestowed young Diadumenianus, and at length prostituted to the infa of the high priest of Emesa. Alexander, though pressed by t studied, and perhaps sincere, importunity of the senate, no refused the borrowed lustre of a name; whilst in his whole co duct he laboured to restore the glories and felicity of the age the genuine Antonines.[86]

[84] See the 13th Satire of Juvenal.

[85] Hist. August. p. 119 [xviii. 18].

[86] See in the Hist. August. p. 116, 117 [xviii. 6-11], the whole contest betw Alexander and the senate, extracted from the journals of that assembly.

He attempts to reform the army

the civil administration of Alexander, wisdom was en-
ed by power, and the people, sensible of the public felicity,
id their benefactor with their love and gratitude. There
remained a greater, a more necessary, but a more difficult
rprise: the reformation of the military order, whose interest
temper, confirmed by long impunity, rendered them im-
ent of the restraints of discipline, and careless of the blessings
public tranquillity. In the execution of his design the
eror affected to display his love, and to conceal his fear, of
army. The most rigid economy in every other branch of
administration supplied a fund of gold and silver for the
nary pay and the extraordinary rewards of the troops. In
r marches he relaxed the severe obligation of carrying
nteen days' provision on their shoulders. Ample magazines
: formed along the public roads, and as soon as they entered
enemy's country, a numerous train of mules and camels
ed on their haughty laziness. As Alexander despaired of
ecting the luxury of his soldiers, he attempted, at least, to
et it to objects of martial pomp and ornament, fine horses,
ndid armour, and shields enriched with silver and gold. He
ed whatever fatigues he was obliged to impose, visited, in
on, the sick and wounded, preserved an exact register of
services and his own gratitude, and expressed, on every
sion, the warmest regard for a body of men, whose welfare,
e affected to declare, was so closely connected with that of
state.[87] By the most gentle arts he laboured to inspire the
e multitude with a sense of duty, and to restore at least a
image of that discipline to which the Romans owed their
ire over so many other nations, as warlike and more power-
han themselves. But his prudence was vain, his courage
, and the attempt towards a reformation served only to
me the ills it was meant to cure.

Seditions of the Prætorian guards, and murder of Ulpian

he Prætorian guards were attached to the youth of Alexander.
y loved him as a tender pupil, whom they had saved from a
nt's fury, and placed on the Imperial throne. That amiable
e was sensible of the obligation; but, as his gratitude was
ained within the limits of reason and justice, they soon
more dissatisfied with the virtues of Alexander than they

ned on the sixth of March, probably of the year 223, when the Romans had
ed, almost a twelvemonth, the blessings of his reign. Before the appellation
toninus was offered him as a title of honour, the senate waited to see whether
nder would not assume it as a family name.

t was a favourite saying of the emperor's, Se milites magis servare, quam
m; quod salus publica in his esset. Hist. August. p. 130 [xviii. 47].

had ever been with the vices of Elagabalus. Their præfect wise Ulpian, was the friend of the laws and of the people was considered as the enemy of the soldiers, and to his nicious counsels every scheme of reformation was imp Some trifling accident blew up their discontent into a fu mutiny; and a civil war raged, during three days, in R whilst the life of that excellent minister was defended b grateful people.[88] Terrified, at length, by the sight of houses in flames, and by the threats of a general conflagra the people yielded with a sigh, and left the virtuous bu fortunate Ulpian to his fate. He was pursued into the Imp palace, and massacred at the feet of his master, who vainly s to cover him with the purple, and to obtain his pardon fro inexorable soldiers. Such was the deplorable weakne government that the emperor was unable to revenge murdered friend and his insulted dignity, without stoopi the arts of patience and dissimulation. Epagathus, the prin leader of the mutiny, was removed from Rome, by the ho able employment of præfect of Egypt; from that high ran was gently degraded to the government of Crete; and v at length, his popularity among the guards was effaced by and absence, Alexander ventured to inflict the tardy deserved, punishment of his crimes.[89] Under the reign of and virtuous prince, the tyranny of the army threatened instant death his most faithful ministers, who were susp of an intention to correct their intolerable disorders.

Danger of Dion Cassius

historian Dion Cassius had commanded the Pannonian le with the spirit of ancient discipline. Their brethren of R embracing the common cause of military licence, demande head of the reformer. Alexander, however, instead of yie to their seditious clamours, showed a just sense of his meri services, by appointing him his colleague in the consu and defraying from his own treasury the expense of that dignity; but, as it was justly apprehended that if the so beheld him with the ensigns of his office they would re

[88] [Gibbon has fallen into error by confusing different occasions. The reason to suppose that Ulpian's life was in danger during the street bat tween the populace and guards. They disobeyed his discipline then, but it a later mutiny, directed against himself, that he was slain. See Zonaras, and Dion, lxxx. 2.]

[89] Though the author of the life of Alexander (Hist. August. p. 132 [xvii mentions the sedition raised against Ulpian by the soldiers, he conce catastrophe, as it might discover a weakness in the administration of hi From this designed omission, we may judge of the weight and candour author.

insult in his blood, the nominal first magistrate of the states red, by the emperor's advice, from the city, and spent the atest part of his consulship at his villas in Campania.[90]

Tumults of the legions

The lenity of the emperor confirmed the insolence of the ops; the legions imitated the example of the guards, and ended their prerogative of licentiousness with the same ous obstinacy. The administration of Alexander was an vailing struggle against the corruption of his age. In ricum, in Mauritania, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in many, fresh mutinies perpetually broke out; his officers were rdered, his authority was insulted, and his life at last rificed to the fierce discontents of the army.[91] One particular well deserves to be recorded, as it illustrates the manners of troops, and exhibits a singular instance of their return to a se of duty and obedience. Whilst the emperor lay at Antioch, his Persian expedition, the particulars of which we shall eafter relate, the punishment of some soldiers, who had been overed in the baths of women, excited a sedition in the on to which they belonged. Alexander ascended his unal, and with a modest firmness represented to the armed titude the absolute necessity, as well as his inflexible resolu-, of correcting the vices introduced by his impure predecessor, of maintaining the discipline, which could not be relaxed nout the ruin of the Roman name and empire. Their nours interrupted his mild expostulation. "Reserve your uts," said the undaunted emperor, "till you take the field inst the Persians, the Germans, and the Sarmatians. Be nt in the presence of your sovereign and benefactor, who owes upon you the corn, the clothing, and the money of the vinces. Be silent, or I shall no longer style you soldiers, but *ens*,[92] if those indeed who disclaim the laws of Rome deserve e ranked among the meanest of the people." His menaces med the fury of the legion, and their brandished arms al-ly threatened his person. "Your courage," resumed the

Firmness of the emperor

For an account of Ulpian's fate and his own danger, see the mutilated con-on of Dion's History, l. lxxx. p. 1371 [4].

Annotat. Reimar. ad Dion Cassius, l. lxxx. p. 1369 [2].

Julius Cæsar had appeased a sedition with the same word, *Quirites:* which, opposed to *Soldiers*, was used in a sense of contempt, and reduced the diers to the less honourable condition of mere citizens. Tacit. Annal. i. 43. truth of this anecdote of Alexander's firmness has been suspected by recent rians, and Schiller suggests that it may have been due to the ambiguity of the *Severus.* It is clear that, if the story is true, Alexander was consciously imi-g Julius.]

intrepid Alexander, "would be more nobly displayed in the f
of battle; *me* you may destroy, you cannot intimidate; and
severe justice of the republic would punish your crime
revenge my death." The legion still persisted in clamo
sedition, when the emperor pronounced, with a loud voice,
decisive sentence, "Citizens! lay down your arms, and de
in peace to your respective habitations". The tempest
instantly appeased; the soldiers, filled with grief and sha
silently confessed the justice of their punishment and
power of discipline, yielded up their arms and military ensi
and retired in confusion, not to their camp, but to the sev
inns of the city. Alexander enjoyed, during thirty days,
edifying spectacle of their repentance; nor did he restore t
to their former rank in the army, till he had punished
death those tribunes whose connivance had occasioned
mutiny. The grateful legion served the emperor whilst liv
and revenged him when dead.[93]

Defects of his reign and character

The resolutions of the multitude generally depend o
moment; and the caprice of passion might equally deter
the seditious legion to lay down their arms at the emperor's f
or to plunge them into his breast. Perhaps, if the sing
transaction had been investigated by the penetration
philosopher, we should discover the secret causes which on
occasion authorized the boldness of the prince and comma
the obedience of the troops; and perhaps, if it had been rel
by a judicious historian, we should find this action, worth
Cæsar himself, reduced nearer to the level of probability and
common standard of the character of Alexander Severus.
abilities of that amiable prince seem to have been inadequat
the difficulties of his situation, the firmness of his con
inferior to the purity of his intentions. His virtues, as wel
the vices of Elagabalus, contracted a tincture of weakness
effeminacy from the soft climate of Syria, of which he w
native; though he blushed at his foreign origin, and liste
with a vain complacency to the flattering genealogists,
derived his race from the ancient stock of Roman nobili
The pride and avarice of his mother cast a shade on the gl
of his reign; and by exacting from his riper years the s
dutiful obedience which she had justly claimed from his u

[93] Hist. August. p. 132 [xviii. 54].

[94] From the Metelli. Hist. August. p. 129 [xviii. 44]. The choice was j
ous. In one short period of twelve years, the Metelli could reckon seven c
ships, and five triumphs. See Velleius Paterculus, ii. 11, and the Fasti.

enced youth, Mamæa exposed to public ridicule both her
s character and her own.[95] The fatigues of the Persian war
ated the military discontent; the unsuccessful event de-
ed the reputation of the emperor as a general, and even
a soldier. Every cause prepared, and every circumstance
ened, a revolution, which distracted the Roman empire with
ng series of intestine calamities.

Digression on the finances of the empire

he dissolute tyranny of Commodus, the civil wars occasioned
is death, and the new maxims of policy introduced by the
se of Severus, had all contributed to increase the dangerous
er of the army, and to obliterate the faint image of laws
liberty that was still impressed on the minds of the Romans.
internal change, which undermined the foundations of
empire, we have endeavoured to explain with some degree
rder and perspicuity. The personal characters of the
erors, their victories, laws, follies and fortunes, can interest
no further than as they are connected with the general
ory of the Decline and Fall of the monarchy. Our constant
ntion to that great object will not suffer us to overlook a
important edict of Antoninus Caracalla, which communi-
d to all the free inhabitants of the empire the name and
leges of Roman citizens. His unbounded liberality flowed
however, from the sentiments of a generous mind; it was
sordid result of avarice,[96] and will naturally be illustrated
some observations on the finances of that state, from the
rious ages of the commonwealth to the reign of Alexander
erus.

Establish-ment

he siege of Veii in Tuscany, the first considerable enterprise
ne Romans, was protracted to the tenth year, much less by
strength of the place than by the unskilfulness of the
egers. The unaccustomed hardships of so many winter

The life of Alexander, in the Augustan History, is the mere idea of a perfect
e, an awkward imitation of the Cyropædia. The account of his reign, as
by Herodian, is rational and moderate, consistent with the general history of
ge; and, in some of the most invidious particulars, confirmed by the decisive
ients of Dion. Yet from a very paltry prejudice, the greater number of our
rn writers abuse Herodian, and copy the Augustan History. See Mess. de
nont and Wotton. From the opposite prejudice, the Emperor Julian (in
rib. p. 315) dwells with a visible satisfaction on the effeminate weakness of
yrian, and the ridiculous avarice of his mother.

[Schiller is possibly right in his view (i. 751) that military, not financial, con-
itions were the chief motive in determining Caracalla's edict. Italy was no
r able to recruit the legions, and the auxilia were gradually taking their place,
the Germans were stepping into the place of the auxilia. The extension of
nship was also expedient, in face of the barbarians who were pressing into the
rs.]

campaigns, at the distance of near twenty miles from hom
required more than common encouragements; and the sen
wisely prevented the clamours of the people, by the institut
of a regular pay for the soldiers, which was levied by a gene
tribute, assessed according to an equitable proportion on
property of the citizens.[98] During more than two hund
years after the conquest of Veii, the victories of the repu
added less to the wealth than to the power of Rome.
states of Italy paid their tribute in military service only, and
vast force, both by sea and land, which was exerted in
Punic wars, was maintained at the expense of the Romans the
selves. That high-spirited people (such is often the gener
enthusiasm of freedom) cheerfully submitted to the m
excessive but voluntary burdens, in the just confidence that t
should speedily enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. Th
expectations were not disappointed. In the course of a
years, the riches of Syracuse, of Carthage, of Macedonia, and
Asia, were brought in triumph to Rome. The treasures
Perseus alone amounted to near two millions sterling, and
Roman people, the sovereign of so many nations, was for e
delivered from the weight of taxes.[99] The increasing reve
of the provinces was found sufficient to defray the ordin
establishment of war and government, and the superfluous m
of gold and silver was deposited in the temple of Saturn,
reserved for any unforeseen emergency of the state.[100]

and abolition of the tribute on Roman citizens

Tributes of the provinces

History has never perhaps suffered a greater or more irrep
able injury than in the loss of that curious register bequeath
by Augustus to the senate, in which that experienced prince
accurately balanced the revenues and expenses of the Rom
empire.[101] Deprived of this clear and comprehensive estim
we are reduced to collect a few imperfect hints from such of

[97] According to the more accurate Dionysius, the city itself was only an hun
stadia, or twelve miles and a half from Rome; though some out-posts migh
advanced farther on the side of Etruria. Nardini, in a professed treatise, has
bated the popular opinion and the authority of two popes, and has removed
from Cività Castellana, to a little spot called Isola, in the midway between R
and the lake Bracciano. [It is now known to be Isola Farnese.]

[98] See the 4th [c. 59] and 5th [c. 7] books of Livy. In the Roman census,
perty, power and taxation, were commensurate with each other.

[99] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cicero de Officiis, ii. 22. Plutarch. i
Æmil. p. 275 [38].

[100] See a fine description of this accumulated wealth of ages, in Lucan's Ph
l. iii. v. 155, &c.

[101] Tacit. in Annal. i. 11. It seems to have existed in the time of Appian.
Breviarium Imperii; cp. Dion, lvi. 33.]

ents as have accidently turned aside from the splendid to more useful parts of history. We are informed that, by the of Asia quests of Pompey, the tributes of Asia were raised from to one hundred and thirty-five millions of drachms, or about millions and a half sterling.[102] Under the last and most of Egypt lent of the Ptolemies, the revenue of Egypt is said to have unted to twelve thousand five hundred talents; a sum valent to more than two millions and a half of our money, which was afterwards considerably improved by the more t economy of the Romans, and the increase of the trade of opia and India.[103] Gaul was enriched by rapine, as Egypt of Gaul by commerce, and the tributes of those two great provinces been compared as nearly equal to each other in value.[104] The of Africa thousand Euboic or Phœnician talents, about four millions ing,[105] which vanquished Carthage was condemned to pay in the term of fifty years, were a slight acknowledgment of superiority of Rome,[106] and cannot bear the least proportion the taxes afterwards raised both on the lands and on the ons of the inhabitants, when the fertile coast of Africa was ced into a province.[107]

ain, by a very singular fatality, was the Peru and Mexico of Spain e old world. The discovery of the rich western continent ne Phœnicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of gers, form an exact type of the more recent history of ish America.[108] The Phœnicians were acquainted only the sea coast of Spain; avarice as well as ambition carried rms of Rome and Carthage into the heart of the country, almost every part of the soil was found pregnant with er, silver, and gold. Mention is made of a mine near nagena which yielded every day twenty-five thousand ms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a

Plutarch. in Pompeio, p. 642 [45. There is little doubt that Plutarch means ere raised to eighty-five millions.]

Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798.

Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 39. He seems to give the preference to the revenue il.

The Euboic, the Phœnician, and Alexandrian talents, were double in weight Attic. See Hooper on ancient weights and measures, p. iv. c. 5. It is very ble that the same talent was carried from Tyre to Carthage. [The ratio of boic to the Attic talent after the time of Solon was about 4 to 3.]

Polyb. l. xv. c. 2.

Appian in Punicis, p. 84.

Diodorus Siculus, l. v. [37]. Cadiz was built by the Phœnicians a little more thousand years before Christ. See Vell. Patercul. i. 2.

year.[109] Twenty thousand pounds weight of gold was annu
received from the provinces of Asturia, Gallicia, and L
tania.[110]

Of the Isle of Gyarus

We want both leisure and materials to pursue this cur
inquiry through the many potent states that were annihilate
the Roman empire. Some notion, however, may be formed
the revenue of the provinces where considerable wealth
been deposited by nature, or collected by man, if we observe
severe attention that was directed to the abodes of solitude
sterility. Augustus once received a petition from the inhabit
of Gyarus, humbly praying that they might be relieved f
one third of their excessive impositions. Their whole
amounted indeed to no more than one hundred and
drachms, or about five pounds; but Gyarus was a little island
rather a rock, of the Ægean Sea, destitute of fresh water
every necessary of life, and inhabited only by a few wretc
fishermen.[111]

Amount of the revenue

From the faint glimmerings of such doubtful and scatte
lights, we should be inclined to believe, 1st, That (with e
fair allowance for the difference of times and circumstances)
general income of the Roman provinces could seldom amo
to less than fifteen or twenty millions of our money;[112]
2ndly, That so ample a revenue must have been fully adequ
to all the expenses of the moderate government instituted
Augustus, whose court was the modest family of a priv
senator, and whose military establishment was calculated for
defence of the frontiers, without any aspiring views of conqu
or any serious apprehension of a foreign invasion.

Taxes on Roman citizens instituted by Augustus

Notwithstanding the seeming probability of both these
clusions, the latter of them at least is positively disowned
the language and conduct of Augustus. It is not easy
determine whether, on this occasion, he acted as the com
father of the Roman world, or as the oppressor of liber
whether he wished to relieve the provinces, or to impove

[109] Strabo, l. iii. p. 148.

[110] Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 3. He mentions likewise a silver mine in
matia, that yielded every day fifty pounds to the state.

[111] Strabo, l. x. p. 485. Tacit. Annal. iii. 69, and iv. 30. See in Tourn
(Voyages au Levant, Lettre viii.) a very lively picture of the actual misery
Gyarus.

[112] Lipsius de magnitudine Romanâ (l. ii. c. iii.) computes the revenue at
hundred and fifty millions of gold crowns; but his whole book, though learned
ingenious, betrays a very heated imagination. [For the inquiry touching the rev
of the empire we have not sufficient data to make even an approximate estima

: senate and the equestrian order. But no sooner had he umed the reins of government than he frequently intimated : insufficiency of the tributes, and the necessity of throwing equitable proportion of the public burden upon Rome and ly. In the prosecution of this unpopular design, he advanced, wever, by cautious and well-weighed steps. The introduction customs was followed by the establishment of an excise, and : scheme of taxation was completed by an artful assessment the real and personal property of the Roman citizens, who l been exempted from any kind of contribution above a ıtury and a half.

The customs

. In a great empire like that of Rome, a natural balance of ney must have gradually established itself. It has been eady observed that, as the wealth of the provinces was racted to the capital by the strong hand of conquest and ver, so a considerable part of it was restored to the indus- ous provinces by the gentle influence of commerce and arts. the reign of Augustus and his successors,[113] duties were posed on every kind of merchandise, which through a usand channels flowed to the great centre of opulence and ury; and in whatsoever manner the law was expressed, it ; the Roman purchaser, and not the provincial merchant, who d the tax.[114] The rate of the customs varied from the eighth the fortieth part of the value of the commodity; and we e a right to suppose that the variation was directed by the ılterable maxims of policy: that a higher duty was fixed on : articles of luxury than on those of necessity, and that the ductions raised or manufactured by the labour of the subjects the empire were treated with more indulgence than was wn to the pernicious, or at least the unpopular, commerce of abia and India.[115] There is still extant a long but imperfect alogue of eastern commodities, which about the time of exander Severus were subject to the payment of duties: namon, myrrh, pepper, ginger, and the whole tribe of matics; a great variety of precious stones, among which the mond was the most remarkable for its price, and the erald for its beauty:[116] Parthian and Babylonian leather,

[113] [But also in force before.]
[114] Tacit. Annal. xiii. 31.
[115] See Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 28, l. xii. c. 18). His observation, that the ian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price, v give us some notion of the produce of the customs, since that original price ounted to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.
[116] The ancients were unacquainted with the art of cutting diamonds.

cottons, silks, both raw and manufactured, ebony, ivory, a eunuchs.[117] We may observe that the use and value of th effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empi

The excise

II. The excise, introduced by Augustus after the civil w was extremely moderate, but it was general.[118] It seld exceeded one *per cent.*; but it comprehended whatever was s in the markets or by public auction, from the most considera purchases of land and houses to those minute objects which only derive a value from their infinite multitude and daily c sumption. Such a tax, as it affects the body of the people, ever been the occasion of clamour and discontent. An empe well acquainted with the wants and resources of the state obliged to declare, by a public edict, that the support of army depended in a great measure on the produce of excise.[119]

Tax on legacies and inheritances

III. When Augustus resolved to establish a perman military force for the defence of his government against fore and domestic enemies, he instituted a peculiar treasury for pay of the soldiers, the rewards of the veterans, and the ex ordinary expenses of war. The ample revenue of the exc though peculiarly appropriated to those uses, was found adequate. To supply the deficiency, the emperor suggeste new tax of five *per cent.* on all legacies and inheritances. the nobles of Rome were more tenacious of property than freedom. Their indignant murmurs were received by Augus with his usual temper. He candidly referred the whole bu ness to the senate, and exhorted them to provide for the pu service by some other expedient of a less odious nature. Th were divided and perplexed. He insinuated to them that th obstinacy would oblige him to *propose* a general land-tax capitation. They acquiesced in silence.[120] The new imposit on legacies and inheritances was however mitigated by so restrictions. It did not take place unless the object was c certain value, most probably of fifty or an hundred pieces gold: [121] nor could it be exacted from the nearest of kin on

[117] M. Bouchaud, in his treatise de l'Impôt chez les Romains, has transcri this catalogue from the Digest, and attempts to illustrate it by a very prolix c mentary.

[118] [It was imposed in Rome and Italy; but cannot be proved for the provinc

[119] Tacit. Annal. i. 78. Two years afterwards, the reduction of the poor k dom of Cappadocia gave Tiberius a pretence for diminishing the excise to half; but the relief was of a very short duration.

[120] Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 799 [25], l. lvi. p. 825 [28]. [This tax was introdu 6 A.D.]

[121] The sum is only fixed by conjecture.

er's side.[122] When the rights of nature and property were thus red, it seemed reasonable that a stranger, or a distant relation, acquired an unexpected accession of fortune, should cheer- resign a twentieth part of it for the benefit of the state.[123] ich a tax, plentiful as it must prove in every wealthy com- ity, was most happily suited to the situation of the Romans, could frame their arbitrary wills, according to the dictates eason or caprice, without any restraint from the modern ers of entails and settlements. From various causes, the iality of paternal affection often lost its influence over the n patriots of the commonwealth and the dissolute nobles of empire; and if the father bequeathed to his son the fourth of his estate, he removed all ground of legal complaint.[124] a rich childless old man was a domestic tyrant, and his er increased with his years and infirmities. A servile crowd, hich he frequently reckoned prætors and consuls, courted smiles, pampered his avarice, applauded his follies, served passions, and waited with impatience for his death. The of attendance and flattery were formed into a most lucrative ice; those who professed it acquired a peculiar appellation; the whole city, according to the lively descriptions of satire, divided between two parties, the hunters and their game.[125] while so many unjust and extravagant wills were every day ted by cunning, and subscribed by folly, a few were the t of rational esteem and virtuous gratitude. Cicero, who so often defended the lives and fortunes of his fellow- ens, was rewarded with legacies to the amount of an hundred seventy thousand pounds;[126] nor do the friends of the ger Pliny seem to have been less generous to that amiable or.[127] Whatever was the motive of the testator, the treasury ied, without distinction, the twentieth part of his estate; in the course of two or three generations, the whole property e subject must have gradually passed through the coffers of state.

Suited to the laws and manners

As the Roman law subsisted for many ages, the *Cognati*, or relations on the r's side, were not called to the succession. This harsh institution was gradu- ndermined by humanity, and finally abolished by Justinian.

Plin. Panegyric. c. 37. [The tax was known as *vicesima hereditatium*,=5 per

See Heineccius in the Antiquit. Juris Romani, l. ii.

Horat. l. ii. Sat. v. Petron. c. 116, &c. Plin. l. ii. Epist. 20.

Cicero in Philipp. ii. c. 16.

See his epistles. Every such Will gave him an occasion of displaying his nce to the dead, and his justice to the living. He reconciled both, in his vour to a son who had been disinherited by his mother (v. 1)

In the first and golden years of the reign of Nero, that prin
from a desire of popularity, and perhaps from a blind impulse
benevolence, conceived a wish of abolishing the oppression
Regulations of the emperors the customs and excise. The wisest senators applauded
magnanimity: but they diverted him from the execution o
design which would have dissolved the strength and resour
of the republic.[128] Had it indeed been possible to realize
dream of fancy, such princes as Trajan and the Antonines wo
surely have embraced with ardour the glorious opportunity
conferring so signal an obligation on mankind. Satisfied, h
ever, with alleviating the public burden, they attempted not
remove it. The mildness and precision of their laws ascertai
the rule and measure of taxation, and protected the subject
every rank against arbitrary interpretations, antiquated clai
and the insolent vexation of the farmers of the revenue
For it is somewhat singular that, in every age, the best
wisest of the Roman governors persevered in this pernici
method of collecting the principal branches at least of the exc
and customs.[130]

Edict of Caracalla The sentiments, and indeed the situation, of Caracalla w
very different from those of the Antonines. Inattentive,
rather averse, to the welfare of his people, he found hims
under the necessity of gratifying the insatiate avarice which
had excited in the army. Of the several impositions introduc
by Augustus, the twentieth on inheritances and legacies
the most fruitful as well as the most comprehensive. As
influence was not confined to Rome or Italy, the produce c
tinually increased with the gradual extension of the Roman Cr
The new citizens, though charged on equal terms[131] with
payment of new taxes which had not affected them as subjec
derived an ample compensation from the rank they obtain
the privileges they acquired, and the fair prospect of hono
The freedom of the city given to all the provincials for the purpose of taxation and fortune that was thrown open to their ambition. But t
favour which implied a distinction was lost in the prodigality
Caracalla, and the reluctant provincials were compelled
assume the vain title and the real obligations of Roman citize
Nor was the rapacious son of Severus contented with such

[128] Tacit. Annal. xiii. 50. Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 19.

[129] See Pliny's Panegyric, the Augustan History, and Burman. de Vecti
passim.

[130] The tributes (properly so called) were not farmed; since the good prin
often remitted many millions of arrears.

[131] The situation of the new citizens is minutely described by Pliny (Panegy
c. 37, 38, 39). Trajan published a law very much in their favour.

asure of taxation as had appeared sufficient to his moderate decessors. Instead of a twentieth, he exacted a tenth of all acies and inheritances; and during his reign (for the ancient portion was restored after his death) he crushed alike every t of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre.[132]

Temporary reduction of the tribute

When all the provincials became liable to the peculiar imposis of Roman citizens, they seemed to acquire a legal exemn from the tributes which they had paid in their former conon of subjects. Such were not the maxims of government pted by Caracalla and his pretended son. The old as well as new taxes were, at the same time, levied in the provinces. vas reserved for the virtue of Alexander to relieve them in a at measure from this intolerable grievance, by reducing the utes to a thirtieth part of the sum exacted at the time of his ession.[133] It is impossible to conjecture the motive that en-ed him to spare so trifling a remnant of the public evil; but noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated, again ang up with the most luxuriant growth, and in the succeeding darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade. In the rse of this history, we shall be too often summoned to explain land-tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, .e, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinces for use of the court, the army, and the capital.

Consequences of the universal freedom of Rome

As long as Rome and Italy were respected as the centre of ernment, a national spirit was preserved by the ancient, and ensibly imbibed by the adopted, citizens. The principal mands of the army were filled by men who had received a eral education, were well instructed in the advantages of laws l letters, and who had risen by equal steps through the ular succession of civil and military honours.[134] To their uence and example we may partly ascribe the modest obedi-e of the legions during the two first centuries of the Imperial tory.

But when the last enclosure of the Roman constitution was npled down by Caracalla, the separation of possessions gradu- succeeded to the distinction of ranks. The more polished zens of the internal provinces were alone qualified to act as

[132] Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1295 [9]. [The tax was reduced again to 5 per cent. Macrinus. By the sixth century it had altogether disappeared.]

[133] He who paid ten *aurei*, the usual tribute, was charged with no more than the l part of an aureus, and proportional pieces of gold were coined by Alexander's r. Hist. August. p. 127 [xviii. 39], with the commentary of Salmasius.

[134] See the lives of Agricola, Vespasian, Trajan, Severus, and his three comors; and indeed of all the eminent men of those times.

lawyers and magistrates. The rougher trade of arms abandoned to the peasants and barbarians of the frontiers, knew no country but their camp, no science but that of war civil laws, and scarcely those of military discipline. With blo hands, savage manners, and desperate resolutions, they so times guarded, but much oftener subverted, the throne of emperors.

CHAPTER VII

: elevation, and tyranny, of Maximin—Rebellion in Africa and Italy, under the authority of the Senate—Civil Wars and Seditions—Violent Deaths of Maximin and his Son, of Maximus and Balbinus, and of the three Gordians—Usurpation and Secular Games of Philip

the various forms of government which have prevailed in world, an hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest pe for ridicule. Is it possible to relate without an indignant le, that, on the father's decease, the property of a nation, : that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet :nown to mankind and to himself, and that the bravest riors and the wisest statesmen, relinquishing their natural it to empire, approach the royal cradle with bended knees l protestations of inviolable fidelity? Satire and declamation y paint these obvious topics in the most dazzling colours, but more serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that ablishes a rule of succession, independent of the passions of nkind; and we shall cheerfully acquiesce in any expedient ich deprives the multitude of the dangerous, and indeed the al, power of giving themselves a master. The apparent ridicule,

In the cool shade of retirement, we may easily devise imagin- forms of government, in which the sceptre shall be con- ntly bestowed on the most worthy by the free and incorrupt frage of the whole community. Experience overturns these y fabrics, and teaches us that in a large society the election of monarch can never devolve to the wisest or to the most merous part of the people. The army is the only order of n sufficiently united to concur in the same sentiments, and werful enough to impose them on the rest of their fellow- izens; but the temper of soldiers, habituated at once to lence and to slavery, renders them very unfit guardians of a al or even a civil constitution. Justice, humanity, or politi- wisdom, are qualities they are too little acquainted with in emselves to appreciate them in others. Valour will acquire and solid advantages of hereditary succession

their esteem, and liberality will purchase their suffrage; but t
first of these merits is often lodged in the most savage breas
the latter can only exert itself at the expense of the public; a
both may be turned against the possessor of the throne by t
ambition of a daring rival.

Want of it in the Roman empire productive of the greatest calamities

The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained t
sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and le
invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledg
right extinguishes the hopes of faction, and the consci
security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the fi
establishment of this idea we owe the peaceful succession a
mild administration of European monarchies. To the defect
it we must attribute the frequent civil wars, through which
Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of
fathers. Yet, even in the East, the sphere of contention
usually limited to the princes of the reigning house, and, as so
as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren, by t
sword and the bow-string, he no longer entertains any jealou
of his meaner subjects. But the Roman empire, after the auth
rity of the senate had sunk into contempt, was a vast scene
confusion. The royal, and even noble, families of the provinc
had long since been led in triumph before the car of the haugh
republicans. The ancient families of Rome had successive
fallen beneath the tyranny of the Cæsars; and, whilst the
princes were shackled by the forms of a commonwealth, a
disappointed by the repeated failure of their posterity,[1] it w
impossible that any idea of hereditary succession should ha
taken root in the minds of their subjects. The right to t
throne, which none could claim from birth, every one assum
from merit. The daring hopes of ambition were set loose fr
the salutary restraints of law and prejudice, and the meanest
mankind might, without folly, entertain a hope of being rais
by valour and fortune to a rank in the army, in which a sin
crime would enable him to wrest the sceptre of the world fr
his feeble and unpopular master. After the murder of Al
ander Severus and the elevation of Maximin, no emperor co
think himself safe upon the throne, and every barbarian peas
of the frontier might aspire to that august but dangerous s
tion.

[1] There had been no example of three successive generations on the throne; t
three instances of sons who succeeded their fathers. The marriages of Cæsars (
withstanding the permission, and the frequent practice, of divorces) were gener
unfruitful.

About thirty-two years before that event, the emperor Severus, returning from an Eastern expedition, halted in Thrace, to celebrate, with military games, the birthday of his younger son, Geta. The country flocked in crowds to behold their sovereign, and a young barbarian of gigantic stature earnestly solicited, in his rude dialect, that he might be allowed to contend for the prize of wrestling. As the pride of discipline would have been disgraced in the overthrow of a Roman soldier by a Thracian peasant, he was matched with the stoutest of the champions of the camp, sixteen of whom he successively laid on the ground. His victory was rewarded by some trifling gifts, and a permission to enlist in the troops. The next day the happy barbarian was distinguished above a crowd of recruits, dancing and exulting after the fashion of his country. As soon as he perceived that he had attracted the emperor's notice, he instantly ran up to his horse, and followed him on foot, without the least appearance of fatigue, in a long and rapid career. "Thracian," said Severus, with astonishment, "art thou disposed to wrestle after thy race?" "Most willingly, Sir," replied the unwearied youth, and, almost in a breath, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers in the army. A gold collar was the prize of his matchless vigour and activity, and he was immediately appointed to serve in the horse-guards who always attended on the person of the sovereign.[2]

Birth and fortunes of Maximin

Maximin, for that was his name, though born on the territories of the empire, descended from a mixed race of barbarians. His father was a Goth, and his mother of the nation of the Alani.[3] He displayed on every occasion a valour equal to his strength; and his native fierceness was soon tempered or disguised by the knowledge of the world. Under the reign of Severus and his son, he obtained the rank of centurion, with the favour and esteem of both those princes, the former of whom was an excellent judge of merit. Gratitude forbade Maximin to serve under the assassin of Caracalla. Honour taught him to decline the effeminate insults of Elagabalus. On the accession of Alexander he returned to court, and was placed by that prince in a station useful to the service and honourable to himself.

His military service and honours

The fourth legion, to which he was appointed tribune, which became, under his care, the best disciplined of the whole army. With the general applause of the soldiers, who bestowed on their favourite hero the names of Ajax and Hercules, he was

[2] Hist. August. p. 138 [xix. 1].
[3] [His father's name was Micca, his mother's Hababa.]

successively promoted to the first military command,[4] and not he still retained too much of his savage origin, the emp might perhaps have given his own sister in marriage to the of Maximin.[5]

Conspiracy of Maximin

Instead of securing his fidelity, these favours served onl inflame the ambition of the Thracian peasant, who deemed fortune inadequate to his merit as long as he was constrai to acknowledge a superior. Though a stranger to real wisd he was not devoid of a selfish cunning, which showed him the emperor had lost the affection of the army, and taught to improve their discontent to his own advantage. It is for faction and calumny to shed their poison on the adminis tion of the best of princes, and to accuse even their virtues by fully confounding them with those vices to which they bear nearest affinity. The troops listened with pleasure to emissaries of Maximin. They blushed at their own ignomin patience, which, during thirteen years, had supported the v tious discipline imposed by an effeminate Syrian, the ti slave of his mother and of the senate. It was time, they cr to cast away that useless phantom of the civil power, and elect for their prince and general a real soldier, educate camps, exercised in war, who would assert the glory and distril among his companions the treasures of the empire. A g army was at that time assembled on the banks of the Rh under the command of the emperor himself, who, almost mediately after his return from the Persian war, had been obl to march against the barbarians of Germany. The impor care of training and reviewing the new levies was intruste Maximin. One day, as he entered the field of exercise, troops either from a sudden impulse or a formed conspir saluted him emperor, silenced by their loud acclamations obstinate refusal, and hastened to consummate their rebel by the murder of Alexander Severus.

A.D. 235, March 19, Murder of Alexander Severus

The circumstances of his death are variously related. writers who suppose that he died in ignorance of the ingrati and ambition of Maximin affirm that, after taking a frugal past in the sight of the army, he retired to sleep, and that a the seventh hour of the day a party of his own guards b

[4] Hist. August. p. 140 [xix. 6]. Herodian, l. vi. p. 223 [8]. Aurelius V By comparing these authors, it should seem, that Maximin had the part command of the Triballian horse, with the general commission of disciplinin recruits of the whole army. His Biographer ought to have marked, with care, his exploits, and the successive steps of his military promotions.

[5] See the original letter of Alexander Severus, Hist. August. p. 149 [xix. 29

the Imperial tent, and, with many wounds, assassinated virtuous and unsuspecting prince.[6] If we credit another, indeed a more probable, account, Maximin was invested the purple by a numerous detachment, at the distance of al miles from the head quarters, and he trusted for success r to the secret wishes than to the public declarations of the army. Alexander had sufficient time to awaken a faint of loyalty among his troops; but their reluctant pro- ns of fidelity quickly vanished on the appearance of min, who declared himself the friend and advocate of the ıry order, and was unanimously acknowledged emperor of omans by the applauding legions. The son of Mamæa, be- d and deserted, withdrew into his tent, desirous at least to al his approaching fate from the insults of the multitude. vas soon followed by a tribune and some centurions, the ters of death; but instead of receiving with manly resolu- the inevitable stroke, his unavailing cries and entreaties aced the last moments of his life, and converted into con- t some portion of the just pity which his innocence and rtunes must inspire. His mother, Mamæa, whose pride varice he loudly accused as the cause of his ruin, perished her son. The most faithful of his friends were sacrificed e first fury of the soldiers. Others were reserved for the deliberate cruelty of the usurper, and those who experienced st treatment were stripped of their employments and ıiniously driven from the court and army.[7]

e former tyrants Caligula and Nero, Commodus and alla, were all dissolute and unexperienced youths,[8] educated e purple, and corrupted by the pride of empire, the luxury

Tyranny of Maximin

ist. August. p. 135 [xviii. 6r]. I have softened some of the most improbable stances of this wretched biographer. From this ill-worded narration, it seem that, the prince's buffoon having accidently entered the tent, and ned the slumbering monarch, the fear of punishment urged him to persuade affected soldiers to commit the murder. [The place of the event was doubt- ainz or its neighbourhood (so the Chronicle of Jerome, based on the Canon ebius), but Lampridius, Hist. Aug. xviii. 59, and Aurelius Victor, Cæsar. , strangely place the assassination at Sicilia in Britain. I do not profess to tand either Britain or Sicilia. Schiller guesses a confusion with *Vicus Brit-* , Bretzenheim near Mainz.]

erodian, l. vi. p. 223-227 [8 and 9. The date of Alexander's death is March 19 according to Borghesi) 235. Maximin was acknowledged by the Senate 25th. J. Löhrer (de C. Julio Vero Maximino, 1883) has sought to fix the Feb. 10.]

ligula, the eldest of the four, was only twenty-five years of age when he d the throne; Caracalla was twenty-three, Commodus nineteen, and Nero e than seventeen.

of Rome, and the perfidious voice of flattery. The cruelt
Maximin[9] was derived from a different source, the fear of
tempt. Though he depended on the attachment of the sold
who loved him for virtues like their own, he was conscious
his mean and barbarian origin, his savage appearance, and
total ignorance of the arts and institutions of civil life,[10] for
a very unfavourable contrast with the amiable manners of
unhappy Alexander. He remembered that, in his hum
fortune, he had often waited before the doors of the hau
nobles of Rome, and had been denied admittance by the
solence of their slaves. He recollected too the friendship
few who had relieved his poverty, and assisted his rising h
But those who had spurned, and those who had protected,
Thracian, were guilty of the same crime, the knowledge o
original obscurity. For this crime many were put to de
and by the execution of several of his benefactors Max
published, in characters of blood, the indelible history o
baseness and ingratitude.[11]

The dark and sanguinary soul of the tyrant was open to e
suspicion against those among his subjects who were the
distinguished by their birth or merit. Whenever he was alar
with the sound of treason, his cruelty was unbounded and u
lenting. A conspiracy against his life was either discovere
imagined, and Magnus, a consular senator, was named as
principal author of it. Without a witness, without a trial,
without an opportunity of defence, Magnus, with four thou
of his supposed accomplices, were put to death. Italy and
whole empire were infested with innumerable spies and
formers. On the slightest accusation, the first of the Ro

[9] [His imperial name is C. Julius Verus Maximinus.]

[10] It appears that he was totally ignorant of the Greek language; which,
its universal use in conversation and letters, was an essential part of every l
education. [His Latin was very imperfect.]

[11] Hist. August. p. 141 [xix. 8]. Herodian, l. vii. p. 237 [1]. The lat
these historians has been most unjustly censured for sparing the vices of Max
[Gibbon is unfair to Maximin (though afterwards indeed, p. 183, in the na
"the candid severity of history," he partially retracts his harsh judgment).
min was a rude soldier, but he was thoroughly well meaning and capable
was equal to the emergencies of the empire, and able to cope with the dange
the Rhine and the Danube, with which Alexander had not the strength to
Like Septimius Severus, he had no sympathy with the senate, with Italy, or
the populace of Rome. For him the army was the *populus Romanus*. The i
hatred, however, which the senate conceived for him was chiefly due to the
what tyrannical rule of his prætorian præfect, Vitalian, who governed at
while the emperor defended the frontiers. Numerous inscriptions testify to
min's activity in every province in repairing and extending roads.]

es, who had governed provinces, commanded armies, and
adorned with the consular and triumphal ornaments, were
ned on the public carriages, and hurried away to the em-
r's presence. Confiscation, exile, or simple death, were
emed uncommon instances of his lenity. Some of the
rtunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of
ghtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others
n to be beaten to death with clubs. During the three years
is reign he disdained to visit either Rome or Italy. His
p, occasionally removed from the banks of the Rhine to
e of the Danube, was the seat of his stern despotism, which
pled on every principle of law and justice, and was supported
he avowed power of the sword.[12] No man of noble birth,
ant accomplishments, or knowledge of civil business, was
red near his person; and the court of a Roman emperor
ved the idea of those ancient chiefs of slaves and gladiators,
se savage power had left a deep impression of terror and
station.[13]

Oppression of the provinces

s long as the cruelty of Maximin was confined to the
trious senators, or even to the bold adventurers who in the
t or army expose themselves to the caprice of fortune, the
of the people viewed their sufferings with indifference, or
aps with pleasure. But the tyrant's avarice, stimulated by
insatiate desires of the soldiers, at length attacked the
ic property.[14] Every city of the empire was possessed of an
pendent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multi-
, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertain-
ts. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth
at once confiscated for the use of the Imperial treasury. The
ples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold
silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were
ed down and coined into money. These impious orders

The wife of Maximin, by insinuating wise counsels with female gentleness,
times brought back the tyrant to the way of truth and humanity. See Am-
us Marcellinus, xiv. 1 [8], where he alludes to the fact which he had more fully
d under the reign of the Gordians. We may collect from the medals, that
ina was the name of this benevolent empress; and from the title of *Diva*, that
ied before Maximin. (Valesius ad loc. cit. Ammian.) Spanheim de U. et
tom. ii. p. 300.

He was compared to Spartacus and Athenio. Hist. August. p. 141 [xix. 9].

This is put rather unfairly. Money was wanted for the military operations on
ontiers; and one can feel little indignation that the amusements of the popu-
hould have been postponed for the defence of the empire. Gibbon hardly
to realize that Maximin's warfare was serious, and that his organization of
ontier defences was of capital importance.]

could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as many places the people chose rather to die in the defence their altars than to behold in the midst of peace their ci exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war. The soldiers th selves, among whom this sacrilegious plunder was distribu received it with a blush ; and, hardened as they were in act violence, they dreaded the just reproaches of their friends relations. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of in nation was heard, imploring vengeance on the common en of human kind ; and at length, by an act of private oppress a peaceful and unarmed province was driven into rebel against him.[15]

Revolt in Africa, A.D. 237, April

The procurator of Africa was a servant worthy of suc master, who considered the fines and confiscations of the ric one of the most fruitful branches of the Imperial revenue. iniquitous sentence had been pronounced against some opu youths of that country, the execution of which would h stripped them of far the greater part of their patrimony. In extremity, a resolution that must either complete or pre their ruin was dictated by despair. A respite of three d obtained with difficulty from the rapacious treasurer, was ployed in collecting from their estates a great number of sl and peasants blindly devoted to the commands of their lo and armed with the rustic weapons of clubs and axes. leaders of the conspiracy, as they were admitted to the audi of the procurator, stabbed him with the daggers conce under their garments, and, by the assistance of their tumult train, seized on the little town of Thysdrus,[16] and erected standard of rebellion against the sovereign of the Roman em They rested their hopes on the hatred of mankind aga Maximin, and they judiciously resolved to oppose to that tested tyrant an emperor whose mild virtues had already quired the love and esteem of the Romans, and whose autho over the province would give weight and stability to the en prise. Gordianus,[17] their proconsul, and the object of t choice, refused, with unfeigned reluctance, the dange

[15] Herodian, l. vii. p. 238 [3]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 15 [13].

[16] In the fertile territory of Byzacium, one hundred and fifty miles to the of Carthage. This city was decorated, probably by the Gordians, with the ti colony, and with a fine amphitheatre, which is still in a very perfect state. Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 59, and Shaw's Travels, p. 117. [Thysdrus is no Djemm. This revolt took place in spring 238. Eckhel, vii. 293. The chron of the events of this year is hopelessly perplexing and uncertain. See App. 1

[17] [M. Antonius Gordianus.]

ır, and begged with tears that they should suffer him to
ıate in peace a long and innocent life, without staining his
age with civil blood. Their menaces compelled him to
t the Imperial purple, his only refuge indeed against the
s cruelty of Maximin; since, according to the reasoning of
ts, those who have been esteemed worthy of the throne
ve death, and those who deliberate have already re-
.[18]

e family of Gordianus was one of the most illustrious of the
n senate. On the father's side he was descended from the
hi; on his mother's, from the emperor Trajan. A great
enabled him to support the dignity of his birth, and in
ıjoyment of it he displayed an elegant taste and beneficent
ition. The palace in Rome formerly inhabited by the
Pompey had been, during several generations, in the
sion of Gordian's family.[19] It was distinguished by ancient
es of naval victories, and decorated with the works of
n painting. His villa on the road to Prænestе was
ated for baths of singular beauty and extent, for three
y rooms of an hundred feet in length, and for a magnificent
o, supported by two hundred columns of the four most
ıs and costly sorts of marble.[20] The public shows ex-
d at his expense, and in which the people were entertained
many hundreds of wild beasts and gladiators,[21] seem to
ss the fortune of a subject; and, whilst the liberality of
magistrates was confined to a few solemn festivals in
, the magnificence of Gordian was repeated, when he was
every month in the year, and extended, during his consul-
to the principal cities of Italy. He was twice elevated to

Character and elevation of the two Gordians

erodian, l. vii. p. 239 [4]. Hist. August. p. 153 [xx. 7].
ist. August. p. 152 [xx. 3]. The celebrated house of Pompey *in carinis*,
ırped by Marc Antony, and consequently became, after the Triumvir's
a part of the Imperial domain. The emperor Trajan allowed and even en-
d the rich senators to purchase those magnificent and useless palaces (Plin.
ric. c. 50); and it may seem probable, that on this occasion, Pompey's
ame into the possession of Gordian's great-grandfather.
ne Claudian, the Numidian, the Carystian, and the Synnadian. The
of Roman marbles have been faintly described and imperfectly distinguished.
ars, however, that the Carystian was a sea green, and that the marble of
a was white mixed with oval spots of purple [rose-red]. See Salmasius ad
ugust. p. 164 [xx. 32, 2]. [The Numidian was a yellow crocus.]
ist. August. p. 151, 152 [xx. 3 and 4]. He sometimes gave five hundred
Gladiators never less than one hundred and fifty. He once gave for the
the Circus one hundred Sicilian, and as many Cappadocian horses. The
designed for hunting were chiefly bears, boars, bulls, stags, elks, wild
c. Elephants and lions seem to have been appropriated to Imperial mag-
e.

the last-mentioned dignity, by Caracalla and by Alexander he possessed the uncommon talent of acquiring the estee virtuous princes, without alarming the jealousy of tyrants. long life was innocently spent in the study of letters an peaceful honours of Rome; and, till he was named procon Africa by the voice of the senate and the approbation of ander,[22] he appears prudently to have declined the comma armies and the government of provinces. As long as emperor lived, Africa was happy under the administration worthy representative; after the barbarous Maximin had us the throne, Gordianus alleviated the miseries which he unable to prevent. When he reluctantly accepted the p he was above fourscore years old; a last and valuable re of the happy age of the Antonines, whose virtues he revi his own conduct, and celebrated in an elegant poem of books. With the venerable proconsul, his son, who ha companied him into Africa as his lieutenant, was likewis clared emperor. His manners were less pure, but his cha was equally amiable with that of his father. Twent acknowledged concubines, and a library of sixty-two tho volumes, attested the variety of his inclinations; and fro productions which he left behind him, it appears that bot one and the other were designed for use rather than for os tion.[23] The Roman people acknowledged in the features younger Gordian the resemblance of Scipio Africanus, recoll with pleasure that his mother was the grand-daught Antoninus Pius, and rested the public hope on those virtues which had hitherto, as they fondly imagined, lain cealed in the luxurious indolence of a private life.

They solicit the confirmation of their authority

As soon as the Gordians had appeased the first tumult popular election they removed their court to Carthage. were received with the acclamations of the Africans, honoured their virtues, and who, since the visit of Hadrian never beheld the majesty of a Roman emperor. But these acclamations neither strengthened nor confirmed the title Gordians. They were induced by principle, as well as int to solicit the approbation of the senate; and a deputation

[22] See the original letter, in the Augustan History, p. 152 [xx. 5], which shows Alexander's respect for the authority of the senate, and his esteem proconsul appointed by that assembly.

[23] By each of his concubines, the younger Gordian left three or four c His literary productions, though less numerous, were by no means co tible.

st provincials was sent, without delay, to Rome, to relate ustify the conduct of their countrymen, who, having long ed with patience, were at length resolved to act with r. The letters of the new princes were modest and ctful, excusing the necessity which had obliged them to ɔt the Imperial title, but submitting their election and their ɔ the supreme judgment of the senate.[24]

The senate ratifies their election of the Gordians

e inclinations of the senate were neither doubtful nor ed. The birth and noble alliances of the Gordians had ately connected them with the most illustrious houses of e. Their fortune had created many dependants in that ably, their merit had acquired many friends. Their mild nistration opened the flattering prospect of the restoration, only of the civil but even of the republican government. terror of military violence, which had first obliged the senate rget the murder of Alexander, and to ratify the election of barian peasant,[25] now produced a contrary effect, and pro- d them to assert the injured rights of freedom and humanity. hatred of Maximin towards the senate was declared and acable; the tamest submission had not appeased his fury, most cautious innocence would not remove his suspicions; even the care of their own safety urged them to share the ne of an enterprise, of which (if unsuccessful) they were to be the first victims. These considerations, and perhaps rs of a more private nature, were debated in a previous erence of the consuls and the magistrates. As soon as their ution was decided, they convoked in the temple of Castor whole body of the senate, according to an ancient form of ecy,[26] calculated to awaken their attention and to conceal decrees. "Conscript fathers," said the consul Syllanus, e two Gordians, both of consular dignity, the one your onsul, and the other your lieutenant, have been declared erors by the general consent of Africa. Let us return ks," he boldly continued, "to the youth of Thysdrus; let eturn thanks to the faithful people of Carthage, our generous verers from a horrid monster.—Why do you hear me thus ly, thus timidly? Why do you cast these anxious looks on

Herodian, l. vii. p. 243 [6]. Hist. August. p. 144 [xix. 14].

Quod tamen patres, dum periculosum existimant inermes armato resistere, obaverunt, *Aurelius Victor* [Cæsar. 25].

Even the servants of the house, the scribes, &c., were excluded, and their was filled by the senators themselves. We are obliged to the Augustan ry, p. 157 [xx. 12], for preserving this curious example of the old discipline commonwealth.

each other? why hesitate? Maximin is a public enemy! his enmity soon expire with him,[27] and may we long enjoy prudence and felicity of Gordian the father, the valour and stancy of Gordian the son!" [28] The noble ardour of the c

and declares Maximin a public enemy

revived the languid spirit of the senate. By an unani decree the election of the Gordians was ratified; Maximi son, and his adherents were pronounced enemies of their cou and liberal rewards were offered to whomsoever had the cou and good fortune to destroy them.

Assumes the command of Rome and Italy

During the emperor's absence a detachment of the Præt guards remained at Rome, to protect, or rather to comm the capital. The præfect Vitalianus had signalized his fid to Maximin by the alacrity with which he had obeyed, even prevented, the cruel mandates of the tyrant. His d alone could rescue the authority of the senate, and the liv the senators, from a state of danger and suspense. Before resolves had transpired, a quæstor and some tribunes were missioned to take his devoted life. They executed the with equal boldness and success; and, with their bloody dag in their hands, ran through the streets, proclaiming to people and the soldiers the news of the happy revolution. enthusiasm of liberty was seconded by the promise of a donative in lands and money; the statues of Maximin thrown down; the capital of the empire acknowledged, transport, the authority of the two Gordians and the senat and the example of Rome was followed by the rest of Italy.

and prepares for a civil war

A new spirit had arisen in that assembly, whose long pati had been insulted by wanton despotism and military lice The senate assumed the reins of government, and, with a intrepidity, prepared to vindicate by arms the cause of free Among the consular senators recommended by their merit services to the favour of the emperor Alexander, it was eas select twenty, not unequal to the command of an army and conduct of a war.[30] To these was the defence of Italy intrus Each was appointed to act in his respective departm authorized to enrol and discipline the Italian youth, and structed to fortify the ports and highways against the impen

[27] [The true text has a confident future; *di facient ut esse iam desinat.* G renders it *faciant* which stood in the edition which he used.]

[28] This spirited speech, translated from the Augustan historian, p. 156 [xx seems transcribed by him from the original registers of the senate.

[29] Herodian, l. vii. p. 244 [6].

[30] [Compare Herodian, viii. 5, 5, with Zosimus, i. 14, and Hist. Aug. xxi.

sion of Maximin. A number of deputies, chosen from the illustrious of the senatorian and equestrian orders, were atched at the same time to the governors of the several inces, earnestly conjuring them to fly to the assistance of country, and to remind the nations of their ancient ties of dship with the Roman senate and people. The general ect with which these deputies were received, and the zeal taly and the provinces in favour of the senate, sufficiently e that the subjects of Maximin were reduced to that unnon distress, in which the body of the people has more to from oppression than from resistance. The consciousness of melancholy truth inspires a degree of persevering fury om to be found in those civil wars which are artificially orted for the benefit of a few factious and designing ers.[31]

Defeat and death of the two Gordians A.D. 237, 3rd July [238, April]

or, while the cause of the Gordians was embraced with such sive ardour, the Gordians themselves were no more. The le court of Carthage was alarmed with the rapid approach Capelianus, governor of Mauritania,[32] who, with a small of veterans[33] and a fierce host of barbarians, attacked a ful but unwarlike province. The younger Gordian sallied to meet the enemy at the head of a few guards, and a erous undisciplined multitude, educated in the peaceful ry of Carthage. His useless valour served only to procure an honourable death in the field of battle. His aged father, se reign had not exceeded thirty-six days, put an end to his on the first news of the defeat. Carthage, destitute of nce, opened her gates to the conqueror, and Africa was osed to the rapacious cruelty of a slave, obliged to satisfy his lenting master with a large account of blood and treasure.[34]

Herodian, l. vii. p. 247 [7], l. viii. p. 277 [6]. Hist. August. p. 156-158 [xx. .]. [See Corp. Insc. Lat. iii. 1422, 1423, 1456.]

Not of Mauritania, but of Numidia. See C. I. L. viii. 2170.]

[The legion iii. Augusta.]

Herodian, l. vii. p. 254 [9]. Hist. August. p. 158-160 [xx. 15 *sqq.*]. We observe that one month and six days for the reign of Gordian is a just corn of Casaubon and Panvinius, instead of the absurd reading of one year and onths. See Commentar. p. 193. Zosimus relates, l. i. p. 17 [16], that the two ians perished by a tempest in the midst of their navigation. A strange ignorof history, or a strange abuse of metaphors! [The date of the death of the ians is now known to be 238, but the month is uncertain. See Appendix 12. neeting of the senate is stated to have taken place on the 9th June or July ext note). It is clear that this meeting followed quickly on the news from ; the words of Capitolinus are—*senatus* praetrepidus *in aedem Concordiae rrit.* Thus the view of Eckhel and Clinton that the Gordians fell in April, rch, 238, implies the rejection of this date.]

Election of Maximus and Balbinus by the senate, 9th July

The fate of the Gordians filled Rome with just, but unexpec terror. The senate, convoked in the temple of Concord, affe to transact the common business of the day; and seemed to cline, with trembling anxiety, the consideration of their and the public, danger. A silent consternation prevailed on assembly, till a senator, of the name and family of Tra awakened his brethren from their fatal lethargy. He represe to them that the choice of cautious dilatory measures had long since out of their power; that Maximin, implacable nature and exasperated by injuries, was advancing towards It at the head of the military force of the empire; and that t only remaining alternative was either to meet him bravel the field, or tamely to expect the tortures and ignominious d reserved for unsuccessful rebellion. "We have lost," contin he, "two excellent princes; but, unless we desert ourselves, hopes of the republic have not perished with the Gordi Many are the senators whose virtues have deserved, and wh abilities would sustain, the Imperial dignity. Let us elect emperors, one of whom may conduct the war against the pu enemy, whilst his colleague remains at Rome to direct the administration. I cheerfully expose myself to the danger envy of the nomination, and give my vote in favour of Maxi and Balbinus. Ratify my choice, conscript fathers, or appo in their place, others more worthy of the empire." The gen apprehension silenced the whispers of jealousy; the merit of candidates was universally acknowledged; and the house sounded with the sincere acclamations of "Long life and vict to the Emperors Maximus and Balbinus. You are happy in judgment of the senate; may the republic be happy under y administration!" [35]

Their characters

The virtues and the reputation of the new emperors justif the most sanguine hopes of the Romans. The various nature their talents seemed to appropriate to each his peculiar dep ment of peace and war, without leaving room for jealous emu tion. Balbinus was an admired orator, a poet of distinguish fame, and a wise magistrate, who had exercised with innoce and applause the civil jurisdiction in almost all the inte provinces of the empire. His birth was noble,[36] his fortu

[35] See the Augustan History, p. 166 [xxi. 1], from the registers of the sen the date is confessedly faulty, but the coincidence of the Apollinarian ga enables us to correct it. [Iunias in Hist. Aug. xxi. 1, is supposed to be a n slip of the pen for Iulias.]

[36] He was descended from Cornelius Balbus, a noble Spaniard, and the adop son of Theophanes the Greek historian. Balbus obtained the freedom of Rom

ent, his manners liberal and affable. In him, the love of sure was corrected by a sense of dignity, nor had the habits ase deprived him of a capacity for business. The mind aximinus[37] was formed in a rougher mould. By his valour abilities he had raised himself from the meanest origin to irst employments of the state and army. His victories over Sarmatians and the Germans, the austerity of his life, and rigid impartiality of his justice whilst he was præfect of the commanded the esteem of a people whose affections were ged in favour of the more amiable Balbinus. The two agues had both been consul (Balbinus had twice enjoyed honourable office), both had been named among the twenty enants of the senate; and, since the one was sixty and the r seventy-four years old,[38] they had both attained the full rity of age and experience.

Tumult at Rome. The younger Gordian is declared Cæsar

fter the senate had conferred on Maximus and Balbinus an l portion of the consular and tribunitian powers, the title of ers of their country, and the joint office of Supreme Pontiff, ascended to the Capitol to return thanks to the gods, ectors of Rome.[39] The solemn rites of sacrifice were dis-ed by a sedition of the people. The licentious multitude ner loved the rigid Maximus, nor did they sufficiently fear the and humane Balbinus. Their increasing numbers sur-ded the temple of Jupiter; with obstinate clamours they ted their inherent right of consenting to the election of sovereign: and demanded, with an apparent moderation, besides the two emperors chosen by the senate, a third ld be added of the family of the Gordians, as a just return ratitude to those princes who had sacrificed their lives for the blic. At the head of the city guards and the youth of the

vour of Pompey, and preserved it by the eloquence of Cicero (see Orat. pro l. Balbo). The friendship of Cæsar (to whom he rendered the most impor-ecret services in the civil war) raised him to the consulship and the pontificate, irs never yet possessed by a stranger. The nephew of this Balbus triumphed he Garamantes. See Dictionnaire de Bayle, au mot *Balbus*, where he dis-shes the several persons of that name, and rectifies, with his usual accuracy, istakes of former writers concerning them. [The full name of Balbinus was elius Calvinus Balbinus.]

M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (on coins Pupienus, in African inscriptions nius).]

Zonaras, l. xii. p. 622 [17]. But little dependence is to be had on the autho-a modern Greek, so grossly ignorant of the history of the third century that ates several imaginary emperors, and confounds those who really existed.

Herodian, l. vii. p. 256 [10], supposes that the senate was at first convoked Capitol, and is very eloquent on the occasion. The Augustan History, p, xi. 3], seems much more authentic.

equestrian order, Maximus and Balbinus attempted to cut
way through the seditious multitude. The multitude, a
with sticks and stones, drove them back into the Capitol.
prudent to yield, when the contest, whatever may be the
of it, must be fatal to both parties. A boy, only thirteen
of age, the grandson of the elder and nephew of the you
Gordian, was produced to the people, invested with the
ments and title of Cæsar.[40] The tumult was appeased by
easy condescension; and the two emperors, as soon as
had been peaceably acknowledged in Rome, prepared to de
Italy against the common enemy.

Maximin prepares to attack the senate and their emperors

Whilst in Rome and Africa revolutions succeeded each
with such amazing rapidity, the mind of Maximin was agi
by the most furious passions. He is said to have received
news of the rebellion of the Gordians, and of the decree o
senate against him, not with the temper of a man, but the
of a wild beast; which, as it could not discharge itself on
distant senate, threatened the life of his son, of his fri
and of all who ventured to approach his person. The gratefi
telligence of the death of the Gordians was quickly followe
the assurance that the senate, laying aside all hopes of pa
or accommodation, had substituted in their room two empe
with whose merit he could not be unacquainted. Revenge
the only consolation left to Maximin, and revenge could on
obtained by arms. The strength of the legions had
assembled by Alexander from all parts of the empire. T
successful campaigns against the Germans and the Sarmati
had raised their fame, confirmed their discipline, and eve
creased their numbers, by filling the ranks with the flow
the barbarian youth. The life of Maximin had been spe
war, and the candid severity of history cannot refuse him
valour of a soldier, or even the abilities of an experie
general.[42] It might naturally be expected that a prince of
a character, instead of suffering the rebellion to gain stabili
delay, should immediately have marched from the banks o

[40] [It is worthy of notice that he was not adopted as son by either of the A
as was usual in such cases.]

[41] [On the Rhine against the Germans 235 and 236, on the Danube again
matians and Dacians in 237. Hence the titles *Germanicus*, *Dacicus*, *Sarm*
which his son also bore.]

[42] In Herodian, l. vii. p. 249 [8], and in the Augustan History [xix. 18; x
we have three several orations of Maximin to his army, on the rebellion of
and Rome: M. de Tillemont has very justly observed, that they neither agre
each other, nor with truth. Histoire des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 799.

ube to those of the Tiber, and that his victorious army, gated by contempt for the senate, and eager to gather the ls of Italy, should have burned with impatience to finish the and lucrative conquest. Yet, as far as we can trust to the ure chronology of that period,[43] it appears that the operations ome foreign war deferred the Italian expedition till the ing spring. From the prudent conduct of Maximin, we may n that the savage features of his character have been exag- ted by the pencil of party; that his passions, however etuous, submitted to the force of reason; and that the arian possessed something of the generous spirit of Sylla, subdued the enemies of Rome before he suffered himself to nge his private injuries.[44]

Marches into Italy, A.D. 238, February

When the troops of Maximin, advancing[45] in excellent order, ved at the foot of the Julian Alps, they were terrified by silence and desolation that reigned on the frontiers of Italy. villages and open towns had been abandoned, on their oach, by the inhabitants, the cattle was driven away, the isions removed or destroyed, the bridges broken down, nor anything left which could afford either shelter or subsist- e to an invader. Such had been the wise orders of the erals of the senate, whose design was to protract the war, uin the army of Maximin by the slow operation of famine, to consume his strength in the sieges of the principal cities taly, which they had plentifully stored with men and pro- ns from the deserted country. Aquileia received and with- d the first shock of the invasion. The streams that issue n the head of the Hadriatic gulf, swelled by the melting of winter snows,[46] opposed an unexpected obstacle to the arms

Siege of Aquileia

The carelessness of the writers of that age leaves us in a singular perplexity. 'e know that Maximus and Balbinus were killed during the Capitoline games. dian, l. viii. p. 285 [8]. The authority of Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 18) les us to fix those games with certainty to the year 238, but leaves us in ignor- of the month or day. 2. The election of Gordian by the senate is fixed, with certainty, to the 27th of May; but we are at a loss to discover, whether it n the same or the preceding year. Tillemont and Muratori, who maintain wo opposite opinions, bring into the field a desultory troop of authorities, ctures and probabilities. The one seems to draw out, the other to contract, eries of events, between those periods, more than can be well reconciled to n and history. Yet it is necessary to choose between them. [See further ndix 12.]

Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 24. The president de Montesquieu (in his gue between Sylla and Eucrates) expresses the sentiments of the dictator in ited and even sublime manner.

[From Sirmium.]

Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. ii. p. 294) thinks the melting of the snows better with the months of June or July, than with that of February. The

of Maximin. At length, on a singular bridge, constructed, w art and difficulty, of large hogsheads, he transported his army the opposite bank, rooted up the beautiful vineyards in t neighbourhood of Aquileia, demolished the suburbs, and employ the timber of the buildings in the engines and towers with wh on every side he attacked the city. The walls, fallen to de during the security of a long peace, had been hastily repai on this sudden emergency; but the firmest defence of Aquil consisted in the constancy of the citizens; all ranks of who instead of being dismayed, were animated by the extre danger, and their knowledge of the tyrant's unrelenting temp Their courage was supported and directed by Crispinus Menophilus, two of the twenty lieutenants of the senate, w with a small body of regular troops, had thrown themsel into the besieged place. The army of Maximin was repulsed repeated attacks, his machines destroyed by showers of artifi fire; and the generous enthusiasm of the Aquileians exalted into a confidence of success, by the opinion that Belen their tutelar deity, combated in person in the defence of his tressed worshippers.[47]

Conduct of Maximus

The Emperor Maximus, who had advanced as far as Rave to secure that important place, and to hasten the military p parations, beheld the event of the war in the more faith mirror of reason and policy. He was too sensible that a sin town could not resist the persevering efforts of a great arm and he dreaded lest the enemy, tired with the obstinate sistance of Aquileia, should on a sudden relinquish the fruit siege and march directly towards Rome. The fate of the emp and the cause of freedom must then be committed to the cha of a battle; and what arms could he oppose to the vete legions of the Rhine and Danube? Some troops newly lev among the generous but enervated youth of Italy, and a bod

opinion of a man who passed his life between the Alps and the Apennines is doubtedly of great weight; yet I observe, 1. That the long winter, of w Muratori takes advantage, is to be found only in the Latin version, and not i Creek text, of Herodian. 2. That the vicissitude of suns and rains, to which soldiers of Maximin were exposed (Herodian, l. viii. p. 277 [5]), denotes the sp rather than the summer. We may observe likewise, that these several stream they melted into one, composed the Timavus, so poetically (in every sense o word) described by Virgil. They are about twelve miles to the east of Aqu See Cluver. Italia Antiqua, tom. i. p. 189, &c.

47 Herodian, l. viii. p. 272 [3]. The Celtic deity was supposed to be Ap and received under that name the thanks of the senate. A temple was lik built to Venus the Bald, in honour of the women of Aquileia, who had give their hair to make ropes for the military engines.

man auxiliaries, on whose firmness, in the hour of trial, it was gerous to depend. In the midst of these just alarms, the ke of domestic conspiracy punished the crimes of Maximin delivered Rome and the senate from the calamities t would surely have attended the victory of an enraged barian.

Murder of Maximin and his son, A.D. 238, April

The people of Aquileia had scarcely experienced any of the mon miseries of a siege; their magazines were plentifully plied, and several fountains within the walls assured them an inexhaustible resource of fresh water. The soldiers of ximin were, on the contrary, exposed to the inclemency of season, the contagion of disease, and the horrors of famine. e naked country was ruined, the rivers filled with the slain and uted with blood. A spirit of despair and disaffection began diffuse itself among the troops; and, as they were cut off from ntelligence, they easily believed that the whole empire had braced the cause of the senate, and that they were left as oted victims to perish under the impregnable walls of uileia. The fierce temper of the tyrant was exasperated by ppointments, which he imputed to the cowardice of his y; and his wanton and ill-timed cruelty, instead of striking or, inspired hatred and a just desire of revenge. A party of torian guards, who trembled for their wives and children in camp of Alba, near Rome, executed the sentence of the ate. Maximin, abandoned by his guards, was slain in his t, with his son (whom he had associated to the honours of purple), Anulinus the præfect, and the principal ministers of tyranny.[48] The sight of their heads, borne on the point of ars, convinced the citizens of Aquileia that the siege was at end; the gates of the city were thrown open, a liberal market provided for the hungry troops of Maximin, and the whole y joined in solemn protestations of fidelity to the senate and ple of Rome, and to their lawful emperors Maximus and binus. Such was the deserved fate of a brutal savage, titute, as he has generally been represented, of every senti- nt that distinguishes a civilized, or even a human, being. e body was suited to the soul. The stature of Maximin eeded the measure of eight feet, and circumstances almost

His portrait

Herodian, l. viii. p. 279 [5]. Hist. August. p. 146 [xix. 23]. The duration aximin's reign has not been defined with much accuracy, except by Eutropius, allows him three years and a few days (l. ix. 1); we may depend on the rity of the text, as the Latin original is checked by the Greek version of nius (see Appendix 1).

incredible are related of his matchless strength and appetite. Had he lived in a less enlightened age, tradition and poet might well have described him as one of those monstrous giant whose supernatural power was constantly exerted for the destru tion of mankind.

Joy of the Roman world

It is easier to conceive than to describe the universal joy of th Roman world on the fall of the tyrant, the news of which is sa to have been carried in four days from Aquileia to Rome. Th return of Maximus was a triumphal procession; his colleag and young Gordian went out to meet him, and the three princ made their entry into the capital, attended by the ambassado of almost all the cities of Italy, saluted with the splendid offerin of gratitude and superstition, and received with the unfeigne acclamations of the senate and people, who persuaded themselv that a golden age would succeed to an age of iron.[50] Th conduct of the two emperors corresponded with these expect tions. They administered justice in person; and the rigour the one was tempered by the other's clemency. The oppressiv taxes with which Maximin had loaded the rights of inheritan and succession were repealed, or at least moderated. Disciplin was revived, and with the advice of the senate many wise law were enacted by their Imperial ministers, who endeavoured restore a civil constitution on the ruins of military tyrann "What reward may we expect for delivering Rome from monster?" was the question asked by Maximus, in a moment freedom and confidence. Balbinus answered it without hesit tion, "The love of the senate, of the people, and of all mankind "Alas!" replied his more penetrating colleague, "Alas! I drea the hatred of the soldiers, and the fatal effects of their resen ment."[51] His apprehensions were but too well justified by th event.

Sedition at Rome

Whilst Maximus was preparing to defend Italy against th common foe, Balbinus, who remained at Rome, had been engage in scenes of blood and intestine discord. Distrust and jealou reigned in the senate; and even in the temples where the

[49] Eight Roman feet and one third, which are equal to above eight English feet, the two measures are to each other in the proportion of 967 to 1000. See Grave discourse on the Roman foot. We are told that Maximin could drink in a day amphora (or about seven gallons) of wine and eat thirty or forty pounds of meat. could move a loaded waggon, break a horse's leg with his fist, crumble stones in hand, and tear up small trees by the roots. See his Life in the Augustan Histo

[50] See the congratulatory letter of Claudius Julianus the consul, to the t emperors, in the Augustan History [xxi. 17].

[51] Hist. August. p. 171 [xxi. 15].

embled every senator carried either open or concealed arms. the midst of their deliberations, two veterans of the guards, uated either by curiosity or a sinister motive, audaciously ust themselves into the house, and advanced by degrees ond the altar of Victory. Gallicanus, a consular, and ecenas, a prætorian senator, viewed with indignation their olent intrusion: drawing their daggers, they laid the spies, such they deemed them, dead at the foot of the altar, and n, advancing to the door of the senate, imprudently exhorted multitude to massacre the Prætorians as the secret adherents he tyrant. Those who escaped the first fury of the tumult k refuge in the camp, which they defended with superior antage against the reiterated attacks of the people, assisted the numerous bands of gladiators, the property of opulent les. The civil war lasted many days, with infinite loss and fusion on both sides. When the pipes were broken that plied the camp with water, the Prætorians were reduced to lerable distress; but, in their turn, they made desperate sallies the city, set fire to a great number of houses, and filled the eets with the blood of the inhabitants. The emperor Balbinus empted, by ineffectual edicts and precarious truces, to re-cile the factions of Rome. But their animosity, though thered for a while, burnt with redoubled violence. The liers, detesting the senate and the people, despised the weak-s of a prince who wanted either the spirit or the power to mand the obedience of his subjects.[52]

Discontent of the Prætorian guards

After the tyrant's death his formidable army had acknowledged, n necessity rather than from choice, the authority of Maximus, transported himself without delay to the camp before uileia. As soon as he had received their oath of fidelity he ressed them in terms full of mildness and moderation; ented rather than arraigned the wild disorders of the times, assured the soldiers that, of all their past conduct, the ate would remember only their generous desertion of the ant and their voluntary return to their duty. Maximus en-ced his exhortations by a liberal donative, purified the camp a solemn sacrifice of expiation, and then dismissed the legions heir several provinces, impressed, as he hoped, with a lively se of gratitude and obedience.[53] But nothing could reconcile haughty spirit of the Prætorians. They attended the em-ors on the memorable day of their public entry into Rome;

[52] Herodian, l. viii, p. 258 [12]. [53] Herodian, l. viii. p. 213 [7].

but, amidst the general acclamations, the sullen dejecte countenance of the guards sufficiently declared that they co sidered themselves as the object, rather than the partners, of th triumph. When the whole body was united in their camp, tho who had served under Maximin, and those who had remained Rome, insensibly communicated to each other their complain and apprehensions. The emperors chosen by the army ha perished with ignominy; those elected by the senate we seated on the throne.[54] The long discord between the civil an military powers was decided by a war in which the former ha obtained a complete victory. The soldiers must now learn new doctrine of submission to the senate; and, whatev clemency was affected by that politic assembly, they dreaded slow revenge, coloured by the name of discipline, and justifi by fair pretences of the public good. But their fate was still their own hands; and, if they had courage to despise the va terrors of an impotent republic, it was easy to convince the wor that those who were masters of the arms were masters of th authority of the state.

Massacre of Maximus and Balbinus

When the senate elected two princes, it is probable that, b sides the declared reason of providing for the various emerge cies of peace and war, they were actuated by the secret desi of weakening by division the despotism of the supreme magi trate. Their policy was effectual, but it proved fatal both their emperors and to themselves. The jealousy of power w soon exasperated by the difference of character. Maxim despised Balbinus as a luxurious noble, and was in his tu disdained by his colleague as an obscure soldier. Their sile discord was understood rather than seen;[55] but the mutual co sciousness prevented them from uniting in any vigorous measur of defence against their common enemies of the Prætorian cam

A.D. 238, July 15

The whole city was employed in the Capitoline games, and th emperors were left almost alone in the palace. On a su den they were alarmed by the approach of a troop of despera assassins. Ignorant of each other's situation or designs, for th already occupied very distant apartments, afraid to give or

[54] The observation had been made imprudently enough in the acclamations the senate, and with regard to the soldiers it carried the appearance of a want insult. Hist. August. p. 170 [xxi. 12].

[55] Discordiæ tacitæ et quæ intelligerentur potius quam viderentur. Hi August. p. 170 [xxi. 14]. This well chosen expression is probably stolen fr some better writer. [On the coins, however, we see *amor mutuus*, *concordia Aug* &c. It was arranged that Balbinus should undertake the war on the Danu Pupienus that on the Euphrates.]

ive assistance, they wasted the important moments in idle ites and fruitless recriminations. The arrival of the guards an end to the vain strife. They seized on these emperors ie senate, for such they called them with malicious contempt, ped them of their garments, and dragged them in insolent mph through the streets of Rome, with a design of inflicting w and cruel death on these unfortunate princes. The fear rescue from the faithful Germans of the Imperial guards tened their tortures; and their bodies, mangled with a sand wounds, were left exposed to the insults or to the pity ie populace.[56]

The third Gordian remains sole emperor

n the space of a few months six princes had been cut off by sword. Gordian, who had already received the title of ar, was the only person that occurred to the soldiers as per to fill the vacant throne.[57] They carried him to the camp unanimously saluted him Augustus and Emperor.[58] His e was dear to the senate and people; his tender age pro- d a long impunity of military licence; and the submission ome and the provinces to the choice of the Prætorian guards d the republic, at the expense indeed of its freedom and nity, from the horrors of a new civil war in the heart of the tal.[59]

Innocence and virtues of Gordian

s the third Gordian was only nineteen years of age at the e of his death, the history of his life, were it known to us greater accuracy than it really is, would contain little more n the account of his education and the conduct of the minis- who by turns abused or guided the simplicity of his inex- enced youth. Immediately after his accession he fell into hands of his mother's eunuchs, that pernicious vermin of t, who, since the days of Elagabalus, had infested the Roman ace. By the artful conspiracy of these wretches an impene-

Herodian, l. viii. p. 287, 288 [8]. [The date is probably August; see endix 12. Gibbon accepted 15th July.]

Quia non alius erat in præsenti, is the expression of the Augustan History 14].

[Before 29th August, as is proved by Alexandrine coins.]

Quintus Curtius (l. x. c. 9), pays an elegant compliment to the emperor of day, for having, by his happy accession, extinguished so many fire-brands, thed so many swords, and put an end to the evils of a divided government. r weighing with attention every word of the passage, I am of opinion that it better with the elevation of Gordian than with any other period of the Roman ory. In that case, it may serve to decide the age of Quintus Curtius. Those place him under the first Cæsars argue from the purity of his style, but are arrassed by the silence of Quintilian in his accurate list of Roman historians. s now generally agreed to place Curtius in the reign of Nero; but of his life we w nothing.]

trable veil was drawn between an innocent prince and h oppressed subjects, the virtuous disposition of Gordian w deceived, and the honours of the empire sold without his knov ledge, though in a very public manner, to the most worthless mankind. We are ignorant by what fortunate accident th emperor escaped from this ignominious slavery, and devolve his confidence on a minister whose wise counsels had no obje except the glory of the sovereign and the happiness of th people. It should seem that love and learning introduced Mis theus [60] to the favour of Gordian. The young prince married th daughter of his master of rhetoric, and promoted his fathe in-law to the first offices of the empire. Two admirable lette that passed between them are still extant. The minister, with th conscious dignity of virtue, congratulates Gordian that he is d livered from the tyranny of the eunuchs,[61] and still more, th he is sensible of his deliverance. The emperor acknowledge with an amiable confusion, the errors of his past conduct; ar laments, with singular propriety, the misfortune of a monarc from whom a venal tribe of courtiers perpetually labour to co ceal the truth.[62]

A.D. 240, Administration of Misitheus

The life of Misitheus had been spent in the profession letters, not of arms; yet such was the versatile genius of th great man that, when he was appointed Prætorian præfect, h discharged the military duties of his place with vigour ar ability. The Persians had invaded Mesopotamia, and threatene Antioch. By the persuasion of his father-in-law, the your emperor quitted the luxury of Rome, opened, for the last tim recorded in history, the temple of Janus, and marched in perso into the East.[63] On his approach with a great army, the Persia withdrew their garrisons from the cities which they had alread

The Persian war, A.D. 242

[60] [The true name of this minister was C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesithe His name occurs on inscriptions. Gibbon calls him Misitheus after the August History. The marriage of Gordian with his daughter, Tranquillina, is placed t early by Gibbon (240 A.D.). Alexandrine coins prove that it took place in t fourth tribunate of the emperor, between 30th August 241 and 29th August 242.]

[61] Hist. August. p. 161 [xx. 24 and 25]. From some hints in the two letters, should expect that the eunuchs were not expelled the palace without some degr of gentle violence, and that young Gordian rather approved of, than consented t their disgrace.

[62] Duxit uxorem filiam Misithei, quem causâ eloquentiæ dignum parentelâ s putavit; et præfectum statim fecit; post quod non puerile jam et contemptib videbatur imperium [ib. 23].

[63] [The army of Gordian halted on its way and cleared Thrace of barbari invaders, Alans, Goths, and Sarmatians. It has been conjectured that on th occasion Viminacium was made a colonia.]

n, and retired from the Euphrates to the Tigris.[64] Gordian yed the pleasure of announcing to the senate the first ess of his arms, which he ascribed with a becoming modesty gratitude to the wisdom of his father and præfect. During whole expedition, Misitheus watched over the safety and pline of the army; whilst he prevented their dangerous murs by maintaining a regular plenty in the camp, and by olishing ample magazines of vinegar, bacon, straw, barley, wheat, in all the cities of the frontier.[65] But the prosperity ordian expired with Misitheus, who died of a flux, not with- very strong suspicions of poison. Philip, his successor in præfecture, was an Arab by birth, and consequently, in the er part of his life, a robber by profession. His rise from so ure a station to the first dignities of the empire seems to e that he was a bold and able leader. But his boldness npted him to aspire to the throne, and his abilities were loyed to supplant, not to serve, his indulgent master. The ds of the soldiers were irritated by an artificial scarcity, ted by his contrivance in the camp; and the distress of the y was attributed to the youth and incapacity of the prince. not in our power to trace the successive steps of the secret piracy and open sedition which were at length fatal to lian. A sepulchral monument was erected to his memory he spot[66] where he was killed, near the conflux of the hrates with the little river Aboras.[67] The fortunate Philip, d to the empire by the votes of the soldiers, found a ready lience from the senate and the provinces.[68]

A.D. 243, Arts of Philip

Murder of Gordian, A.D. 244 March

[The successes were due to the abilities of Timesitheus. Carrhæ and Nisibis, , along with Hatra, had been taken by Sapor in his invasion of 241 A.D., recovered, and the Roman army, having defeated the Persians at Resaina, red to march on Ctesiphon.]

Hist. August. p. 162 [xx. 27]. Aurelius Victor [Cæsar. 27]. Porphyrius in Plotin. ap. Fabricium Biblioth. Græc. l. iv. c. 36 [c. 3, p. 103, ed. Westermann Boissonade]. The philosopher Plotinus accompanied the army, prompted by ve of knowledge, and by the hope of penetrating as far as India.

About twenty miles from the little town of Circesium, on the frontier of the mpires. [Eutropius, ix. 2, 3.]

The inscription (which contained a very singular pun) was erased by the order cinius, who claimed some degree of relationship to Philip (Hist. August. p. xx. 34]); but the *tumulus* or mound of earth which formed the sepulchre, ubsisted in the time of Julian. See Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 5. [The pun ich Gibbon refers was on the name of Philip. Gordian is described as the ueror of various peoples. "Victori Persarum, victori, &c.—sed non victori pporum." It seems that Gordian had suffered a reverse in some skirmish with lans near Philippi.]

Aurelius Victor. Eutrop. ix. 2. Orosius, vii. 20. Ammianus Marcellinus, 5. Zosimus, l. i. p. 19 [19]. Philip, who was a native of Bostra, was about years of age. [His name was M. Julius Philippus.]

Form of a military republic

We cannot forbear transcribing the ingenious, though some what fanciful, description, which a celebrated writer of our ow times has traced of the military government of the Roma empire. "What in that age was called the Roman empire wa only an irregular republic, not unlike the aristocracy[69] Algiers,[70] where the militia, possessed of the sovereignt creates and deposes a magistrate, who is styled a Dey. Perhap indeed, it may be laid down as a general rule, that a militar government is, in some respects, more republican than mo archical. Nor can it be said that the soldiers only partook the government by their disobedience and rebellions. Th speeches made to them by the emperors, were they not length of the same nature as those formerly pronounced to th people by the consuls and the tribunes? And although th armies had no regular place or forms of assembly, though the debates were short, their action sudden, and their resolv seldom the result of cool reflection, did they not dispose, wi absolute sway, of the public fortune? What was the emperc except the minister of a violent government, elected for th private benefit of the soldiers?

"When the army a elected Philip, who was Prætoria præfect to the third Gordian, the latter demanded that he migh remain sole emperor; he was unable to obtain it. He request that the power might be equally divided between them; th army would not listen to his speech. He consented to h degraded to the rank of Cæsar; the favour was refused hi He desired, at least, he might be appointed Prætorian præfec his prayer was rejected. Finally, he pleaded for his life. Th army, in these several judgments, exercised the supreme magi tracy." According to the historian, whose doubtful narrative th president De Montesquieu has adopted, Philip, who, during th whole transaction, had preserved a sullen silence, was inclined spare the innocent life of his benefactor; till, recollecting that h innocence might excite a dangerous compassion in the Roma world, he commanded, without regard to his suppliant cries, th he should be seized, stript, and led away to instant deat After a moment's pause the inhuman sentence was executed.

[69] Can the epithet of *Aristocracy* be applied, with any propriety, to the gover ment of Algiers? Every military government floats between the extremes of ab lute monarchy and wild democracy.

[70] The military republic of the Mamalukes in Egypt would have afforded M. Montesquieu (see Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, 16) a juster and more noble parallel.

[71] The Augustan History (p. 163, 164 [xx. 30]) cannot, in this instance, be conciled with itself or with probability. How could Philip condemn his predeces

Reign of Philip

On his return from the East to Rome, Philip, desirous of iterating the memory of his crimes, and of captivating the ections of the people, solemnized the secular games with nite pomp and magnificence. Since their institution or ival by Augustus,[72] they had been celebrated by Claudius, by mitian, and by Severus, and were now renewed, the fifth ie, on the accomplishment of the full period of a thousand ars from the foundation of Rome. Every circumstance of the ular games was skilfully adapted to inspire the superstitious nd with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval tween them[73] exceeded the term of human life; and, as none the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter emselves with the expectation of beholding them a second ie. The mystic sacrifices were performed, during three ghts, on the banks of the Tiber; and the Campus Martius ounded with music and dances, and was illuminated with numerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers were exded from any participation in these national ceremonies. A orus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble milies, and whose parents were both alive, implored the proious gods in favour of the present, and for the hope of the ing generation; requesting, in religious hymns, that, accordg to the faith of their ancient oracles, they would still maintain e virtue, the felicity, and the empire of the Roman people.[74] ie magnificence of Philip's shows and entertainments dazzled e eyes of the multitude. The devout were employed in the es of superstition, whilst the reflecting few revolved in their xious minds the past history and the future fate of the empire. Since Romulus, with a small band of shepherds and outlaws,

Secular games, A.D. 248, April 21

Decline of the Roman empire

l yet consecrate his memory? How could he order his public execution, and , in his letters to the senate, exculpate himself from the guilt of his death? lip, though an ambitious usurper, was by no means a mad tyrant. Some chronoical difficulties have likewise been discovered by the nice eyes of Tillemont and ratori, in this supposed association of Philip to the empire.

[72] The account of the last supposed celebration, though in an enlightened period istory, was so very doubtful and obscure, that the alternative seems not doubt-

When the popish jubilees, the copy of the secular games, were invented by niface VIII., the crafty pope pretended that he only revived an ancient institun. See M. le Chais, Lettres sur les Jubilés. [The celebrations of the Secular mes under Augustus in B.C. 17, and under Severus in A.D. 204, are fully disssed by Mommsen in the Ephemeris Epigraphica, viii. p. 225 *sqq.*, 1899 (Comntaria ludreum sæcularium quintorum et septimorum), on the basis of large gments of the Acta of both these festivals, discovered in excavations in 1890.]

[73] Either of a hundred, or a hundred and ten years. Varro and Livy adopted former opinion, but the infallible authority of the Sybil consecrated the latter nsorinus de Die Natal. c. 17). The emperors Claudius and Philip, however, did treat the oracle with implicit respect.

[74] The idea of the secular games is best understood from the poem of Horace, and description of Zosimus, l. ii. p. 167 [5]. &c. [Milliarium Sæculum is on the coins.]

fortified himself on the hills near the Tiber, ten centuries ha already elapsed.[75] During the four first ages, the Romans, i the laborious school of poverty, had acquired the virtues of wa and government: by the vigorous exertion of those virtues, an by the assistance of fortune, they had obtained, in the course o the three succeeding centuries, an absolute empire over man countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last three hundre years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and interna decline. The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislator who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, wa dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounde with the millions of servile provincials, who had received th name, without adopting the spirit, of Romans. A mercenar army, levied among the subjects and barbarians of the frontie was the only order of men who preserved and abused the independence. By their tumultuary election, a Syrian, a Goth or an Arab, was exalted to the throne of Rome, and investe with despotic power over the conquests and over the country o the Scipios.

The limits of the Roman empire still extended from th Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to th Rhine and the Danube. To the undiscerning eye of the vulga Philip appeared a monarch no less powerful than Hadrian o Augustus had formerly been. The form was still the same, bu the animating health and vigour were fled. The industry o the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series o oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone, afte the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatne of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by th weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers, whic had always consisted in arms rather than in fortifications, wa insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left e posed to the rapaciousness or ambition of the barbarians, who soo discovered the decline of the Roman empire.

[75] The received calculation of Varro assigns to the foundation of Rome an æ that corresponds with the 754th year before Christ. But so little is the chronolo of Rome to be depended on in the more early ages, that Sir Isaac Newton h brought the same event as low as the year 627.

CHAPTER VIII

the State of Persia after the Restoration of the Monarchy by Artaxerxes[1]

The barbarians of the East and of the North

ENEVER Tacitus indulges himself in those beautiful episodes, hich he relates some domestic transaction of the Germans f the Parthians, his principal object is to relieve the atten- of the reader from a uniform scene of vice and misery. n the reign of Augustus to the time of Alexander Severus, enemies of Rome were in her bosom—the tyrants, and the iers; and her prosperity had a very distant and feeble interest ne revolutions that might happen beyond the Rhine and the hrates. But, when the military order had levelled in wild chy the power of the prince, the laws of the senate, and even discipline of the camp, the barbarians of the North and of the , who had long hovered on the frontier, boldly attacked the inces of a declining monarchy. Their vexatious inroads were ged into formidable irruptions, and, after a long vicissitude nutual calamities, many tribes of the victorious invaders blished themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire. obtain a clearer knowledge of these great events we shall eavour to form a previous idea of the character, forces, and gns of those nations who avenged the cause of Hannibal Mithridates.

Revolutions of Asia

n the more early ages of the world, whilst the forest that ered Europe afforded a retreat to a few wandering savages, inhabitants of Asia were already collected into populous s, and reduced under extensive empires, the seat of the arts, uxury and of despotism. The Assyrians reigned over the t,[2] till the sceptre of Ninus and Semiramis dropt from the

On the sources for Eastern affairs see Appendix 13; on the Zend Avesta and an religion, Appendix 14.]

An ancient chronologist quoted by Velleius Paterculus (l. i. c. 6) observes that Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians, reigned over Asia housand nine hundred and ninety-five years, from the accession of Ninus to defeat of Antiochus by the Romans. As the latter of these great events ened 189 years before Christ, the former may be placed 2184 years before the æra. The Astronomical Observations, found at Babylon by Alexander, went

hands of their enervated successors. The Medes and the Bab
lonians divided their power, and were themselves swallowed
in the monarchy of the Persians, whose arms could not be co
fined within the narrow limits of Asia. Followed, as it is sa
by two millions of *men*, Xerxes, the descendant of Cyrus,
vaded Greece. Thirty thousand *soldiers*, under the command
Alexander, the son of Philip, who was intrusted by the Gree
with their glory and revenge, were sufficient to subdue Pers
The princes of the house of Seleucus usurped and lost the Ma
donian command over the East. About the same time that,
an ignominious treaty, they resigned to the Romans the coun
on this side Mount Taurus, they were driven by the Parthia
an obscure horde of Scythian origin, from all the provinces
Upper Asia. The formidable power of the Parthians, wh
spread from India to the frontiers of Syria, was in its turn su
verted by Ardshir,[3] or Artaxerxes; the founder of a new dynas
which, under the name of Sassanides, governed Persia till t
invasion of the Arabs. This great revolution, whose fatal
fluence was soon experienced by the Romans, happened in t
fourth year of Alexander Severus, two hundred and twenty-
years after the Christian æra.[4]

The Persian monarchy restored by Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes had served with great reputation in the armies
Artaban, the last king of the Parthians, and it appears that
was driven into exile and rebellion by royal ingratitude, t
customary reward for superior merit. His birth was obscu
and the obscurity equally gave room to the aspersions of
enemies, and the flattery of his adherents. If we credit t
scandal of the former, Artaxerxes sprang from the illegitim
commerce of a tanner's wife with a common soldier.[5] The lat
represents him as descended from a branch of the ancient ki
of Persia, though time and misfortune had gradually reduced

fifty years higher. [Babylonian history begins in the fourth chiliad B.C.; Assy
barely in the 14th century. The second and greater Assyrian empire was foun
by Assur-nâsir-pal and Salmanassar II. his son in the ninth century.]

[3] [Ardeshîr is the approved transliteration.]

[4] In the five hundred and thirty-eighth year of the æra of Seleucus. See Agath
l. ii. p. 63 [27]. This great event (such is the carelessness of the Oriental
placed by Eutychius as high as the tenth year of Commodus, and by Mose
Chorene as low as the reign of Philip. Ammianus Marcellinus has so serv
copied (xxiii. 6) his ancient materials, which are indeed very good, that he descr
the family of the Arsacides as still seated on the Persian throne in the middl
the fourth century.

[5] The tanner's name was Babec; the soldier's, Sassan; from the former Ar
erxes obtained the surname of Babegan; from the latter all his descendants
been styled *Sassanides*. [Ardeshîr IV. was the son of Bâbag, the eleventh prin
Pars or Persis. Bâbagân means "son of Bâbag

estors to the humble station of private citizens.[6] As the al heir of the monarchy, he asserted his right to the throne, challenged the noble task of delivering the Persians from oppression under which they groaned above five centuries e the death of Darius. The Parthians were defeated in e great battles. In the last of these their king Artaban slain, and the spirit of the nation was for ever broken.[7] authority of Artaxerxes was solemnly acknowledged in a t assembly held at Balch in Khorasan. Two younger aches of the royal house of Arsaces were confounded among prostrate satraps. A third, more mindful of ancient grandeur n of present necessity, attempted to retire with a numerous n of vassals, towards their kinsman, the king of Armenia; this little army of deserters was intercepted and cut off the vigilance of the conqueror,[8] who boldly assumed the ble diadem, and the title of King of Kings, which had been yed by his predecessor.[9] But these pompous titles, instead gratifying the vanity of the Persian, served only to admonish of his duty, and to inflame in his soul the ambition of re- ing, in their full splendour, the religion and empire of Cyrus.

Reformation of the Magian religion

During the long servitude of Persia under the Macedonian the Parthian yoke, the nations of Europe and Asia had ually adopted and corrupted each other's superstitions. The acides, indeed, practised the worship of the Magi; but they raced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign atry. The memory of Zoroaster, the ancient prophet and osopher of the Persians,[10] was still revered in the East; but obsolete and mysterious language in which the Zendavesta

D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, *Ardshir*.

Dion Cassius, l. lxxx. [3]. Herodian, l. vi. p. 207 [2]. Abulpharagius ast. p. 80. [The battle was fought at Hormuz, between Behbehan and Schusch- The approved spelling of Artaban is Ardevân. He was the fifth Parthian of that name.]

See Moses Chorenensis, l. ii. c. 65-71.

[Ardeshîr IV. of the small kingdom of Persis became, when he overthrew the hian monarchy, Ardeshîr I. of the great kingdom of Persia. His title was ng of Kings of Eran and Turan". The Parthians were not completely quelled, gh they had lost their king, till 232 A.D.]

Hyde and Prideaux, working up the Persian legends and their own conjec- into a very agreeable story, represent Zoroaster as a contemporary of Darius taspis. But it is sufficient to observe that the Greek writers, who lived almost he same age, agree in placing the æra of Zoroaster many hundred, or even sand, years before their own time. The judicious criticism of Mr. Moyle per- d, and maintained against his uncle Dr. Prideaux, the antiquity of the Persian het. See his work, vol. ii. [Of Zarathustra or Zoroaster himself we know ing. All the stories about him are mere fables; and it cannot be determined ther he was a god made into a man, or a man who really lived.]

was composed,[11] opened a field of dispute to seventy sects who variously explained the fundamental doctrines of their religion, and were all equally derided by a crowd of infidels, who rejected the divine mission and miracles of the prophet. To suppress the idolaters, re-unite the schismatics, and confute the unbelievers by the infallible decision of a general council, the pious Artaxerxes summoned the Magi from all parts of his dominions. These priests, who had so long sighed in contempt and obscurity, obeyed the welcome summons; and on the appointed day appeared to the number of about eighty thousand. But as the debates of so tumultuous an assembly could not have been directed by the authority of reason, or influenced by the art of policy, the Persian synod was reduced, by successive operations, to forty thousand, to four thousand, to four hundred, to forty, and at last to seven Magi, the most respected for their learning and piety. One of these, Erdaviraph, a young but holy prelate, received from the hands of his brethren three cups of soporiferous wine. He drank them off, and instantly fell into a long and profound sleep. As soon as he waked, he related to the king and to the believing multitude his journey to Heaven and his intimate conferences with the Deity. Every doubt was silenced by this supernatural evidence; and the articles of the faith of Zoroaster were fixed with equal authority and precision. A short delineation of that celebrated system will be found useful, not only to display the character of the Persian nation, but to illustrate many of their most important transactions, both in peace and war, with the Roman empire.[13]

Persian theology; two principles

The great and fundamental article of the system was the celebrated doctrine of the two principles; a bold and injudicious attempt of Eastern philosophy to reconcile the existence of moral and physical evil with the attributes of a beneficent Creator and Governor of the world. The first and original Being,

[11] That ancient idiom was called the *Zend*. The language of the commentary the Pehlvi, though much more modern, has ceased many ages ago to be a living tongue. [It was spoken in the western regions of Iran, Zend in the eastern.] The fact alone (if it is allowed as authentic) sufficiently warrants the antiquity of those writings, which M. d'Anquetil has brought into Europe, and translated into French. [On the Zend Avesta see Appendix 14.]

[12] Hyde de Religione veterum Pers. c. 21.

[13] I have principally drawn this account from the Zendavesta of M. d'Anquetil and the Sadder, subjoined to Dr. Hyde's treatise. It must, however, be confessed that the studied obscurity of a prophet, the figurative style of the East, and the deceitful medium of a French or Latin version, may have betrayed us into error and heresy, in this abridgment of Persian theology. [Unfortunately the Sadder is a late compilation,—post-Mahometan.]

whom, or by whom, the universe exists, is denominated in writings of Zoroaster, *Time without bounds;* but it must be fessed that this infinite substance seems rather a meta- sical abstraction of the mind than a real object endowed self-consciousness, or possessed of moral perfections.[14] From er the blind or the intelligent operation of this infinite Time, ch bears but too near an affinity with the Chaos of the eks, the two secondary but active principles of the universe e from all eternity produced, Ormusd and Ahriman, each of n possessed of the powers of creation, but each disposed, by invariable nature, to exercise them with different designs.[15] principle of good is eternally absorbed in light: the principle vil eternally buried in darkness. The wise benevolence of nusd formed man capable of virtue, and abundantly provided fair habitation with the materials of happiness. By his lant providence, the motion of the planets, the order of the ons, and the temperate mixture of the elements are pre- ed. But the malice of Ahriman has long since pierced *usd's egg;* or, in other words, has violated the harmony of works. Since that fatal eruption, the most minute particles good and evil are intimately intermingled and agitated to- ner, the rankest poisons spring up amidst the most salutary nts; deluges, earthquakes, and conflagrations attest the con- of Nature; and the little world of man is perpetually shaken vice and misfortune. Whilst the rest of human kind are led y captives in the chains of their infernal enemy, the faithful sian alone reserves his religious adoration for his friend and tector Ormusd, and fights under his banner of light, in the confidence that he shall, in the last day, share the glory of triumph. At that decisive period the enlightened wisdom goodness will render the power of Ormusd superior to the ous malice of his rival. Ahriman and his followers, disarmed subdued, will sink into their native darkness; and virtue maintain the eternal peace and harmony of the universe.[16]

[This doctrine is not Zoroastrian. Late systems endeavoured to overcome the ism, and unify the two principles by assuming a higher principle—space, or , or fate—from which both sprang.]

[Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainya. The law was revealed by Ahura Mazda rathustra (Zoroaster).]

The modern Parsees (and in some degree the Sadder) exalt Ormusd into the and omnipotent cause, whilst they degrade Ahriman into an inferior but lious spirit. Their desire of pleasing the Mahometans may have contributed fine their theological system. [The doctrine of the future triumph of Ormusd t in the Zendavesta.]

Religious worship

The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended b foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophi simplicity of the Persian worship. "That people," says Herodo tus,[17] "rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, an smiles at the folly of those nations, who imagine that the god are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. Th tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifice Hymns and prayers are the principal worship; the Suprem God who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whor they are addressed." Yet, at the same time, in the true spir of a polytheist, he accuses them of adoring Earth, Water, Fir the Winds, and the Sun and Moon. But the Persians of ever age have denied the charge, and explained the equivocal con duct which might appear to give a colour to it. The element and more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, whom they calle Mithra, were the objects of their religious reverence, because the considered them as the purest symbols, the noblest production and the most powerful agents of the Divine Power and Nature.[18]

Ceremonies and moral precepts

Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impressio on the human mind, must exercise our obedience by enjoinin practices of devotion, for which we can assign no reason; an must acquire our esteem, by inculcating moral duties analogou to the dictates of our own hearts. The religion of Zoroaste was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty the faith ful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle, the badge o the divine protection; and from that moment all the actions o his life, even the most indifferent or the most necessary, were sanctified by their peculiar prayers, ejaculations, or genuflexions the omission of which, under any circumstances, was a grievou sin, not inferior in guilt to the violation of the moral duties The moral duties, however, of justice, mercy, liberality, &c., were in their turn required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wishe to escape the persecution of Ahriman, and to live with Ormusd i a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactl proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety.[19]

[17] Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. But Dr. Prideaux thinks, with reason, that the us of temples was afterwards permitted in the Magian religion.

[18] Hyde de Relig. Pers. c. 8. Notwithstanding all their distinctions and pro testations, which seem sincere enough, their tyrants, the Mahometans, have con stantly stigmatized them as idolatrous worshippers of the fire.

[19] See the Sadder, the smallest part of which consists of moral precepts. Th ceremonies enjoined are infinite and trifling. Fifteen genuflexions, prayers, &c.

But there are some remarkable instances in which Zoroaster s aside the prophet, assumes the legislator, and discovers a eral concern for private and public happiness, seldom to be nd among the grovelling or visionary schemes of superstition. ting and celibacy, the common means of purchasing the ine favour, he condemns with abhorrence, as a criminal ection of the best gifts of providence. The saint, in the gian religion, is obliged to beget children, to plant useful es, to destroy noxious animals, to convey water to the dry ds of Persia, and to work out his salvation by pursuing all the ours of agriculture. We may quote from the Zend Avesta a e and benevolent maxim, which compensates for many an urdity. "He who sows the ground with care and diligence uires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by repetition of ten thousand prayers." [20] In the spring of every r a festival was celebrated, destined to represent the primitive uality, and the present connexion, of mankind. The stately gs of Persia, exchanging their vain pomp for more genuine atness, freely mingled with the humblest but most useful of ir subjects. On that day the husbandmen were admitted, hout distinction, to the table of the king and his satraps. e monarch accepted their petitions, inquired into their evances, and conversed with them on the most equal terms. rom your labours," was he accustomed to say (and to say h truth, if not with sincerity), "from your labours we receive subsistence; you derive your tranquillity from our vigilance. ce, therefore, we are mutually necessary to each other, let us e together like brothers in concord and love." [21] Such a tival must indeed have degenerated, in a wealthy and despotic pire, into a theatrical representation; but it was at least a nedy well worthy of a royal audience, and which might some- es imprint a salutary lesson on the mind of a young prince.

Encouragement of agriculture

Had Zoroaster, in all his institutions, invariably supported this alted character, his name would deserve a place with those of ma and Confucius, and his system would be justly entitled to the applause which it has pleased some of our divines, and en some of our philosophers, to bestow on it. But in that tley composition, dictated by reason and passion, by enthusi- n and by selfish motives, some useful and sublime truths were

Power of the Magi

e required whenever the devout Persian cut his nails or made water; or as n as he put on the sacred girdle. Sadder, Art. 14, 50, 60.

[20] Zend Avesta, tom. i. p. 224, and Précis du Système de Zoroastre, tom. ill.

[21] Hyde de Religione Persarum, c. 19.

disgraced by a mixture of the most abject and dangerous super stition. The Magi, or sacerdotal order, were extremely numerous since, as we have already seen, fourscore thousand of them were convened in a general council. Their forces were multiplied by discipline. A regular hierarchy was diffused through all the provinces of Persia; and the Archimagus, who resided at Balch was respected as the visible head of the church, and the lawful successor of Zoroaster.[22] The property of the Magi was very considerable. Besides the less invidious possession of a large tract of the most fertile lands of Media,[23] they levied a general tax on the fortunes and the industry of the Persians.[24] "Though your good works," says the interested prophet, "exceed in number the leaves of the trees, the drops of rain, the stars in the heaven, or the sands on the sea-shore, they will all be unprofitable to you, unless they are accepted by the *destour*, or priest. To obtain the acceptation of this guide to salvation, you must faithfully pay him *tithes* of all you possess, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. If the destour be satisfied, your soul will escape hell tortures; you will secure praise in this world and happiness in the next. For the destours are the teachers of religion; they know all things, and they deliver all men." [25]

These convenient maxims of reverence and implicit faith were doubtless imprinted with care on the tender minds of youth; since the Magi were the masters of education in Persia, and to their hands the children even of the royal family were intrusted.[26] The Persian priests, who were of a speculative genius, preserved and investigated the secrets of Oriental philosophy; and acquired either by superior knowledge or superior art, the reputation of being well versed in some occult sciences, which have derived their appellation from the Magi.[27] Those of more active dispositions mixed with the world in courts and cities; and it

[22] Id. c. 28. Both Hyde and Prideaux affect to apply to the Magian, the term consecrated to the Christian, hierarchy.

[23] Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 6. He informs us (as far as we may credit him) two curious particulars; 1, that the Magi derived some of their most secret doctrines from the Indian Brachmans; and, 2, that they were a tribe or family, as well as order.

[24] The divine institution of tithes exhibits a singular instance of conformity between the law of Zoroaster and that of Moses. Those who cannot otherwise account for it may suppose, if they please, that the Magi of the latter times inserted so useful an interpolation into the writings of their prophet.

[25] Sadder, Art. 8.

[26] Plato in Alcibiad [37].

[27] Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. xxx. c. 1) observes that magic held mankind by the triple chain of religion, of physic, and of astronomy.

erved that the administration of Artaxerxes was in a great asure directed by the counsels of the sacerdotal order, whose nity, either from policy or devotion, that prince restored to ancient splendour.[28]

Spirit of persecution

The first counsel of the Magi was agreeable to the unsociable ius of their faith,[29] to the practice of ancient kings,[30] and n to the example of their legislator, who had fallen a victim a religious war excited by his own intolerant zeal.[31] By an ct of Artaxerxes, the exercise of every worship, except that Zoroaster, was severely prohibited. The temples of the thians, and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown vn with ignominy.[32] The sword of Aristotle (such was the ne given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy the Greeks) was easily broken:[33] the flames of persecution n reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians;[34] nor did y spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. The jesty of Ormusd, who was jealous of a rival, was seconded by despotism of Artaxerxes, who could not suffer a rebel; and schismatics within his vast empire were soon reduced to the onsiderable number of eighty thousand.[35] This spirit of secution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but, it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to engthen the new monarchy by uniting all the various inhabi- ts of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

Establishment of the royal authority in the provinces

I. Artaxerxes, by his valour and conduct, had wrested the ptre of the East from the ancient royal family of Parthia. ere still remained the more difficult task of establishing, oughout the vast extent of Persia, a uniform and vigorous ninistration. The weak indulgence of the Arsacides had gned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces and greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary

[28] Agathias, l. iv. p. 134 [24. As nothing is said here of the Magi, it has been posed by Sir Wm. Smith that Gibbon meant to refer to ii. 26.]
[29] Mr. Hume, in the Natural History of Religion, sagaciously remarks that most refined and philosophic sects are constantly the most intolerant.
[30] Cicero de Legibus, ii. 10. Xerxes, by the advice of the Magi, destroyed the ples of Greece.
[31] Hyde de Rel. Persar. c. 23, 24. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, *Zerdusht.* of Zoroaster in tom. ii. of the Zendavesta.
[32] Compare Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 74, with Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 6. eafter I shall make use of these passages.
[33] Rabbi Abraham, in the Tarikh Schickard, p. 108, 109.
[34] Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. viii. c. 3. Sozomen, l. i. c. 1 [*leg.* 9; this age refers to the persecution of Sapor II.]. Manes, who suffered an igno- ous death, may be deemed a Magian, as well as a Christian, heretic.
[35] Hyde de Religione Persar. c. 21.

possessions. The *vitaxæ*, or eighteen most powerful satraps were permitted to assume the regal title, and the vain pride o the monarch was delighted with a nominal dominion over s many vassal kings. Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains and the Greek cities of Upper Asia,[36] within their walls, scarcel acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior; and the Parthia empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feuda system[37] which has since prevailed in Europe. But the activ victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visite in person every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldes rebels and the reduction of the strongest fortifications[38] diffuse the terror of his arms and prepared the way for the peaceful reception of his authority. An obstinate resistance was fatal t the chiefs; but their followers were treated with lenity.[39] A cheerful submission was rewarded with honours and riches; bu the prudent Artaxerxes, suffering no person except himself t assume the title of king, abolished every intermediate powe between the throne and the people. His kingdom, nearly equa in extent to modern Persia, was, on every side, bounded b the sea or by great rivers,—by the Euphrates, the Tigris, th Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus; by the Caspian Sea and th Gulf of Persia.[40] That country was computed to contain, in th

Extent and population of Persia

[36] These colonies were extremely numerous. Seleucus Nicator founded thirty nine cities, all named from himself, or some of his relations (see Appian in Syriac p. 124 [57]). The æra of Seleucus (still in use among the eastern Christians appears as late as the year 508, of Christ 196, on the medals of the Greek citie within the Parthian empire. See Moyle's works, vol. i. p. 273, &c., and M. Frere Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xix.

[37] The modern Persians distinguish that period as the dynasty of the kings o the nations. See Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 25.

[38] Eutychius (tom. i. p. 367, 371, 375) relates the siege of the Island of Meser in the Tigris, with some circumstances not unlike the story of Nisus and Scylla.

[39] Agathias, ii. p. 64 [26]. The princes of Segestan defended their independenc during many years. As romances generally transport to an ancient period the event of their own time, it is not impossible that the fabulous exploits of Rustan Princ of Segestan may have been grafted on this real history.

[40] We can scarcely attribute to the Persian monarchy the sea coast of Gedrosi or Macran, which extends along the Indian Ocean from Cape Jask (the promontor Capella) to Cape Goadel. In the time of Alexander, and probably many ages after wards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of Ichthyophagi, or Fishermen who knew no arts, who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhos pitable deserts from the rest of the world. (See Arrian de Reb. Indicis [26].) In th twelfth century, the little town of Taiz (supposed by M. d'Anville to be the Tes of Ptolemy) was peopled and enriched by the resort of the Arabian merchants (See Geographia Nubiens. p. 58, and d'Anville Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p 283.) In the last age the whole country was divided between three princes, on Mahometan and two Idolaters, who maintained their independence against th successors of Shaw Abbas. (Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. v. p. 635.)

t century, five hundred and fifty-four cities, sixty thousand lages, and about forty millions of souls.[41] If we compare the ministration of the house of Sassan with that of the house of si, the political influence of the Magian with that of the ahometan religion, we shall probably infer that the kingdom Artaxerxes contained at least as great a number of cities, lages, and inhabitants. But it must likewise be confessed at in every age the want of harbours on the sea coast, and the arcity of fresh water in the inland provinces, have been very favourable to the commerce and agriculture of the Persians; no, in the calculation of their numbers, seem to have indulged e of the meanest, though most common, artifices of national nity.

Recapitulation of the wars between the Parthian and Roman empire

As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed er the resistance of his vassals, he began to threaten the ighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of his pre- cessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some sy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate dians; but the Romans were an enemy who, by their past uries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his ns. A forty years' tranquillity, the fruit of valour and modera- n, had succeeded the victories of Trajan. During the period at elapsed from the accession of Marcus to the reign of exander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice gaged in war; and, although the whole strength of the sacides contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the ent was most commonly in favour of the latter. Macrinus, deed, prompted by his precarious situation and pusillanimous mper, purchased a peace at the expense of near two millions our money;[42] but the generals of Marcus, the emperor verus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, esopotamia, and Assyria. Among their exploits, the im- rfect relation of which would have unseasonably interrupted e more important series of domestic revolutions, we shall only ention the repeated calamities of the two great cities of leucia and Ctesiphon.

Cities Seleucia and Ctesiphon

Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about forty-five les to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the

[41] Chardin, tom. iii. c. 1, 2, 3. [The number seems too high. At the present e the population of Iran and Turan (including Afghanistan, Beluchistan, &c.) is d to be between fifteen and sixteen millions.]

[42] Dion, l. xxviii. p. 1335 [27. Two hundred million sesterces. Yet the coins 218 A.D. boast of a Victoria Parthica.]

Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia.[43] Many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Grecian colony—arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles; the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens; the walls were strong, and, as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian: but the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony.[44] The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia.[45] The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly swelled into a great city.[46] Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia.[47] They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as
A.D. 165 enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph.[48] Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too
A.D. 198 powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who de-

[43] For the precise situation of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Modain, and Bagdad, cities often confounded with each other, see an excellent Geographical Tract of M. d'Anville, in Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx.

[44] Tacit. Annal. vi. 42. Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 26.

[45] This may be inferred from Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

[46] That most curious traveller, Bernier (see Hist. de Voyages, tom. x.), who followed the camp of Aurengzebe from Delhi to Cashmir, describes with great accuracy the immense moving city. The guard of cavalry consisted of 35,000 men, that of infantry of 10,000. It was computed that the camp contained 150,000 horses, mules, and elephants; 50,000 camels, 50,000 oxen, and between 300,000 and 400,000 persons. Almost all Delhi followed the court, whose magnificence supported its industry.

[47] [These successes were achieved by Avidius Cassius. He took Nisibis, and Dausara near Edessa. The Parthians were defeated at Europos in Cyrrhestica.]

[48] Dion, l. lxxi. p. 1178 [2]. Hist. August. p. 38 [v. 8]. Eutrop. viii. 10. Euseb. in Chronic. [ann. 2180]. Quadratus (quoted in the Augustan History) attempted to vindicate the Romans by alleging that the citizens of Seleucia had first violated their faith.

ıded it in person, escaped with precipitation; an hundred ousand captives and a rich booty rewarded the fatigues of ıe Roman soldiers.[49] Notwithstanding these misfortunes, tesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia as one of the reat capitals of the East.[50] In summer, the monarch of Persia ıjoyed at Ecbatana the cool breezes of the mountains of Media; ıt the mildness of the climate engaged him to prefer Ctesiphon r his winter residence.

Conquest of Osrhoene by the Romans

From these successful inroads the Romans derived no real or sting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant onquests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a rge tract of intermediate desert. The reduction of the king- om of Osrhoene was an acquisition of less splendour indeed, ıt of a far more solid advantage. That little state occupied ıe northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, between the uphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated out twenty miles beyond the former of those rivers, and the habitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race f Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.[51] The feeble vereigns of Osrhoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two ntending empires, were attached from inclination to the arthian cause; but the superior power of Rome exacted from ıem a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their edals.[52] After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Iarcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges f their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several arts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the rong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the eath of Commodus, the princes of Osrhoene attempted to ıake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed ıeir dependence,[53] and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the asy conquest. Abgarus, the last king[54] of Edessa, was sent in A.D. 216 hains to Rome, his dominions reduced into a province, and his

[49] Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1263 [9]. Herodian, l. iii. p. 120 [9]. Hist. August. p. 70 . 16. *Hiemali prope tempore*, which fixes the capture to end of 197 or beginning 198 A.D.]

[50] [Ctesiphon was restored by Sapor II.]

[51] The polished citizens of Antioch called those of Edessa mixed barbarians. was, however, some praise, that, of the three dialects of the Syriac, the purest nd most elegant (the Aramæan) was spoke at Edessa. This remark M. Bayer Hist. Edess. p. 5) has borrowed from George of Malatia, a Syrian writer.

[52] [Compare Eckhel, iii. 514.]

[53] Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1248, 1249, 1250 [1, 2, 3]. M. Bayer has neglected to use is most important passage.

[54] [*Basileus* was the title.]

capital dignified with the rank of colony;[55] and thus th Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthia monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyon the Euphrates.[56]

Artaxerxes claims the provinces of Asia, and declares war against the Romans, A.D. 230

Prudence as well as glory might have justified a war on th side of Artaxerxes, had his views been confined to the defen or the acquisition of a useful frontier. But the ambitious Pe sian openly avowed a far more extensive design of conques and he thought himself able to support his lofty pretensions b the arms of reason as well as by those of power. Cyrus, h alleged, had first subdued, and his successors had for a long tim possessed, the whole extent of Asia, as far as the Propontis an the Ægean Sea; the provinces of Caria and Ionia, under the empire, had been governed by Persian satraps; and all Egypt, t the confines of Æthiopia, had acknowledged their sovereignty. Their rights had been suspended, but not destroyed, by a lon usurpation;[58] and, as soon as he received the Persian diadem which birth and successful valour had placed upon his head the first great duty of his station called upon him to restor the ancient limits and splendour of the monarchy. The Gre King, therefore (such was the haughty style of his embassies t the Emperor Alexander), commanded the Romans instantly t depart from all the provinces of his ancestors, and, yielding t the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with th undisturbed possession of Europe. This haughty mandate wa delivered by four hundred of the tallest and most beautiful o the Persians; who, by their fine horses, splendid arms, and ric apparel, displayed the pride and greatness of their master. Such an embassy was much less an offer of negotiation than declaration of war. Both Alexander Severus and Artaxerxe collecting the military force of the Roman and Persian mon archies, resolved in this important contest to lead their armie in person.

Pretended victory of Alexander Severus, A.D. 233

If we credit what should seem the most authentic of a

[55] [Caracalla promoted Carrhæ to be a Roman colony. Eckhel, iii. 508. H seems to have formed the design of annexing Armenia as a province.]

[56] This kingdom, from Osrhoes, who gave a new name to the country, to th last Abgarus, had lasted 353 years. See the learned work of M. Bayer, Histor Osrhoena et Edessena.

[57] Xenophon, in the preface to the Cyropædia, gives a clear and magnifice idea of the extent of the empire of Cyrus. Herodotus (l. iii. c. 79, &c.) enters in a curious and particular description of the twenty great *Satrapies* into which t Persian empire was divided by Darius Hystaspis.

[58] [Dion, lxxx. 4, 1.]

[59] Herodian, vi. 209, 212 [2 and 4].

ecords, an oration, still extant, and delivered by the emperor mself to the senate, we must allow that the victory of Alexander Severus was not inferior to any of those formerly obtained ver the Persians by the son of Philip. The army of the Great ing consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, othed in complete armour of steel; of seven hundred elephants, ith towers filled with archers on their backs; and of eighteen ndred chariots armed with scythes. This formidable host, e like of which is not to be found in eastern history, and has arcely been imagined in eastern romance,[60] was discomfited in great battle, in which the Roman Alexander approved himself intrepid soldier and a skilful general. The Great King fled efore his valour: an immense booty and the conquest of Mesotamia were the immediate fruits of this signal victory. Such e the circumstances of this ostentatious and improbable relaon, dictated, as it too plainly appears, by the vanity of the onarch, adorned by the unblushing servility of his flatterers, d received without contradiction by a distant and obsequious nate.[61] Far from being inclined to believe that the arms of lexander obtained any memorable advantage over the Persians, e are induced to suspect that all this blaze of imaginary glory as designed to conceal some real disgrace.

More probable account of the war

Our suspicions are confirmed by the authority of a contemporary historian, who mentions the virtues of Alexander with respect, and his faults with candour. He describes the judicious plan which had been formed for the conduct of the war. Three Roman armies were destined to invade Persia at the same time, and by different roads. But the operations of the campaign,

[60] There were two hundred scythed chariots at the battle of Arbela, in the host Darius. In the vast army of Tigranes, which was vanquished by Lucullus, wenteen thousand horse only were completely armed. Antiochus brought fifty-ur elephants into the field against the Romans: by his frequent wars and negotiaons with the princes of India, he had once collected an hundred and fifty of those eat animals; but it may be questioned, whether the most powerful monarch of indostan ever formed a line of battle of seven hundred elephants. Instead of ree or four thousand elephants, which the Great Mogul was supposed to possess, avernier (Voyages, part ii. l. i. p. 198) discovered, by a more accurate inquiry, at he had only five hundred for his baggage, and eighty or ninety for the service war. The Greeks have varied with regard to the number which Porus brought to the field; but Quintus Curtius (viii. 13), in this instance judicious and moderte, is contented with eighty-five elephants, distinguished by their size and strength. Siam, where these animals are the most numerous and the most esteemed, ghteen elephants are allowed as a sufficient proportion for each of the nine igades into which a just army is divided. The whole number, of one hundred d sixty-two elephants of war, may sometimes be doubled. Hist. des Voyages, m. ix. p. 260. [See below, vol. vi. p. 229, note 11.]

[61] Hist. August. p. 133 [xviii. 55].

though wisely concerted, were not executed either with abilit
or success. The first of these armies, as soon as it had entere
the marshy plains of Babylon, towards the artificial conflux c
the Euphrates and the Tigris,[62] was encompassed by the superio
numbers, and destroyed by the arrows, of the enemy. Th
alliance of Chosroes, king of Armenia,[63] and the long tract c
mountainous country, in which the Persian cavalry was of littl
service, opened a secure entrance into the heart of Media to th
second of the Roman armies. These brave troops laid wast
the adjacent provinces, and by several successful actions agains
Artaxerxes gave a faint colour to the emperor's vanity. Bu
the retreat of this victorious army was imprudent, or at leas
unfortunate. In repassing the mountains, great numbers c
soldiers perished by the badness of the roads and the severit
of the winter season. It had been resolved that whilst thes
two great detachments penetrated into the opposite extreme
of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the comman
of Alexander himself, should support their attack by invadin
the centre of the kingdom. But the unexperienced youth, in
fluenced by his mother's counsels, and perhaps by his own fear
deserted the bravest troops and the fairest prospect of victory
and, after consuming in Mesopotamia an inactive and inglorio
summer, he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness
and provoked by disappointment. The behaviour of Artaxerx
had been very different. Flying with rapidity from the hills
Media to the marshes of the Euphrates, he had everywhe
opposed the invaders in person; and in either fortune ha
united with the ablest conduct the most undaunted resolutio
But in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legio
of Rome the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troop
Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourab
opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusio
that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves
vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans,
he pretended, from the continent of Asia, he found himse

[62] M. de Tillemont has already observed that Herodian's geography is son
what confused.

[63] Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 71) illustrates this invasion of Med
by asserting that Chosroes, King of Armenia, defeated Artaxerxes, and pursu
him to the confines of India. The exploits of Chosroes have been magnified, a
he acted as a dependent ally to the Romans. [But Chosroes really inflicted
serious defeat on Ardeshîr in 228, drove him back from Armenia, and invaded
realm, pressing as far as Ctesiphon, if not to the borders of Arabia. The Roma
had not yet appeared on the scene.]

nable to wrest from their hands the little province of Mesopo-
mia.[64]

The reign of Artaxerxes, which from the last defeat of the arthians lasted only fourteen years, forms a memorable æra in he history of the East, and even in that of Rome. His charac-er seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding eatures that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, rom those who inherit, an empire. Till the last period of the ersian monarchy, his code of laws was respected as the ground-ork of their civil and religious policy.[65] Several of his sayings re preserved. One of them in particular discovers a deep in-ght into the constitution of government. "The authority of he prince," said Artaxerxes, "must be defended by a military orce; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes ust, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never ourish except under the protection of justice and modera-on."[66] Artaxerxes bequeathed his new empire, and his am-itious designs against the Romans, to Sapor, a son not unworthy f his great father; but those designs were too extensive for the ower of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a ng series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities. Character and maxims of Artaxerxes, A.D. 240

The Persians, long since civilized and corrupted, were very r from possessing the martial independence, and the intrepid ardiness, both of mind and body, which have rendered the orthern barbarians masters of the world. The science of war, hat constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonize and nimate a confused multitude were unknown to the Persians. hey were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieg-g, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to heir numbers than to their courage; more to their courage than their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed, spiritless Military power of the Persians. Their infantry contemptible

[64] For the account of this war, see Herodian, l. vi. p. 209, 212 [5]. The old breviators and modern compilers have blindly followed the Augustan History. Though no very glorious exploit was wrought in this campaign of Alexander, it clear that the Persians were completely checked in their advance westward, and at the Romans gained some victories. Cp. Aurelius Victor, Cæsar. 24, 2, and utropius, viii. 23. Not an inch of ground was lost to the empire.]

[65] Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 180, vers. Pocock. The great Chosroes Noushirwan nt the code of Artaxerxes to all his satraps, as the invariable rule of their con-uct.

[66] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, au mot *Ardshir*. We may observe that, ter an ancient period of fables, and a long interval of darkness, the modern his-ries of Persia begin to assume an air of truth with the dynasty of the Sassanides.

crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunde and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The mo arch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride a luxury of the seraglio. Their military operations were impede by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; a in the midst of a successful campaign the Persian host was oft separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine.[67]

Their cavalry excellent

But the nobles of Persia, in the bosom of luxury and despotis preserved a strong sense of personal gallantry and nation honour. From the age of seven years they were taught to spea truth, to shoot with the bow, and to ride; and it was universall confessed that in the two last of these arts they had made more than common proficiency.[68] The most distinguished yout were educated under the monarch's eye, practised their exercis in the gate of his palace, and were severely trained up to th habits of temperance and obedience in their long and laborio parties of hunting. In every province the satrap maintained like school of military virtue. The Persian nobles (so natural the idea of feudal tenures) received from the king's bounty lan and houses on the condition of their service in war. They we ready on the first summons to mount on horseback, with a marti and splendid train of followers, and to join the numerous bodi of guards, who were carefully selected from among the most robu slaves and the bravest adventurers of Asia. These armies, bot of light and of heavy cavalry, equally formidable by the im petuosity of their charge and the rapidity of their motion threatened, as an impending cloud, the eastern provinces of th declining empire of Rome.[69]

[67] Herodian, l. vi. p. 214 [5]. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 6. So differences may be observed between the two historians, the natural effects of t changes produced by a century and a half.

[68] The Persians are still the most skilful horsemen, and their horses the finest, the East.

[69] From Herodotus, Xenophon, Herodian, Ammianus, Chardin, &c., I ha extracted such *probable* accounts of the Persian nobility, as seem either common every age, or particular to that of the Sassanides.

CHAPTER IX

The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians, in the Time of the Emperor Decius

HE government and religion of Persia have deserved some otice from their connexion with the decline and fall of the oman empire. We shall occasionally mention the Scythian or rmatian tribes, which, with their arms and horses, their flocks d herds, their wives and families, wandered over the immense ains which spread themselves from the Caspian Sea to the stula, from the confines of Persia to those of Germany. But e warlike Germans, who first resisted, then invaded, and at ngth overturned, the Western monarchy of Rome, will occupy much more important place in this history, and possess a onger, and, if we may use the expression, a more domestic, im to our attention and regard. The most civilized nations modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany, and in e rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish e original principles of our present laws and manners. In eir primitive state of simplicity and independence, the Germans ere surveyed by the discerning eye, and delineated by the asterly pencil, of Tacitus, the first of historians who applied the ience of philosophy to the study of facts. The expressive nciseness of his descriptions has deserved to exercise the dili- nce of innumerable antiquarians, and to excite the genius and netration of the philosophic historians of our own times. The bject, however various and important, has already been so equently, so ably, and so successfully discussed, that it is now own familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. We all therefore content ourselves with observing, and indeed th repeating, some of the most important circumstances of mate, of manners, and of institutions, which rendered the wild rbarians of Germany such formidable enemies to the Roman wer.

Extent of Germany

Ancient Germany, excluding from its independent limits the ovince westward of the Rhine, which had submitted to the

Roman yoke, extended itself over a third part of Europe. Almost the whole of modern Germany, Denmark, Norway Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and the greater part o Poland, were peopled by the various tribes of one great nation whose complexion, manners, and language denoted a commor origin, and preserved a striking resemblance. On the west ancient Germany was divided by the Rhine from the Gallic and on the south by the Danube from the Illyrian, provinces o the empire. A ridge of hills, rising from the Danube, and called the Carpathian Mountains, covered Germany on the side o Dacia or Hungary. The eastern frontier was faintly marked by the mutual fears of the Germans and the Sarmatians, and wa often confounded by the mixture of warring and confederating tribes of the two nations. In the remote darkness of the north the ancients imperfectly descried a frozen ocean that lay beyond the Baltic Sea and beyond the peninsula, or islands,[2] of Scan dinavia.

Climate

Some ingenious writers[3] have suspected that Europe wa much colder formerly than it is at present; and the most ancien descriptions of the climate of Germany tend exceedingly to confirm their theory. The general complaints of intense fros and eternal winter are perhaps little to be regarded, since we have no method of reducing to the accurate standard of the thermometer the feelings or the expressions of an orator born in the happier regions of Greece or Asia. But I shall select two re markable circumstances of a less equivocal nature. 1. The grea rivers which covered the Roman provinces, the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently frozen over, and capable of supporting the most enormous weights. The barbarians, who often chose that severe season for their inroads, transported, without appre hension or danger, their numerous armies, their cavalry, and

[1] [Though the author exaggerates the extent of ancient Germany towards the east, he is not so far wrong as has sometimes been supposed. Speaking roughly German tribes occupied the whole of Europe between the Rhine and the Vistula the Northern Sea and the Danube. Vandals, Burgundians, Turcilingi, Skiri and Gutones held the land between the Oder and Vistula.]

[2] The modern philosophers of Sweden seem agreed that the waters of the Balti gradually sink in a regular proportion, which they have ventured to estimate a half an inch every year. Twenty centuries ago, the flat country of Scandinavia must have been covered by the sea; while the high lands rose above the waters, a so many islands of various forms and dimensions. Such indeed is the notion given us by Mela, Pliny, and Tacitus, of the vast countries round the Baltic. See in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xl. and xlv., a large abstract of Dalin's History o Sweden, composed in the Swedish language.

[3] In particular, Mr. Hume, and the Abbé du Bos, and M. Pelloutier, Hist. des Celtes, tom. i.

eir heavy waggons, over a vast and solid bridge of ice.[4] odern ages have not presented an instance of a like phenomenon. The reindeer, that useful animal, from whom the savage of e North derives the best comforts of his dreary life, is of a nstitution that supports, and even requires, the most intense ld. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees the pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and beria; but at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply, in y country to the south of the Baltic.[5] In the time of Cæsar, e reindeer, as well as the elk and the wild bull, was a native the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part Germany and Poland.[6] The modern improvements suffiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold. These mense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted om the earth the rays of the sun.[7] The morasses have been ained, and, in proportion as the soil has been cultivated, the r has become more temperate. Canada, at this day, is an act picture of ancient Germany. Although situate in the me parallel with the finest provinces of France and England, at country experiences the most rigorous cold. The reindeer e very numerous, the ground is covered with deep and lasting ow, and the great river of St. Lawrence is regularly frozen, a season when the waters of the Seine and the Thames are ually free from ice.[8]

It is difficult to ascertain, and easy to exaggerate, the influence the climate of ancient Germany over the minds and bodies of e natives. Many writers have supposed, and most have lowed, though, as it should seem, without any adequate proof, at the rigorous cold of the North was favourable to long life d generative vigour, that the women were more fruitful, and

Its effects on the natives

[4] Diodorus Siculus, l. v. p. 340, edit. Wessel [25]. Herodian, l. vi. p. 221 [7]. rnandes, c. 55. On the banks of the Danube, the wine, when brought to table, s frequently frozen into great lumps, *frusta vini*. Ovid Epist. ex Ponto, l. iv. 7, o. Virgil Georgic. l. iii. 355. The fact is confirmed by a soldier and a philopher, who had experienced the intense cold of Thrace. See Xenophon, Anabasis, ii. p. 560, edit. Hutchinson [4]. [Milman in his note on this passage refers to incident in the Thirty Years' War. In 1635 "Jan van Werth, an Imperialist rtisan, crossed the Rhine from Heidelberg on the ice with 5000 men, and surised Spires".]

[5] Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 79, 116.

[6] Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. vi. 23, &c. The most inquisitive of the Germans were norant of its utmost limits, although some of them had travelled in it more than ty days' journey.

[7] Cluverius (Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 47) investigates the small and scattered mains of the Hercynian Wood.

[8] Charlevoix, Histoire du Canada.

the human species more prolific, than in warmer or more temperate climates.[9] We may assert, with greater confidence, that the keen air of Germany formed the large and masculine limbs of the natives, who were, in general, of a more lofty stature than the people of the South,[10] gave them a kind of strength better adapted to violent exertions than to patient labour, and inspired them with constitutional bravery, which is the result of nerves and spirits. The severity of a winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the North,[11] who, in their turn, were unable to resist the summer heats, and dissolved away in languor and sickness under the beams of an Italian sun.[12]

Origin of the Germans

There is not anywhere upon the globe a large tract of country which we have discovered destitute of inhabitants, or whose first population can be fixed with any degree of historical certainty. And yet, as the most philosophic minds can seldom refrain from investigating the infancy of great nations, our curiosity consumes itself in toilsome and disappointed efforts. When Tacitus considered the purity of the German blood, and the forbidding aspect of the country, he was disposed to pronounce those barbarians *Indigenæ*, or natives of the soil. We may allow with safety, and perhaps with truth, that ancient Germany was not originally peopled by any foreign colonies already formed into a political society;[13] but that the name and nation received their existence from the gradual union of some wandering savages of the Hercynian woods. To assert those savages to have been the spontaneous production of the earth which they inhabited would be a rash inference, condemned by religion, and unwarranted by reason.

[9] Olaus Rudbeck asserts that the Swedish women often bear ten or twelve children, and not uncommonly twenty or thirty; but the authority of Rudbeck is much to be suspected.

[10] In hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, excrescunt. Tacit. Germania, c. 20. Cluver. l. i. c. 14.

[11] Plutarch. in Mario. The Cimbri, by way of amusement, often slid down mountains of snow on their broad shields.

[12] The Romans made war in all climates, and by their excellent discipline were in a great measure preserved in health and vigour. It may be remarked that man is the only animal which can live and multiply in every country from the equator to the poles. The hog seems to approach the nearest to our species in that privilegs.

[13] Tacit. German. c. 3. The emigration of the Gauls followed the course of the Danube, and discharged itself on Greece and Asia. Tacitus could discover only one inconsiderable tribe that retained any traces of a Gallic origin. [The Cotini, c. 43. They were certainly not Gallic.]

Such rational doubt is but ill suited with the genius of popular anity. Among the nations who have adopted the Mosaic istory of the world, the ark of Noah has been of the same use, was formerly to the Greeks and Romans the siege of Troy. n a narrow basis of acknowledged truth, an immense but rude perstructure of fable has been erected; and the wild Irishman,[14] well as the wild Tartar,[15] could point out the individual son Japhet from whose loins his ancestors were lineally descended. he last century abounded with antiquarians of profound learn- g and easy faith, who, by the dim light of legends and traditions, conjectures and etymologies, conducted the great-grandchildren Noah from the Tower of Babel to the extremities of the globe. f these judicious critics, one of the most entertaining was Olaus udbeck, professor in the university of Upsal.[16] Whatever is elebrated either in history or fable, this zealous patriot ascribes his country. From Sweden (which formed so considerable a art of ancient Germany) the Greeks themselves derived their phabetical characters, their astronomy, and their religion. Of hat delightful region (for such it appeared to the eyes of a ative) the Atlantis of Plato, the country of the Hyperboreans, he gardens of the Hesperides, the Fortunate Islands, and even he Elysian Fields, were all but faint and imperfect transcripts. clime so profusely favoured by Nature could not long remain esert after the flood. The learned Rudbeck allows the family Noah a few years to multiply from eight to about twenty housand persons. He then disperses them into small colonies replenish the earth, and to propagate the human species. he German or Swedish detachment (which marched, if I am ot mistaken, under the command of Askenaz the son of Gomer, he son of Japhet) distinguished itself by a more than common ligence in the prosecution of this great work. The northern ive cast its swarms over the greatest part of Europe, Africa, nd Asia; and (to use the author's metaphor) the blood circu- ted back from the extremities to the heart.

Fables and conjectures

[14] According to Dr. Keating (History of Ireland, p. 13, 14), the giant Partholanus, who was the son of Seara, the son of Esra, the son of Sru, the son of Framat, the son of Fathaclan, the son of Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, anded on the coast of Munster, the 14th day of May, in the year of the world one housand nine hundred and seventy-eight. Though he succeeded in his great nterprise, the loose behaviour of his wife rendered his domestic life very unhappy, nd provoked him to such a degree, that he killed —— her favourite greyhound. his, as the learned historian very properly observes, was the *first* instance of male falsehood and infidelity ever known in Ireland.

[15] Genealogical History of the Tartars by Abulghazi Bahadur Khan.

[16] His work, entitled Atlantica, is uncommonly scarce. Bayle has given two ost curious extracts from it. République des Lettres, Janvier et Février, 1685.

The Germans ignorant of letters

But all this well-laboured system of German antiquities is annihilated by a single fact, too well attested to admit of any doubt, and of too decisive a nature to leave room for any reply. The Germans, in the age of Tacitus, were unacquainted with the use of letters;[17] and the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages, incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without that artificial help the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas intrusted to her charge; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers: the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular. Fully to apprehend this important truth, let us attempt, in an improved society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning and the *illiterate* peasant. The former, by reading and reflection, multiplies his own experience, and lives in distant ages and remote countries; whilst the latter, rooted to a single spot, and confined to a few years of existence, surpasses but very little his fellow-labourer the ox in the exercise of his mental faculties. The same and even a greater difference will be found between nations than between individuals; and we may safely pronounce, that without some species of writing no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences, or ever possessed, in any tolerable degree of perfection, the useful and agreeable arts of life.

of arts and agriculture

Of these arts the ancient Germans were wretchedly destitute. They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and poverty, which it has pleased some declaimers to dignify with the appellation of virtuous simplicity. Modern Germany is said to

[17] Tacit. Germ. ii. 19. Literarum secreta viri pariter ac fœminæ ignorant. We may rest contented with this decisive authority, without entering into the obscure disputes concerning the antiquity of the Runic characters. The learned Celsius, a Swede, a scholar and a philosopher, was of opinion, that they were nothing more than the Roman letters, with the curves changed into straight lines for the ease of engraving. See Pelloutier, Histoire des Celtes, l. ii. c. 11. Dictionnaire Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 223. We may add, that the oldest Runic inscriptions are supposed to be of the third century, and the most ancient writer who mentions the Runic characters, is Venantius Fortunatus (Carm. vii. 18), who lived towards the end of the sixth century.

Barbara fraxineis pingatur RUNA tabellis. [See Zacher, Das Gothische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet; Mr. Isaac Taylor, Greeks and Goths; Stephen's Runic Monuments. Mr. Taylor's theory that the Runic alphabet was originally derived from the Greeks by the trade route, which existed at a very early age between the Euxine and the Baltic, is gaining ground. It was certainly developed in Scandinavia, not in Germany. The number of Runic inscriptions found in Germany is very small.]

ontain about two thousand three hundred walled towns.[18] In much wider extent of country the geographer Ptolemy could iscover no more than ninety places which he decorates with ne name of cities;[19] though, according to our ideas, they ould but ill deserve that splendid title. We can only suppose iem to have been rude fortifications, constructed in the centre f the woods, and designed to secure the women, children, and attle, whilst the warriors of the tribe marched out to repel a udden invasion.[20] But Tacitus asserts, as a well-known fact, iat the Germans, in his time, had *no* cities;[21] and that they ffected to despise the works of Roman industry as places of onfinement rather than of security.[22] Their edifices were not ven contiguous, or formed into regular villas;[23] each barbarian xed his independent dwelling on the spot to which a plain, a ood, or a stream of fresh water, had induced him to give the reference. Neither stone, nor brick, nor tiles, were employed i these slight habitations.[24] They were indeed no more than w huts of a circular figure, built of rough timber, thatched ith straw, and pierced at the top to leave a free passage for the noke. In the most inclement winter, the hardy German was atisfied with a scanty garment made of the skin of some nimal. The nations who dwelt towards the North clothed iemselves in furs; and the women manufactured for their own se a coarse kind of linen.[25] The game of various sorts with hich the forests of Germany were plentifully stocked supplied its habitants with food and exercise.[26] Their monstrous herds of attle, less remarkable indeed for their beauty than for their tility,[27] formed the principal object of their wealth. A small uantity of corn was the only produce exacted from the earth: the

[18] Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. iii. p. 228. The author that very curious work is, if I am not misinformed, a German by birth. [De auw.]

[19] The Alexandrian Geographer is often criticized by the accurate Cluverius.

[20] See Cæsar, and the learned Mr. Whitaker in his History of Manchester, vol. i.

[21] Tacit. Germ. 16.

[22] When the Germans commanded the Ubii of Cologne to cast off the Roman oke, and with their new freedom to resume their ancient manners, they insisted the immediate demolition of the walls of the colony. "Postulamus a vobis, uros coloniæ, munimenta servitii, detrahatis; etiam fera animalia, si clausa neas, virtutis obliviscuntur." Tacit. Hist. iv. 64.

[23] The straggling villages of Silesia are several miles in length. See Cluver. l. i. 13.

[24] One hundred and forty years after Tacitus a few more regular structures were ected near the Rhine and Danube. Herodian l. vii. p. 234.

[25] Tacit. Germ. 17.

[26] Tacit. Germ. 5.

[27] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 21.

use of orchards or artificial meadows was unknown to the Germans; nor can we expect any improvements in agriculture from a people whose property every year experienced a general change by a new division of the arable lands, and who, in that strange operation, avoided disputes by suffering a great part of their territory to lie waste and without tillage.[28]

and of the use of metals

Gold, silver, and iron were extremely scarce in Germany. Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those rich veins of silver, which have so liberally rewarded the attention of the princes of Brunswick and Saxony. Sweden, which now supplies Europe with iron, was equally ignorant of its own riches; and the appearance of the arms of the Germans furnished a sufficient proof how little iron they were able to bestow on what they must have deemed the noblest use of that metal. The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins (chiefly silver) among the borderers of the Rhine and Danube; but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money, carried on their confined traffic by the exchange of commodities, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases, the presents of Rome to their princes and ambassadors.[29] To a mind capable of reflection such leading facts convey more instruction than a tedious detail of subordinate circumstances. The value of money has been settled by general consent to express our wants and our property, as letters were invented to express our ideas; and both these institutions, by giving more active energy to the powers and passions of human nature, have contributed to multiply the objects they were designed to represent. The use of gold and silver is in a great measure factitious; but it would be impossible to enumerate the important and various services which agriculture, and all the arts, have received from iron, when tempered and fashioned by the operation of fire and the dexterous hand of man. Money, in a word, is the most universal incitement, iron the most powerful instrument, of human industry; and it is very difficult to conceive by what means a people, neither actuated by the one nor seconded by the other, could emerge from the grossest barbarism.[30]

[28] Tacit. Germ. 26. Cæsar, vi. 22.

[29] Tacit. Germ. 5.

[30] It is said that the Mexicans and Peruvians, without the use of either money or iron, had made a very great progress in the arts. Those arts, and the monuments they produced, have been strangely magnified. See Recherches sur les Américains, tom. ii. p. 153, &c.

If we contemplate a savage nation in any part of the globe, a supine indolence and a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. In a civilized state every faculty of man is expanded and exercised; and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and embraces the several members of society. The most numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labour. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can, however, fill up their time by the pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures, and even the follies, of social life. The Germans were not possessed of these varied resources. The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle, were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slaves. The lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure hours, consumed his days and nights in the animal gratifications of sleep and food. And yet, by a wonderful diversity of nature (according to the remark of a writer who had pierced into its darkest recesses), the same barbarians are by turns the most indolent and the most restless of mankind. They delight in sloth, they detest tranquillity.[31] The languid soul, oppressed with its own weight, anxiously required some new and powerful sensation; and war and danger were the only amusements adequate to its fierce temper. The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear. It roused him from his uncomfortable lethargy, gave him an active pursuit, and, by strong exercise of the body, and violent emotions of the mind, restored him to a more lively sense of his existence. In the dull intervals of peace these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking; both of which, by different means, the one by inflaming their passions, the other by extinguishing their reason, alike relieved them from the pain of thinking. They gloried in passing whole days and nights at table; and the blood of friends and relations often stained their numerous and drunken assemblies.[32] Their debts of honour (for in that light they have transmitted to us those of play) they discharged with the most romantic fidelity. The desperate gamester, who had staked his person and liberty on a last throw of the dice, patiently submitted to the decision of fortune, and suffered himself to be bound, chastised, and sold into remote slavery, by his weaker but more lucky antagonist.[33]

Their indolence

[31] Tacit. Germ. 15. [32] Tacit. Germ. 22, 23.

[33] Tacit. Germ. 24. The Germans might borrow the *arts* of play from the Romans, but the *passion* is wonderfully inherent in the human species.

Their taste for strong liquors

Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from whea or barley, and *corrupted* (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus into a certain semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gros purposes of German debauchery. But those who had tasted the rich wines of Italy, and afterwards of Gaul, sighed for tha more delicious species of intoxication. They attempted not however (as has since been executed with so much success), to naturalize the vine on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; no did they endeavour to procure by industry the materials of an advantageous commerce. To solicit by labour what might be ravished by arms was esteemed unworthy of the German spirit.[3] The intemperate thirst of strong liquors often urged the bar barians to invade the provinces on which art or nature had be stowed those much envied presents. The Tuscan who betrayed his country to the Celtic nations attracted them into Italy by the prospect of the rich fruits and delicious wines, the produc tions of a happier climate.[35] And in the same manner the German auxiliaries, invited into France during the civil wars o the sixteenth century, were allured by the promise of plenteou quarters in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy.[3] Drunkenness, the most illiberal, but not the most dangerous o *our* vices, was sometimes capable, in a less civilized state of man kind, of occasioning a battle, a war, or a revolution.

State of population

The climate of ancient Germany has been mollified, and the soil fertilized, by the labour of ten centuries from the time o Charlemagne. The same extent of ground, which at presen maintains, in ease and plenty, a million of husbandmen and artificers, was unable to supply an hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple necessaries of life.[37] The German abandoned their immense forests to the exercise of hunting employed in pasturage the most considerable part of their lands bestowed on the small remainder a rude and careless cultivation and then accused the scantiness and sterility of a country tha refused to maintain the multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of famine severely admonished them of the importance o the arts, the national distress was sometimes alleviated by the

[34] Tacit. Germ. 14. [35] Plutarch. in Camillo. T. Liv. v. 33.

[36] Dubos, Hist. de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 193.

[37] The Helvetian nation, which issued from the country called Switzerland, con tained, of every age and sex, 368,000 persons (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. i. 29). A present, the number of people in the Pays de Vaud (a small district on the bank of the Leman Lake, much more distinguished for politeness than for industry amounts to 112,591. See an excellent Tract of M. Muret, in the Mémoires de l Société de Berne

migration of a third, perhaps, or a fourth part of their youth.[38] The possession and the enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a civilized people to an improved country. But the Germans, who carried with them what they most valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, cheerfully abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest. The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were multiplied by the fears of the vanquished and by the credulity of succeeding ages. And from facts thus exaggerated, an opinion was gradually established, and has been supported by writers of distinguished reputation, that, in the age of Cæsar and Tacitus, the inhabitants of the North were far more numerous than they are in our days.[39] A more serious inquiry into the causes of population seems to have convinced modern philosophers of the falsehood, and indeed the impossibility, of the supposition. To the names of Mariana and of Machiavel[40] we can oppose the equal names of Robertson and Hume.[41]

German freedom

A warlike nation like the Germans, without either cities, letters, arts, or money, found some compensation for this savage state in the enjoyment of liberty. Their poverty secured their freedom, since our desires and our possessions are the strongest fetters of despotism. "Among the Suiones (says Tacitus) riches are held in honour. They are *therefore* subject to an absolute monarch, who instead of intrusting his people with the free use of arms, as is practised in the rest of Germany, commits them to the safe custody, not of a citizen, or even of a freedman, but of a slave. The neighbours of the Suiones, the Sitones, are sunk even below servitude; they obey a woman."[42] In the mention of these exceptions, the great historian sufficiently acknowledges the general theory of government. We are only at a loss to conceive by what means riches and despotism could penetrate into a remote corner of the North, and extinguish the generous flame that blazed with such fierceness on the frontier of the Roman provinces, or how the ancestors of those Danes and

[38] Paul Diaconus, c. 1, 2, 3. Machiavel, Davila, and the rest of Paul's followers, represent these emigrations too much as regular and concerted measures.

[39] Sir William Temple and Montesquieu have indulged, on this subject, the usual liveliness of their fancy.

[40] Machiavel, Hist. di Firenze, l. i. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. v. c. 1.

[41] Robertson's Cha. V. Hume's Politic. Ess.

[42] Tacit. Germ. 44, 45. Freinshemius (who dedicated his supplement to Livy, to Christina of Sweden) thinks proper to be very angry with the Roman who expressed so very little reverence for Northern queens.

Norwegians, so distinguished in later ages by their unconquered spirit, could thus tamely resign the great character of German liberty.[43] Some tribes, however, on the coast of the Baltic acknowledged the authority of kings, though without relinquishing the rights of men;[44] but in the far greater part of Germany the form of government was a democracy, tempered, indeed, and controlled, not so much by general and positive laws as by the occasional ascendant of birth or valour, of eloquence or superstition.[45]

Assemblies of the people

Civil governments, in their first institutions, are voluntary associations for mutual defence. To obtain the desired end it is absolutely necessary that each individual should conceive himself obliged to submit his private opinion and actions to the judgment of the greater number of his associates. The German tribes were contented with this rude but liberal outline of political society. As soon as a youth, born of free parents, had attained the age of manhood, he was introduced into the general council of his countrymen, solemnly invested with a shield and spear, and adopted as an equal and worthy member of the military commonwealth. The assembly of the warriors of the tribe was convened at stated seasons, or on sudden emergencies. The trial of public offences, the election of magistrates, and the great business of peace and war, were determined by its independent voice. Sometimes, indeed, these important questions were previously considered and prepared in a more select council of the principal chieftains.[46] The magistrates might deliberate and persuade, the people only could resolve and execute; and the resolutions of the Germans were for the most part hasty and violent. Barbarians accustomed to place their freedom in gratifying the present passion, and their courage in overlooking

[43] May we not suspect that superstition was the parent of despotism? The descendants of Odin (whose race was not extinct till the year 1060) are said to have reigned in Sweden above a thousand years. The temple of Upsal was the ancient seat of religion and empire. In the year 1153 I find a singular law prohibiting the use and possession of arms to any, except the king's guards. Is it not probable that it was coloured by the pretence of reviving an old institution? See Dalin's History of Sweden in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xl. and xlv.

[44] Tacit. Germ. c. 43. [The Gotones, that is, the Goths, who in the time of Tacitus lived on the right bank of the lower Vistula; but in the third century we find them on the Black Sea. Pliny also mentions the Guttones, Nat. Hist. iv. 14.

[45] Id. c. 11, 12, 13, &c.

[46] Grotius changes an expression of Tacitus, *pertractantur* into *prætractantur*. The correction is equally just and ingenious. [*Germ.* 11. *apud principes pertractentur.* No change is necessary; *pertractentur* means "be thoroughly discussed." But the general meaning is the same.]

ll future consequences, turned away with indignant contempt rom the remonstrances of justice and policy, and it was the ractice to signify by a hollow murmur their dislike of such timid ouncils. But, whenever a more popular orator proposed to indicate the meanest citizen, from either foreign or domestic njury, whenever he called upon his fellow-countrymen to assert ne national honour, or to pursue some enterprise full of danger nd glory, a loud clashing of shields and spears expressed the ager applause of the assembly. For the Germans always met n arms, and it was constantly to be dreaded lest an irregular nultitude, inflamed with faction and strong liquors, should use hose arms to enforce, as well as to declare, their furious resolves. Ve may recollect how often the diets of Poland have been olluted with blood, and the more numerous party has been ompelled to yield to the more violent and seditious.[47]

Authority of the princes and magistrates

A general of the tribe was elected on occasions of danger; nd, if the danger was pressing and extensive, several tribes oncurred in the choice of the same general. The bravest war- ior was named to lead his countrymen into the field, by his xample rather than by his commands. But this power, how- ver limited, was still invidious. It expired with the war, and n time of peace, the German tribes acknowledged not any upreme chief.[48] *Princes* were, however, appointed, in the eneral assembly, to administer justice, or rather to compose ifferences,[49] in their respective districts. In the choice of hese magistrates as much regard was shown to birth as to nerit.[50] To each was assigned, by the public, a guard, and a ouncil of an hundred persons, and the first of the princes ap- ears to have enjoyed a pre-eminence of rank and honour which ometimes tempted the Romans to compliment him with the egal title.[51]

more absolute over the property than over the persons of the Germans

The comparative view of the powers of the magistrates, in two emarkable instances, is alone sufficient to represent the whole ystem of German manners. The disposal of the landed property vithin their district was absolutely vested in their hands, and hey distributed it every year according to a new division.[52] At he same time they were not authorized to punish with death, to

[47] Even in *our* ancient parliament, the barons often carried a question not so nuch by the number of votes as by that of their armed followers.
[48] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 23.
[49] Minuunt controversias, is a very happy expression of Cæsar's.
[50] Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Tacit. Germ. 7.
[51] Cluver. Germ. Ant. l. i. c. 38.
[52] Cæsar, vi. 22. Tacit. Germ. 26.

imprison, or even to strike a private citizen.[53] A people thus jealous of their persons, and careless of their possessions, must have been totally destitute of industry and the arts, but animated with a high sense of honour and independence.

Voluntary engagements

The Germans respected only those duties which they imposed on themselves. The most obscure soldier resisted with disdain the authority of the magistrates. "The noblest youths blushed not to be numbered among the faithful companions of some renowned chief, to whom they devoted their arms and service. A noble emulation prevailed among the companions to obtain the first place in the esteem of their chief; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest number of valiant companions. To be ever surrounded by a band of select youths was the pride and strength of the chiefs, their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and embassies solicited their friendship, and the fame of their arms often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions; shameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive his fall in battle was indelible infamy. To protect his person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory, the companions for the chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their numerous bands in some distant scene of action, to exercise their restless spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of soldiers, the warlike steed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hospitable board was the only pay that *he* could bestow, or *they* would accept. War, rapine, and the free-will offerings of his friends, supplied the materials of this munificence."[54] This institution, however it might accidentally weaken the several republics, invigorated the general character of the Germans, and even ripened amongst them all the virtues of which barbarians are susceptible—the faith and valour, the hospitality and the courtesy, so conspicuous long afterwards in the ages of chivalry. The honourable gifts, bestowed by the chief on his brave companions, have been supposed, by an ingenious writer,

[53] Tacit. Germ. 7.

[54] Tacit. Germ. 13, 14.

contain the first rudiments of the fiefs, distributed after the
nquest of the Roman provinces, by the barbarian lords among
eir vassals, with a similar duty of homage and military ser-
e.[55] These conditions, are, however, very repugnant to the
xims of the ancient Germans, who delighted in mutual pre-
nts, but without either imposing or accepting the weight of
ligations.[56]

German chastity

"In the days of chivalry, or more properly of romance, all
e men were brave, and all the women were chaste;" and,
twithstanding the latter of these virtues is acquired and pre-
rved with much more difficulty than the former, it is ascribed,
nost without exception, to the wives of the ancient Germans.
lygamy was not in use, except among the princes, and among
em only for the sake of multiplying their alliances. Divorces
re prohibited by manners rather than by laws. Adulteries
re punished as rare and inexpiable crimes; nor was seduction
tified by example and fashion.[57] We may easily discover
at Tacitus indulges an honest pleasure in the contrast of bar-
rian virtue with the dissolute conduct of the Roman ladies:
there are some striking circumstances that give an air of
th, or at least of probability, to the conjugal faith and chastity
the Germans.

Its probable causes

Although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly con-
buted to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it
ems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity,
ose most dangerous enemy is the softness of the mind. The
inements of life corrupt while they polish the intercourse of
e sexes. The gross appetite of love becomes most dangerous,
en it is elevated, or rather, indeed, disguised, by sentimental
ssion. The elegance of dress, of motion, and of manners,
es a lustre to beauty, and inflames the senses through the
agination. Luxurious entertainments, midnight dances, and
entious spectacles, present at once temptation and opportunity
female frailty.[58] From such dangers the unpolished wives of
e barbarians were secured by poverty, solitude, and the painful

[55] Esprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 3. The brilliant imagination of Montesquieu is
ected, however, by the dry cold reason of the Abbé de Mably. Observations
l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 356.

[56] Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Tacit.
m. c. 21.

[57] The adulteress was whipped through the village. Neither wealth nor beauty
d inspire compassion, or procure her a second husband. [Tacit. Germ.] 18, 19.

[58] Ovid employs two hundred lines in the research of places the most favourable
ove. Above all he considers the theatre as the best adapted to collect the
uties of Rome, and to melt them into tenderness and sensuality.

cares of a domestic life. The German huts, open on every side to the eye of indiscretion or jealousy, were a better safeguard of conjugal fidelity than the walls, the bolts, and the eunuchs of a Persian haram. To this reason another may be added of a more honourable nature. The Germans treated their women with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every occasion of importance, and fondly believed that in their breasts resided a sanctity and wisdom more than human. Some of these interpreters of fate, such as Velleda, in the Batavian war, governed, in the name of the deity, the fiercest nations of Germany.[59] The rest of the sex, without being adored as goddesses, were respected as the free and equal companions of soldiers; associated even by the marriage ceremony to a life of toil, of danger, and of glory.[60] In their great invasions, the camps of the barbarians were filled with a multitude of women, who remained firm and undaunted amidst the sound of arms, the various forms of destruction, and the honourable wounds of their sons and husbands.[61] Fainting armies of Germans have more than once been driven back upon the enemy by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude. If the day was irrecoverably lost, they well knew how to deliver themselves and their children, with their own hands, from an insulting victor.[62] Heroines of such a cast may claim our admiration; but they were most assuredly neither lovely nor very susceptible of love. Whilst they affected to emulate the stern virtues of *man*, they must have resigned that attractive softness in which principally consist the charm and weakness of *woman*. Conscious pride taught the German females to suppress every tender emotion that stood in competition with honour, and the first honour of the sex has ever been that of chastity. The sentiments and conduct of these high-spirited matrons may, at once, be considered as a cause, as an effect, and as a proof, of the general character of the nation. Female courage, however it may be raised by fanaticism, or confirmed by habit, can be only a faint and imperfect imitation of the manly valour that distinguishes the age or country in which it may be found.

[59] Tacit. Hist. iv. 61, 65.

[60] The marriage present was a yoke of oxen, horses, and arms. See Germ. c. 18. Tacitus is somewhat too florid on the subject.

[61] The change of *exigere* into *exugere* is a most excellent correction [c. 7. *Exugere plagas* would hardly be possible. *Exigere plagas* is right, "to examine, probe the wounds".]

[62] Tacit. Germ. c. 7. Plutarch. in Mario. Before the wives of the Teutones destroyed themselves and their children, they had offered to surrender, on condition that they should be received as the slaves of the vestal virgins.

Religion

The religious system of the Germans (if the wild opinions of savages can deserve that name) was dictated by their wants, their fears, and their ignorance.[63] They adored the great visible objects and agents of Nature, the Sun and the Moon, the Fire and the Earth; together with those imaginary deities who were supposed to preside over the most important occupations of human life. They were persuaded that, by some ridiculous arts of divination, they could discover the will of the superior beings, and that human sacrifices were the most precious and acceptable offering to their altars. Some applause has been hastily bestowed on the sublime notion entertained by that people of the Deity whom they neither confined within the walls of a temple, nor represented by any human figure; but when we recollect that the Germans were unskilled in architecture, and totally unacquainted with the art of sculpture, we shall readily assign the true reason of a scruple, which arose not so much from a superiority of reason as from a want of ingenuity. The only temples in Germany were dark and ancient groves, consecrated by the reverence of succeeding generations. Their secret gloom, the imagined residence of an invisible power, by presenting no distinct object of fear or worship, impressed the mind with a still deeper sense of religious horror;[64] and the priests, rude and illiterate as they were, had been taught by experience the use of every artifice that could preserve and fortify impressions so well suited to their own interest.

Its effects in peace

The same ignorance which renders barbarians incapable of conceiving or embracing the useful restraints of laws exposes them naked and unarmed to the blind terrors of superstition. The German priests, improving this favourable temper of their countrymen, had assumed a jurisdiction even in temporal concerns which the magistrate could not venture to exercise; and the haughty warrior patiently submitted to the lash of correction, when it was inflicted, not by any human power, but by the immediate order of the god of war.[65] The defects of civil policy were sometimes supplied by the interposition of ecclesiastical authority. The latter was constantly exerted to maintain silence and decency in the popular assemblies; and

[63] Tacitus has employed a few lines, and Cluverius one hundred and twenty-four pages, on this obscure subject. The former discovers in Germany the gods of Greece and Rome. The latter is positive that, under the emblems of the sun, the moon, and the fire, his pious ancestors worshipped the Trinity in unity.

[64] The sacred wood, described with such sublime horror by Lucan, was in the neighbourhood of Marseilles; but there were many of the same kind in Germany.

[65] Tacit. Germania, c. 7.

was sometimes extended to a more enlarged concern for t national welfare. A solemn procession was occasionally ce brated in the present countries of Mecklenburgh and Pom ania. The unknown symbol of the *Earth*, covered with a thi veil, was placed on a carriage drawn by cows; and in t manner the goddess, whose common residence was in the isle Rugen, visited several adjacent tribes of her worshippers. Duri her progress, the sound of war was hushed, quarrels were su pended, arms laid aside, and the restless Germans had opportunity of tasting the blessings of peace and harmony The *truce of God*, so often and so ineffectually proclaimed by t clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of t ancient custom.[67]

In war

But the influence of religion was far more powerful to inflar than to moderate the fierce passions of the Germans. Intere and fanaticism often prompted its ministers to sanctify the mo daring and the most unjust enterprises, by the approbation Heaven, and full assurances of success. The consecrat standards, long revered in the groves of superstition, we placed in the front of the battle;[68] and the hostile army w devoted with dire execrations to the gods of war and of thunder In the faith of soldiers (and such were the Germans) cowardi is the most unpardonable of sins. A brave man was the worth favourite of their martial deities; the wretch who had lost h shield was alike banished from the religious and the civ assemblies of his countrymen. Some tribes of the north see to have embraced the doctrine of transmigration,[70] othe imagined a gross paradise of immortal drunkenness.[71] A agreed that a life spent in arms, and a glorious death in battl were the best preparations for a happy futurity, either in this in another world.

The bards

The immortality so vainly promised by the priests was, some degree, conferred by the bards. That singular order men has most deservedly attracted the notice of all who ha attempted to investigate the antiquities of the Celts, the Scand

[66] Tacit. Germania, c. 40.

[67] See Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. i. note 10.

[68] Tacit. Germ. c. 7. These standards were only the heads of wild beasts.

[69] See an instance of this custom, Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57.

[70] Cæsar, Diodorus, and Lucan, seem to ascribe this doctrine to the Gauls, b M. Pelloutier (Histoire des Celtes, l. iii. c. 18) labours to reduce their expressio to a more orthodox sense.

[71] Concerning this gross but alluring doctrine of the Edda, see Fable xx. in t curious version of that book, published by M. Mallet, in his Introduction to t History of Denmark.

navians, and the Germans. Their genius and character, as well as the reverence paid to that important office, have been sufficiently illustrated. But we cannot so easily express, or even conceive, the enthusiasm of arms and glory which they kindled in the breast of their audience. Among a polished people, a taste for poetry is rather an amusement of the fancy than a passion of the soul. And yet, when in calm retirement we peruse the combats described by Homer or Tasso, we are insensibly seduced by the fiction, and feel a momentary glow of martial ardour. But how faint, how cold is the sensation which a peaceful mind can receive from solitary study! It was in the hour of battle, or in the feast of victory, that the bards celebrated the glory of heroes of ancient days, the ancestors of those warlike chieftains who listened with transport to their artless but animated strains. The view of arms and of danger heightened the effect of the military song; and the passions which it tended to excite, the desire of fame and the contempt of death, were the habitual sentiments of a German mind.[72]

Causes wh checked t progress of the Ger mans

Such was the situation and such were the manners of the ancient Germans. Their climate, their want of learning, of arts, and of laws, their notions of honour, of gallantry, and of religion, their sense of freedom, impatience of peace, and thirst of enterprise, all contributed to form a people of military heroes. And yet we find that, during more than two hundred and fifty years that elapsed from the defeat of Varus to the reign of Decius, these formidable barbarians made few considerable attempts, and not any material impression, on the luxurious and enslaved provinces of the empire. Their progress was checked by their want of arms and discipline, and their fury was diverted by the intestine divisions of ancient Germany.

Want of a

I. It has been observed, with ingenuity, and not without truth, that the command of iron soon gives a nation the command of gold. But the rude tribes of Germany, alike destitute of both those valuable metals, were reduced slowly to acquire, by their unassisted strength, the possession of the one as well as the other. The face of a German army displayed their poverty of iron. Swords and the longer kind of lances they could seldom use. Their *frameæ* (as they called them in their

[72] See Tacit. Germ. c. 3. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [29]. Strabo, l. iv. p. 197. The classical reader may remember the rank of Demodocus in the Phæacian court, and the ardour infused by Tyrtæus into the fainting Spartans. Yet there is little probability that the Greeks and the Germans were the same people. Much learned trifling might be spared, if our antiquarians would condescend to reflect that similar manners will naturally be produced by similar situations.

own language) were long spears headed with a sharp but narrow iron point, and which, as occasion required, they either darted from a distance, or pushed in close onset. With this spear and with a shield their cavalry was contented. A multitude of darts, scattered[73] with incredible force, were an additional resource of the infantry. Their military dress, when they wore any, was nothing more than a loose mantle. A variety of colours was the only ornament of their wooden or their osier shields. Few of the chiefs were distinguished by cuirasses, scarce any by helmets. Though the horses of Germany were neither beautiful, swift, nor practised in the skilful evolutions of the Roman manage, several of the nations obtained renown by their cavalry; but, in general, the principal strength of the Germans consisted in their infantry,[74] which was drawn up in several deep columns, according to the distinction of tribes and families. Impatient of fatigue or delay, these half-armed warriors rushed to battle with dissonant shouts and disordered ranks; and sometimes, by the effort of native valour, prevailed over the constrained and more artificial bravery of the Roman mercenaries. But as the barbarians poured forth their whole souls on the first onset, they knew not how to rally or to retire. A repulse was a sure defeat; and a defeat was most commonly total destruction. When we recollect the complete armour of the Roman soldiers, their discipline, exercises, evolutions, fortified camps, and military engines, it appears a just matter of surprise how the naked and unassisted valour of the barbarians could dare to encounter in the field the strength of the legions and the various troops of the auxiliaries, which seconded their operations. The contest was too unequal, till the introduction of luxury had enervated the vigour, and a spirit of disobedience and sedition had relaxed the discipline, of the Roman armies. The introduction of barbarian auxiliaries into those armies was a measure attended with very obvious dangers, as it might gradually instruct the Germans in the arts of war and of policy. Although they were admitted in small numbers and with the strictest precaution, the example of Civilis was proper to convince the Romans that the danger was not imaginary, and that their precautions were not always sufficient.[75] During the

and of discipline

[73] Missilia spargunt, Tacit. Germ. c. 6. Either that historian used a vague expression, or he meant that they were thrown at random.

[74] It was the principal distinction from the Sarmatians, who generally fought on horseback.

[75] The relation of this enterprise occupies a great part of the fourth and fifth books of the History of Tacitus, and is more remarkable for its eloquence than perspicuity. Sir Henry Saville has observed several inaccuracies.

ivil wars that followed the death of Nero, that artful and in-repid Batavian, whom his enemies condescended to compare vith Hannibal and Sertorius,[76] formed a great design of freedom nd ambition. Eight Batavian cohorts, renowned in the wars of Britain and Italy, repaired to his standard. He introduced an rmy of Germans into Gaul, prevailed on the powerful cities of Treves and Langres to embrace his cause, defeated the legions, estroyed their fortified camps, and employed against the Romans the military knowledge which he had acquired in their ervice. When at length, after an obstinate struggle, he yielded o the power of the empire, Civilis secured himself and his ountry by an honourable treaty. The Batavians still continued o occupy the islands of the Rhine,[77] the allies, not the servants, f the Roman monarchy.

Civil dissensions of Germany

II. The strength of ancient Germany appears formidable when e consider the effects that might have been produced by its nited effort. The wide extent of country might very possibly ontain a million of warriors, as all who were of an age to bear rms were of a temper to use them. But this fierce multitude, incapable of concerting or executing any plan of national greatess, was agitated by various and often hostile intentions. ermany was divided into more than forty independent states; nd even in each state the union of the several tribes was exremely loose and precarious. The barbarians were easily proked; they knew not how to forgive an injury, much less an nsult; their resentments were bloody and implacable. The nsual disputes that so frequently happened in their tumultuous arties of hunting or drinking were sufficient to inflame the inds of whole nations; the private feud of any considerable nieftains diffused itself among their followers and allies. To nastise the insolent, or to plunder the defenceless, were alike auses of war. The most formidable states of Germany affected o encompass their territories with a wide frontier of solitude nd devastation. The awful distance preserved by their neighours attested the terror of their arms, and in some measure efended them from the danger of unexpected incursions.[78]

Fomented by the policy of Rome

"The Bructeri (it is Tacitus who now speaks) were totally exrminated by the neighbouring tribes,[79] provoked by their

[76] Tacit. Hist. iv. 13. Like them, he had lost an eye.

[77] It was contained between the two branches of the old Rhine, as they substed before the face of the country was changed by art and nature. See Cluver. erman. Antiq. l. iii. c. 30, 37.

[78] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. l. vi. 23.

[79] They are mentioned however in the ivth and vth centuries by Nazarius, Amianus, Claudian, &c., as a tribe of Franks. See Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. iii. c. 13.

insolence, allured by the hopes of spoil, and perhaps insp
by the tutelar deities of the empire. Above sixty thous
barbarians were destroyed, not by the Roman arms, but in
sight, and for our entertainment. May the nations, enemie
Rome, ever preserve this enmity to each other! We have
attained the utmost verge of prosperity,[80] and have nothing
to demand of fortune except the discord of the barbarians
These sentiments, less worthy of the humanity than of
patriotism of Tacitus, express the invariable maxims of
policy of his countrymen. They deemed it a much s
expedient to divide than to combat the barbarians, from wh
defeat they could derive neither honour nor advantage.
money and negotiations of Rome insinuated themselves into
heart of Germany, and every art of seduction was used
dignity to conciliate those nations whom their proximity to
Rhine or Danube might render the most useful friends as
as the most troublesome enemies. Chiefs of renown and po
were flattered by the most trifling presents, which they recei
either as marks of distinction or as the instruments of lux
In civil dissensions, the weaker faction endeavoured to strengt
its interest by entering into secret connexions with the gover
of the frontier provinces. Every quarrel among the Germ
was fomented by the intrigues of Rome; and every plan
union and public good was defeated by the stronger bias
private jealousy and interest.[82]

Transient union against Marcus Antoninus

The general conspiracy which terrified the Romans under
reign of Marcus Antoninus comprehended almost all the nat
of Germany, and even Sarmatia, from the mouth of the Rh
to that of the Danube.[83] It is impossible for us to detern

[80] *Urgentibus* is the common reading, but good sense, Lipsius, and some
declare for *Vergentibus*. [An unnecessary correction.]

[81] Tacit. Germania, c. 33. The pious Abbé de la Bléterie is very angry
Tacitus, talks of the devil who was a murderer from the beginning, &c., &c.

[82] Many traces of this policy may be discovered in Tacitus and Dion;
many more may be inferred from the principles of human nature.

[83] Hist. August. p. 31 [iv. 22]. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxi. c. 5. Aurel. Vi
[Cæs. 16]. The Emperor Marcus was reduced to sell the rich furniture o
palace, and to enlist slaves and robbers. [This war is generally called the
comannic, but its proper name, at first, was the *Bellum Germanicum*. At a
stage, when the Sarmatians made common cause with the Germans, it was c
the *Bellum Germanicum Sarmaticum*. The Romans took the field in 167,
hostilities lasted, with a short interval of peace, till the accession of Comm
180. The following German peoples took part in it:—Marcomanni, Quadi, Na
Victovali, Hermunduri, Vandals, Buri; also the (Sarmatian) Jazyges, who dwe
tween the Theiss and Danube. Large settlements of the conquered barbarians
made within the limits of the Empire, so that this period has importance for th
tory of the Roman *colonatus*. It has been well treated by Heisterbergk i
work, Die Entstehung des Colonats.]

whether this hasty confederation was formed by necessity, by reason, or by passion; but we may rest assured, that the barbarians were neither allured by the indolence or provoked by the ambition of the Roman monarch. This dangerous invasion required all the firmness and vigilance of Marcus. He fixed generals of ability in the several stations of attack, and assumed in person the conduct of the most important province on the Upper Danube. After a long and doubtful conflict, the spirit of the barbarians was subdued. The Quadi and the Marcomanni,[84] who had taken the lead in the war, were the most severely punished in its catastrophe. They were commanded to retire five miles[85] from their own banks of the Danube, and to deliver up the flower of the youth, who were immediately sent into Britain, a remote island, where they might be secure as hostages and useful as soldiers.[86] On the frequent rebellions of the Quadi and Marcomanni, the irritated emperor resolved to reduce their country into the form of a province.[87] His designs were disappointed by death. This formidable league, however, the only one that appears in the two first centuries of the Imperial history, was entirely dissipated without leaving any traces behind in Germany.

Distinction of the German tribes

In the course of this introductory chapter, we have confined ourselves to the general outlines of the manners of Germany, without attempting to describe or to distinguish the various tribes which filled that great country in the time of Cæsar, of Tacitus, or of Ptolemy.[88] As the ancient, or as new tribes successively present themselves in the series of this history, we shall concisely mention their origin, their situation, and their particular character. Modern nations are fixed and permanent societies, connected among themselves by laws and government, bound to their native soil by arts and agriculture. The German tribes were voluntary and fluctuating associations of soldiers, almost of savages. The same territory often changed its inhabitants in the tide of conquest and emigration. The same communities, uniting in a plan of defence or invasion, bestowed a

[84] The Marcomanni, a colony, who, from the banks of the Rhine, occupied Bohemia and Moravia, had once erected a great and formidable monarchy under their king Maroboduus. See Strabo, l. vii. [290]. Vell. Pat. ii. 105 [108]. Tacit. Annal. ii. 63.

[85] Mr. Wotton (History of Rome, p. 166) increases the prohibition to ten times the distance. His reasoning is specious but not conclusive. Five miles were sufficient for a fortified barrier.

[86] Dion, l. lxxi. [11 *et sqq.*] and lxxii. [2].

[87] [He intended to form two new provinces, Marcomannia and Sarmatia.]

[88] [For our authorities on early German History, see Appendix 15.]

new title on their new confederacy. The dissolution of an ancier confederacy restored to the independent tribes their peculiar bu long forgotten appellation. A victorious state often commun cated its own name to a vanquished people. Sometimes crowd of volunteers flocked from all parts to the standard of a favourit leader; his camp became their country, and some circumstanc of the enterprise soon gave a common denomination to th mixed multitude. The distinctions of the ferocious invade were perpetually varied by themselves, and confounded by th astonished subjects of the Roman empire.[89]

Numbers

Wars and the administration of public affairs are the princip subjects of history; but the number of persons interested i these busy scenes is very different, according to the differer condition of mankind. In great monarchies millions of obedier subjects pursue their useful occupations in peace and obscurit The attention of the writer, as well as of the reader, is sole confined to a court, a capital, a regular army, and the distric which happen to be the occasional scene of military operation But a state of freedom and barbarism, the season of civil con motions, or the situation of petty republics,[90] raises almost eve member of the community into action and consequently in notice. The irregular divisions and the restless motions of th people of Germany dazzle our imagination, and seem to multip their numbers. The profuse enumeration of kings and warrior of armies and nations, inclines us to forget that the same objec are continually repeated under a variety of appellations, ar that the most splendid appellations have been frequently lavishe on the most inconsiderable objects.

[89] See an excellent dissertation on the origin and migrations of nations, in t Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. p. 48-71. It is seldo that the antiquarian and the philosopher are so happily blended.

[90] Should we suspect that Athens contained only 21,000 citizens, and Spa no more than 39,000? See Hume and Wallace on the number of mankind ancient and modern times. [See above, chap. ii. note 22.]

CHAPTER X

e Emperors Decius, Gallus, Æmilianus, Valerian, and Gallienus—The general Irruption of the Barbarians—The thirty Tyrants

The nature of the subject, A.D. 248-268

ом the great secular games celebrated by Philip to the death the emperor Gallienus, there elapsed twenty years of shame misfortune. During that calamitous period, every instant time was marked, every province of the Roman world was cted, by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ned empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of dissolution. The confusion of the times and the scarcity of hentic memorials oppose equal difficulties to the historian, o attempts to preserve a clear and unbroken thread of narra-n.[1] Surrounded with imperfect fragments, always concise, en obscure, and sometimes contradictory, he is reduced to lect, to compare, and to conjecture: and though he ought er to place his conjectures in the rank of facts, yet the owledge of human nature, and of the sure operation of its ce and unrestrained passions, might, on some occasions, supply want of historical materials.

The emperor Philip

There is not, for instance, any difficulty in conceiving that the cessive murders of so many emperors had loosened all the of allegiance between the prince and people; that all the erals of Philip were disposed to imitate the example of their ster; and that the caprice of armies, long since habituated to quent and violent revolutions, might every day raise to the one the most obscure of their fellow-soldiers. History can y add, that the rebellion against the emperor Philip broke in the summer of the year two hundred and forty-nine, ong the legions of Mæsia, and that a subaltern officer,[2] named rinus, was the object of their seditious choice. Philip was

[We have almost no sources for Philip's reign. Gibbon mentions no events ng the years between his accession in 244 and the secular games in 248. An edition led by Philip himself against the Carpi seems to have been the most ortant occurrence.]

The expression used by Zosimus [i. 20] and Zonaras [xii. 19] may signify Marinus commanded a century, a cohort, or a legion.

alarmed. He dreaded lest the treason of the Mæsian army should prove the first spark of a general conflagration. Distracted with the consciousness of his guilt and of his danger, he communicated the intelligence to the senate. A gloomy silence prevailed, the effect of fear, and perhaps of disaffection, till at length Decius, one of the assembly, assuming a spirit worthy of his noble extraction, ventured to discover more intrepidity than the emperor seemed to possess. He treated the whole business with contempt, as a hasty and inconsiderate tumult, and Philip's rival as a phantom of royalty, who in a very few days would be destroyed by the same inconstancy that had created him. The speedy completion of the prophecy inspired Philip with a just esteem for so able a counsellor, and Decius appeared to him the only person capable of restoring peace and discipline to an army whose tumultuous spirit did not immediately subside after the murder of Marinus. Decius,[3] who long resisted his own nomination, seems to have insinuated the danger of presenting a leader of merit to the angry and apprehensive minds of the soldiers; and his prediction was again confirmed by the event. The legions of Mæsia forced their judge to become their accomplice. They left him only the alternative of death or the purple. His subsequent conduct, after that decisive measure, was unavoidable. He conducted or followed his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip, collecting all his force to repel the formidable competitor whom he had raised up, advanced to meet him. The Imperial troops were superior in number; but the rebels formed an army of veterans, commanded by an able and experienced leader. Philip was either killed in the battle or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona. His son and associate in the empire,[4] was massacred at Rome by the Prætorian guards; and the victorious Decius, with more favourable circumstances than the ambition of that age can usually plead, was universally acknowledged by the senate and provinces. It is reported that, immediately after his reluctant acceptance of the title of Augustus, he had assured Philip by a private message of his innocence

Services, revolt, victory, and reign of the emperor Decius, A.D. 249

[3] His birth at Bubalia, a little village in Pannonia (Eutrop. ix. [4], Victor. in Cæsarib. [29] et Epitom. [29]), seems to contradict, unless it was merely accidental, his supposed descent from the Decii. Six hundred years had bestowed nobility on the Decii; but at the commencement of that period, they were only Plebeians of merit, and among the first who shared the consulship with the haughty Patricians. Plebeiæ Deciorum animæ, &c. Juvenal, Sat. viii. 254. See the spirited speech of Decius in Livy, x. 9, 10 [7, 8]. [C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius. The date of his elevation fell in the last days of 248 (Schiller, i. 803).]

[4] [Also named Philip.]

oyalty, solemnly protesting that, on his arrival in Italy, he
l resign the Imperial ornaments, and return to the con-
n of an obedient subject. His professions might be sincere;
n the situation where fortune had placed him, it was scarcely
ble that he could either forgive or be forgiven.[5]

e emperor Decius had employed a few months in the works
ace[6] and the administration of justice, when he was sum-
d to the banks of the Danube by the invasion of the Goths.
is the first considerable occasion in which history mentions
great people, who afterwards broke the Roman power,
d the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. So
rable was the part which they acted in the subversion of
Western empire, that the name of Goths is frequently but
perly used as a general appellation of rude and warlike
rism.

He marches against the Goths, A.D. 250

the beginning of the sixth century, and after the conquest
aly, the Goths, in possession of present greatness, very
ally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and of
e glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their
tors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements.
principal minister of the court of Ravenna, the learned
odorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a
ic history, which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to
mperfect abridgment of Jornandes.[7] These writers passed
the most artful conciseness over the misfortunes of the
n, celebrated its successful valour, and adorned the triumph
many Asiatic trophies that more properly belonged to the
e of Scythia. On the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain
he only memorials of barbarians, they deduced the first
n of the Goths from the vast island or peninsula of
linavia.[8] That extreme country of the North was not
own to the conquerors of Italy; the ties of ancient con-
inity had been strengthened by recent offices of friendship;
a Scandinavian king had cheerfully abdicated his savage
ness, that he might pass the remainder of his days in the

Origin of the Goths from Scandinavia

simus. l. i. p. 20 [22]. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 624 [19]. Edit. Louvre.
He conferred the rank of Cæsar on his two sons, Q. Herennius Etruscus
us Decius and C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus.]
e the prefaces of Cassiodorus and Jornandes: it is surprising that the latter
be omitted in the excellent edition, published by Grotius, of the Gothic
. [Jordanes is now recognized as the correct spelling of the Gothic writer
Gibbon calls Jornandes. See Appendix 15.]
n the authority of Ablavius, Jornandes quotes some old Gothic chronicles
e. De Reb. Geticis, c. 4. [The Scandinavian origin of the Goths was a
believed by themselves, but there is no historical evidence for it.]

peaceful and polished court of Ravenna.[9] Many vestiges which cannot be ascribed to the arts of popular vanity, attest the ancient residence of the Goths in the countries beyond the Baltic. From the time of the geographer Ptolemy, the southern part of Sweden seems to have continued in the possession of the less enterprising remnant of the nation, and a large territory is even at present divided into east and west Gothland. During the middle ages (from the ninth to the twelfth century), while Christianity was advancing with a slow progress into the North, the Goths and the Swedes composed two distinct and sometimes hostile members of the same monarchy.[10] The latter of these two names has prevailed without extinguishing the former. The Swedes, who might well be satisfied with their own fame in arms, have in every age claimed the kindred glory of the Goths. In a moment of discontent against the court of Rome, Charles the Twelfth insinuated that his victorious troops were not degenerated from their brave ancestors, who had already subdued the mistress of the world.[11]

Religion of the Goths

Till the end of the eleventh century, a celebrated temple subsisted at Upsal, the most considerable town of the Swedes and Goths. It was enriched with the gold which the Scandinavians had acquired in their piratical adventures, and sanctified by the uncouth representations of the three principal deities: the god of war, the goddess of generation, and the god of thunder. In the general festival that was solemnized every ninth year, nine animals of every species (without excepting the human) were sacrificed, and their bleeding bodies suspended in the sacred grove adjacent to the temple.[12] The only traces that now subsist of this barbaric superstition are contained in the Edda, a system of mythology, compiled in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and studied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the most valuable remains of their ancient tradition.

Institutions and death of Odin

Notwithstanding the mysterious obscurity of the Edda, we can

[9] Jornandes, c. 3.

[10] See, in the Prolegomena of Grotius [to Hist. Goth., Vand. et Lang.], some large extracts from Adam of Bremen [98 *sqq.*], and Saxo-Grammaticus [124 *sqq.* The former wrote in the year 1077, the latter flourished about the year 1200.

[11] Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII. l. iii. When the Austrians desired the aid of the court of Rome against Gustavus Adolphus, they always represented that conqueror as the lineal successor of Alaric. Harte's History of Gustavus, vol. ii. p. 123.

[12] See Adam of Bremen in Grotii Prolegomenis, p. 104 [105]. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by Ingo King of Sweden, who began his reign in the year 1075, and about fourscore years afterwards a Christian Cathedral was erected on the ruins. See Dalin's History of Sweden in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée.

sily distinguish two persons confounded under the name of din—the god of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. he latter, the Mahomet of the North, instituted a religion apted to the climate and to the people. Numerous tribes on ther side of the Baltic were subdued by the invincible valour of din, by his persuasive eloquence, and by the fame which he quired of a most skilful magician. The faith that he had opagated, during a long and prosperous life, he confirmed by voluntary death. Apprehensive of the ignominious approach disease and infirmity, he resolved to expire as became a rrior. In a solemn assembly of the Swedes and Goths, he ounded himself in nine mortal places, hastening away (as he serted with his dying voice) to prepare the feast of heroes in e palace of the god of war.[13]

Agreeable but uncertain hypothesis concerning Odin

The native and proper habitation of Odin is distinguished by e appellation of As-gard. The happy resemblance of that me, with As-burg, or As-of,[14] words of a similar signification, s given rise to an historical system of so pleasing a contexture at we could almost wish to persuade ourselves of its truth. It supposed that Odin was the chief of a tribe of barbarians hich dwelt on the banks of the lake Mæotis, till the fall of ithridates and the arms of Pompey menaced the North with rvitude; that Odin, yielding with indignant fury to a power hich he was unable to resist, conducted his tribe from the ontiers of the Asiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, with the great sign of forming, in that inaccessible retreat of freedom, a ligion and a people which, in some remote age, might be sub-rvient to his immortal revenge; when his invincible Goths, med with martial fanaticism, should issue in numerous swarms om the neighbourhood of the Polar circle, to chastise the pressors of mankind.[15]

Emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia into Prussia

If so many successive generations of Goths were capable of eserving a faint tradition of their Scandinavian origin, we must

[13] Mallet, Introduction à l'Histoire du Dannemarc.

[14] Mallet. c. iv. p. 55, has collected from Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Stephanus zantinus, the vestiges of such a city and people.

[15] This wonderful expedition of Odin, which, by deducing the enmity of the ths and Romans from so memorable a cause, might supply the noble ground-rk of an Epic Poem, cannot safely be received as authentic history. Accord-; to the obvious sense of the Edda, and the interpretation of the most skilful tics, As-gard, instead of denoting a real city of the Asiatic Sarmatia, is the itious appellation of the mystic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; m whence the prophet was supposed to descend, when he announced his new gion to the Gothic nations, who were already seated in the southern parts of eden. [See below, vol. vii. p. 308, note 29.]

not expect, from such unlettered barbarians, any distinct account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To cross the Baltic was an easy and natural attempt. The inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels with oars,[16] and the distance is little more than one hundred miles from Carlscroon to the nearest ports of Pomerania and Prussia. Here, at length, we land on firm and historic ground. At least as early as the Christian æra,[17] and as late as the age of the Antonines,[18] the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula, and in that fertile province where the commercial cities of Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, and Danzig, were long afterwards founded.[19] Westward of the Goths, the numerous tribes of the Vandals were spread along the banks of the Oder and the sea coast of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. A striking resemblance of manners, complexion, religion, and language seemed to indicate that the Vandals and the Goths were originally one great people.[20] The latter appear to have been subdivided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ.[21] The distinction among the Vandals was more strongly marked by the independent names of Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other petty states, many of which, in a future age expanded themselves into powerful monarchies.

From Prussia to Ukraine

In the age of the Antonines the Goths were still seated in Prussia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had already experienced their proximity by frequent and destructive inroads.[22] In this interval, therefore

[16] Tacit. Germania, c. 44.

[17] Tacit. Annal. ii. 62. If we could yield a firm assent to the navigations of Pytheas of Marseilles, we must allow that the Goths had passed the Baltic at least three hundred years before Christ.

[18] Ptolemy, l. ii.

[19] By the German colonies who followed the arms of the Teutonic knights. The conquest and conversion of Prussia were completed by those adventurers in the xiiith century.

[20] Pliny (Hist. Natur. iv. 14) and Procopius (in Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 1 [2]) agree in this opinion. They lived in distant ages, and possessed different means of investigating the truth. [Resemblances in proper names point to a close kinship.]

[21] The *Ostro* and *Visi*, the Eastern and Western Goths, obtained those denominations from their original seats in Scandinavia. In all their future marches and settlements they preserved, with their names, the same relative situation. When they first departed from Sweden, the infant colony was contained in three vessels. The third being a heavy sailer lagged behind, and the crew, which afterward swelled into a nation, received from that circumstance the appellation of Gepidæ or Loiterers. Jornandes, c. 17. [On this division and the early migrations of the Goths, see Appendix 15, 16.]

[22] See a fragment of Peter Patricius in the Excerpta Legationum; and with regard to its probable date, see Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 346 [Fr. 8, F.H.G. iv. p. 186].

about seventy years, we must place the second migration of Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine; but the cause that duced it lies concealed among the various motives which uate the conduct of unsettled barbarians. Either a pestilence a famine, a victory or a defeat, an oracle of the gods, or the quence of a daring leader, were sufficient to impel the Gothic ns on the milder climates of the south. Besides the influence a martial religion, the numbers and spirit of the Goths were ual to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round klers and short swords rendered them formidable in a close gagement; the manly obedience which they yielded to editary kings gave uncommon union and stability to their ncils;[23] and the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, the tenth ancestor of Theodoric, king of Italy, enforced, by ascendant of personal merit, the prerogative of his birth, ch he derived from the *Anses*, or demigods of the Gothic ion.[24]

The fame of a great enterprise excited the bravest warriors n all the Vandalic states of Germany, many of whom are n a few years afterwards combating under the common ndard of the Goths.[25] The first motions of the emigrants ried them to the banks of the Prypec, a river universally ceived by the ancients to be the southern branch of the ysthenes.[26] The windings of that great stream through the ns of Poland and Russia gave a direction to their line of rch, and a constant supply of fresh water and pasturage to ir numerous herds of cattle. They followed the unknown rse of the river, confident in their valour, and careless of atever power might oppose their progress. The Bastarnæ the Venedi were the first who presented themselves; and flower of their youth, either from choice or compulsion, reased the Gothic army. The Bastarnæ dwelt on the northern of the Carpathian mountains; the immense tract of land

The Gothic nation increases in its march

Omnium harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges quum. Tacit. Germania, c. 43. The Goths probably acquired their iron he commerce of amber.

Jornandes, c. 13, 14. [Theodoric was not "King of Italy," as we shall see; xpression is a loose one.]

The Heruli, and the Uregundi or Burgundi, are particularly mentioned. See cou's History of the Germans, l. v. A passage in the Augustan History, p. 28 14], seems to allude to this great emigration. The Marcomannic war was y occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of northern barbarians.

D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, and the third part of his incomparable map irope.

that separated the Bastarnæ from the savages of Finland v possessed, or rather wasted, by the Venedi:[27] we have so reason to believe that the first of these nations, which d tinguished itself in the Macedonian war,[28] and was afterwa divided into the formidable tribes of the Peucini, the Bora the Carpi, &c., derived its origin from the Germans. With bet

Distinction of Germans and Sarmatians

authority a Sarmatian extraction may be assigned to the Vene who rendered themselves so famous in the middle ages.[29] E the confusion of blood and manners on that doubtful front often perplexed the most accurate observers.[30] As the Got advanced near the Euxine Sea, they encountered a purer ra of Sarmatians, the Jazyges, the Alani, and the Roxolani; a they were probably the first Germans who saw the mouths the Borysthenes and of the Tanais. If we inquire into t characteristic marks of the people of Germany and of Sarmat we shall discover that those two great portions of human ki were principally distinguished by fixed huts or moveable ten by a close dress or flowing garments, by the marriage of one of several wives, by a military force consisting, for the mo part, either of infantry or cavalry; and, above all, by the use the Teutonic, or of the Sclavonian language; the last of whi has been diffused, by conquest, from the confines of Italy to t neighbourhood of Japan.

Description of the Ukraine

The Goths were now in possession of the Ukraine, a count of considerable extent and uncommon fertility, intersected wi navigable rivers, which from either side discharge themselv into the Borysthenes; and interspersed with large and lof forests of oaks. The plenty of game and fish, the innumerab bee-hives, deposited in the hollow of old trees and in th cavities of rocks, and forming, even in that rude age, a valuab branch of commerce, the size of the cattle, the temperature the air, the aptness of the soil for every species of grain, an the luxuriancy of the vegetation, all displayed the liberality Nature, and tempted the industry of man.[31] But the Got withstood all these temptations, and still adhered to a life idleness, of poverty, and of rapine.

[27] Tacit. Germania, c. 46. [The Bastarnæ were certainly a Germanic people

[28] Cluver. Germ. Antiqua, l. iii. c. 43.

[29] The Venedi, the *Slavi*, and the Antes, were the three great tribes of the sa people. Jornandes, c. 24 [xxiii. 119, ed. Mommsen].

[30] Tacitus most assuredly deserves that title, and even his cautious suspense a proof of his diligent inquiries.

[31] Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 593. Mr. Bell (vol. ii. p. 3 traversed the Ukraine in his journey from Petersburgh to Constantinople. T modern face of the country is a just representation of the ancient, since, in t hands of the Cossacks, it still remains in a state of nature.

The Goths invade the Roman provinces

The Scythian hordes, which, towards the east, bordered on the w settlements of the Goths, presented nothing to their arms, cept the doubtful chance of an unprofitable victory. But the ospect of the Roman territories was far more alluring; and e fields of Dacia were covered with rich harvests, sown by the nds of an industrious, and exposed to be gathered by those a warlike, people. It is probable that the conquests of ajan, maintained by his successors less for any real advantage an for ideal dignity, had contributed to weaken the empire on at side. The new and unsettled province of Dacia was neither ong enough to resist, nor rich enough to satiate, the rapacious- ss of the barbarians. As long as the remote banks of the niester were considered as the boundary of the Roman power, e fortifications of the Lower Danube were more carelessly arded, and the inhabitants of Mæsia lived in supine security, ndly conceiving themselves at an inaccessible distance from y barbarian invaders. The irruptions of the Goths, under the gn of Philip, fatally convinced them of their mistake. The ng or leader[32] of that fierce nation traversed with contempt e province of Dacia, and passed both the Dniester and the nube without encountering any opposition capable of retard- g his progress. The relaxed discipline of the Roman troops crayed the most important posts where they were stationed, d the fear of deserved punishment induced great numbers of em to enlist under the Gothic standard. The various multi- de of barbarians appeared, at length, under the walls of rcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his sister, and that time the capital of the second Mæsia.[33] The inhabitants nsented to ransom their lives and property by the payment of arge sum of money, and the invaders retreated back into their serts, animated, rather than satisfied, with the first success their arms against an opulent but feeble country. Intelli- nce was soon transmitted to the Emperor Decius, that Cniva, ng of the Goths, had passed the Danube a second time, th more considerable forces; that his numerous detachments

[32] [Ostrogotha is said to have been his name. Compare the eponymous estors of the Greek tribes—Dorus, Æolus, Ion, Achæus, &c.]

[33] In the sixteenth chapter of Jornandes, instead of *secundo* Mæsiam, we may ture to substitute *secundam*, the second Mæsia, of which Marcianopolis was ainly the capital (see Hierocles de Provinciis, and Wesseling ad locum, p. 636 erar.). It is surprising how this palpable error of the scribe could escape the cious correction of Grotius. [*Et secundo Moesiam populati.* But the reatian Ms. has *die* before *secundo*, hence the true correction is *de secundo*. Mommsen's edition, p. 81. The siege of Marcianopolis is described at length rag. 18 of Dexippus, first published by Müller, F. H. G. iii. p. 675.]

scattered devastation over the province of Mæsia, whilst th main body of the army, consisting of seventy thousand Germa and Sarmatians, a force equal to the most daring achievement required the presence of the Roman monarch, and the exertio of his military power.

Various events of the Gothic war, A.D. 250

Decius found the Goths engaged before Nicopolis, on th Jatrus, one of the many monuments of Trajan's victories On his approach they raised the siege, but with a design on of marching away to a conquest of greater importance, th siege of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the fath of Alexander, near the foot of Mount Hæmus.[35] Decius followe them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; bu when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from th rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with rapid fury on his pursue The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, f the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop half-armed barbarians. After a long resistance Philippopoli destitute of succour, was taken by storm. A hundred thousan persons are reported to have been massacred in the sack of th great city.[36] Many prisoners of consequence became a valuab accession to the spoil; and Priscus, a brother of the late emper Philip, blushed not to assume the purple under the protectio of the barbarous enemies of Rome.[37] The time, however, co sumed in that tedious siege, enabled Decius to revive th courage, restore the discipline, and recruit the numbers of h troops. He intercepted several parties of Carpi, and oth Germans, who were hastening to share the victory of the countrymen,[38] intrusted the passes of the mountains to office of approved valour and fidelity,[39] repaired and strengthened th fortifications of the Danube, and exerted his utmost vigilance

[34] The place is still called Nicop. The little stream [Iantra], on whose banks stood, falls into the Danube. D'Anville Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 307.

[35] Stephan. Byzant. de Urbibus, p. 740. Wesseling Itinerar. p. 136. Zonara by an odd mistake, ascribes the foundation of Philippopolis to the immedia predecessor of Decius.

[36] Ammian. xxxi. 5. [A fragment of Dexippus, first edited by Müller (F. H. iii. p. 678, fr. 20), gives a long description of an ineffectual siege of Philippopo by the Goths. Müller concludes that there were two sieges, the first unsuccessf before the defeat and death of Decius, the second successful, after that disast This is supported by the words of Ammianus, xxxi. 5.]

[37] Aurel. Victor [Cæsar.] c. 29. [Dexippus, frags. 19, 20; Zos. i. 19.]

[38] *Victoriæ Carpicæ*, on some medals of Decius, insinuate these advantages.

[39] Claudius (who afterwards reigned with so much glory) was posted in the pa of Thermopylæ with 200 Dardanians, 100 heavy and 160 light horse, 60 Creti archers, and 1000 well-armed recruits. See an original letter from the emperor his officers in the Augustan History, p. 200 [xxv. 10].

oppose either the progress or the retreat of the Goths. Encouraged by the return of fortune, he anxiously waited for an opportunity to retrieve, by a great and decisive blow, his own glory, and that of the Roman arms.[40]

Decius revives the office of censor in the person of Valerian

At the same time when Decius was struggling with the violence of the tempest, his mind, calm and deliberate amidst the tumult of war, investigated the more general causes that, since the age of the Antonines, had so impetuously urged the decline of the Roman greatness. He soon discovered that it was impossible to replace that greatness on a permanent basis without restoring public virtue, ancient principles and manners, and the oppressed majesty of the laws. To execute this noble but arduous design, he first resolved to revive the obsolete office of censor; an office which, as long as it had subsisted in its pristine integrity, had so much contributed to the perpetuity of the state,[41] till it was usurped and gradually neglected by the Cæsars.[42] Conscious that the favour of the sovereign may confer power, but that the esteem of the people can alone bestow authority, he submitted the choice of the censor to the unbiassed voice of the senate. By their unanimous votes, or rather acclamations, Valerian, who was afterwards emperor, and who then served with distinction in the army of Decius, was declared the most worthy of that exalted honour. As soon as the decree of the senate was transmitted to the emperor, he assembled a great council in his camp, and, before the investiture of the censor elect, he apprized him of the difficulty and importance of his great office. "Happy Valerian," said the prince, to his distinguished subject, "happy in the general approbation of the senate and of the Roman republic! Accept the censorship of mankind, and judge of our manners. You will select those who

A.D. 251, 27th October

[40] Jornandes, c. 16—18. Zosimus, l. i. p. 22 [23]. In the general account of his war, it is easy to discover the opposite prejudices of the Gothic and the Grecian writer. In carelessness alone they are alike.

[41] Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, c. 8. He illustrates the nature and use of the censorship with his usual ingenuity and with uncommon precision. [It is hard to suppose that Decius was so unsophisticated as really to imagine that the revival of the censorship would be likely to promote a revival of morals. It has been conjectured that the measure was a concession to the senate.]

[42] Vespasian and Titus were the last censors (Pliny, Hist. Natur. vii. 49. Censorinus de Die Natali). The modesty of Trajan refused an honour which he deserved, and his example became a law to the Antonines. See Pliny's Panegyric, c. 45 and 60. [The author apparently thought that Domitian held only the *censoria potestas*. At first indeed he was content with this; it was conferred on him in 84 or 85 A.D.; but soon afterwards he assumed the censorship for life. His object was to control the senate. Martial (vi. 4) addresses him as *Censor maxime*.]

deserve to continue members of the senate; you will restore the equestrian order to its ancient splendour; you will improve the revenue, yet moderate the public burdens. You will distinguish into regular classes the various and infinite multitude of citizens, and accurately review the military strength, the wealth, the virtue, and the resources of Rome. Your decisions shall obtain the force of laws. The army, the palace, the ministers of justice, and the great officers of the empire are all subject to your tribunal. None are exempted, excepting only the ordinary consuls,[43] the præfect of the city, the king of the sacrifices, and (as long as she preserves her chastity inviolate) the eldest of the vestal virgins. Even these few, who may not dread the severity, will anxiously solicit the esteem, of the Roman censor." [44]

The design impracticable, and without effect

A magistrate invested with such extensive powers would have appeared not so much the minister as the colleague of his sovereign.[45] Valerian justly dreaded an elevation so full of envy and of suspicion. He modestly urged the alarming greatness of the trust, his own insufficiency, and the incurable corruption of the times. He artfully insinuated that the office of censor was inseparable from the Imperial dignity, and that the feeble hands of a subject were unequal to the support of such an immense weight of cares and of power.[46] The approaching event of war soon put an end to the prosecution of a project so specious but so impracticable, and, whilst it preserved Valerian from the danger, saved the emperor Decius from the disappointment, which would most probably have attended it. A censor may maintain, he can never restore, the morals of a state. It is impossible for such a magistrate to exert his authority with benefit, or even with effect, unless he is supported by a quick sense of honour and virtue in the minds of the people, by a decent reverence for the public opinion, and by a train of useful prejudices combating on the side of national manners. In a period when these principles are annihilated, the censorial jurisdiction must either sink into empty pageantry, or be converted into a partial instrument of vexatious oppression.[47] It was easier to vanquish the Goths than to eradicate the public vices; yet, even in

[43] Yet in spite of this exemption Pompey appeared before that tribunal, during his consulship. The occasion indeed was equally singular and honourable. Plutarch in Pomp. p. 630 [22].

[44] See the original speech in the Augustan Hist. p. 173, 174 [xxii. 6 (2)].

[45] This transaction might deceive Zonaras, who supposes that Valerian was actually declared the colleague of Decius, l. xii. p. 625 [20].

[46] Hist. August. p. 174 [ib.]. The emperor's reply is omitted.

[47] Such as the attempts of Augustus towards a reformation of manners. Tacit. Annal. iii. 24.

e first of these enterprises, Decius lost his army and his
e.

The Goths were now, on every side, surrounded and pursued Defeat and death of Decius and his son
the Roman arms. The flower of their troops had perished in
e long siege of Philippopolis, and the exhausted country could
longer afford subsistence for the remaining multitude of
entious barbarians. Reduced to this extremity, the Goths
uld gladly have purchased, by the surrender of all their booty
d prisoners, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. But
e emperor, confident of victory, and resolving, by the chastise-
ent of these invaders, to strike a salutary terror into the
tions of the North, refused to listen to any terms of accommo-
tion. The high-spirited barbarians preferred death to slavery.
n obscure town of Mæsia, called Forum Terebronii,[48] was the
ene of the battle. The Gothic army was drawn up in three
es, and, either from choice or accident, the front of the third
e was covered by a morass. In the beginning of the action,
e son of Decius, a youth of the fairest hopes, and already asso-
ted to the honours of the purple, was slain by an arrow, in
e sight of his afflicted father; who, summoning all his fortitude,
monished the dismayed troops that the loss of a single soldier
s of little importance to the republic.[49] The conflict was
rrible; it was the combat of despair against grief and rage.
ie first line of the Goths at length gave way in disorder; the
cond, advancing to sustain it, shared its fate; and the third
ly remained entire, prepared to dispute the passage of the
rass, which was imprudently attempted by the presumption
the enemy. "Here the fortune of the day turned, and all
ngs became adverse to the Romans: the place deep with
ze, sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced;
eir armour heavy, the waters deep; nor could they wield, in
at uneasy situation, their weighty javelins. The barbarians,
the contrary, were enured to encounters in the bogs; their
rsons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a dis-
nce."[50] In this morass the Roman army, after an ineffectual
uggle, was irrecoverably lost; nor could the body of the

[48] Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, tom. iii. 598. As Zosimus and some of followers mistake the Danube for the Tanais, they place the field of battle in plains of Scythia. [Forum Trebonii or Abrittus is in the province of Scythia, ch is the modern Dobrudža, but the site has not been discovered.]

[49] Aurelius Victor allows two distinct actions for the deaths of the two Decii; I have preferred the account of Jornandes. [And so Dexippus, fr. 16.]

[50] I have ventured to copy from Tacitus (Annal. i. 64) the picture of a similar ragement between a Roman army and a German tribe.

emperor ever be found.[51] Such was the fate of Decius, in th fiftieth year of his age; an accomplished prince, active in wa and affable in peace;[52] who, together with his son, has deserve to be compared, both in life and death, with the brighte examples of ancient virtue.[53]

Election of Gallus, A.D. 251, December

This fatal blow humbled, for a very little time, the insolenc of the legions. They appear to have patiently expected, an submissively obeyed, the decree of the senate which regulate the succession to the throne. From a just regard for the memor of Decius, the Imperial title was conferred on Hostilianus, h only surviving son; but an equal rank, with more effectual powe was granted to Gallus,[54] whose experience and ability seeme

A.D. 252

equal to the great trust of guardian to the young prince and th distressed empire.[55] The first care of the new emperor was t deliver the Illyrian provinces from the intolerable weight of th victorious Goths. He consented to leave in their hands th rich fruits of their invasion, an immense booty, and, what wa

Retreat of the Goths

still more disgraceful, a great number of prisoners of the highe merit and quality. He plentifully supplied their camp wit every conveniency that could assuage their angry spirits, c facilitate their so much wished-for departure; and he eve promised to pay them annually a large sum of gold, on conditio they should never afterwards infest the Roman territories b their incursions.[56]

Gallus purchases peace by the payment of an annual tribute

In the age of the Scipios, the most opulent kings of the earth who courted the protection of the victorious commonwealth were gratified with such trifling presents as could only derive value from the hand that bestowed them; an ivory chair, coarse garment of purple, an inconsiderable piece of plate, c a quantity of copper coin.[57] After the wealth of nations ha

[51] Jornandes, c. 18. Zosimus, l. i. p. 22 [23]. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 627 [20 Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 29, 5, and Victor, epit. 29].

[52] The Decii were killed before the end of the year two hundred and fifty-on since the new princes took possession of the consulship on the ensuing calends January. [Tillemont has argued for end of November 251, and is followed b Hodgkin, i. p. 56, but Alexandrian coins prove that it must be earlier than Augu 29, 251. See Schiller, i. 807.]

[53] Hist. August. p. 223 [xxvi. 42] gives them a very honourable place amon the small number of good emperors who reigned between Augustus and Di cletian.

[54] 'C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, governor of the two Moesias.'

[55] Hæc, ubi Patres comperere. . . . decernunt. Victor in Cæsaribus [30].

[56] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628 [21. Zosimus, i. 24].

[57] A *Sella*, a *Toga*, and a golden *Patera* of five pounds weight, were accepte with joy and gratitude by the wealthy King of Egypt (Livy, xxvii. 4) *Quina mill Æris*, a weight of copper in value about eighteen pounds sterling, was the usu present made to foreign ambassadors (Livy, xxxi. 9).

centred in Rome, the emperors displayed their greatness, and even their policy, by the regular exercise of a steady and moderate liberality towards the allies of the state. They relieved the poverty of the barbarians, honoured their merit, and recompensed their fidelity. These voluntary marks of bounty were understood to flow, not from the fears, but merely from the generosity or the gratitude of the Romans; and whilst presents and subsidies were liberally distributed among friends and suppliants, they were sternly refused to such as claimed them as a debt.[58] But this stipulation of an annual payment to a victorious enemy appeared without disguise in the light of an ignominious tribute; the minds of the Romans were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians; and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion. The death of Hostilianus, though it happened in the midst of a raging pestilence, was interpreted as the personal crime of Gallus;[59] and even the defeat of the late emperor was ascribed by the voice of suspicion to the perfidious counsels of his hated successor.[60] The tranquillity which the empire enjoyed during the first year of his administration[61] served rather to inflame than to appease the public discontent; and, as soon as the apprehensions of war were removed, the infamy of the peace was more deeply and more sensibly felt.

Popular discontent

But the Romans were irritated to a still higher degree, when they discovered that they had not even secured their repose, though at the expense of their honour. The dangerous secret of the wealth and weakness of the empire had been revealed to the world. New swarms of barbarians, encouraged by the success, and not conceiving themselves bound by the obligation, of their brethren, spread devastation through the Illyrian provinces, and terror as far as the gates of Rome. The defence of the monarchy, which seemed abandoned by the pusillanimous emperor, was assumed by Æmilianus,[62] governor of Pannonia and Mæsia; who rallied the scattered forces and revived the fainting spirits of the troops. The barbarians were unexpectedly

Victory and revolt of Æmilianus, A.D. 253

[58] See the firmness of a Roman general so late as the time of Alexander Severus, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 25. Edit. Louvre.

[59] For the plague see Jornandes, c. 19, and Victor in Cæsaribus [30, 2. John of Antioch, frag. 151].

[60] These improbable accusations are alleged by Zosimus, l. i. p. 23. 24 [24].

[61] Jornandes, c. 19. The Gothic writer at least observed the peace which his victorious countrymen had sworn to Gallus.

[62] [M. Æmilius Æmilianus.]

attacked, routed, chased, and pursued beyond the Danube. The victorious leader distributed as a donative the money collected for the tribute, and the acclamations of the soldiers proclaimed him emperor on the field of battle.[63] Gallus, who, careless of the general welfare, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italy, was almost in the same instant informed of the success, of the revolt, and of the rapid approach, of his aspiring lieutenant. He advanced to meet him as far as the plains of Spoleto. When the armies came in sight of each other, the soldiers of Gallus compared the ignominious conduct of their sovereign with the glory of his rival. They admired the valour of Æmilianus; they were attracted by his liberality, for he offered a considerable increase of pay to all deserters.[64] The murder of Gallus, and of his son Volusianus,[65] put an end to the civil war; and the senate gave a legal sanction to the rights of conquest. The letters of Æmilianus to that assembly displayed a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them that he should resign to their wisdom the civil administration; and, contenting himself with the quality of their general, would in a short time assert the glory of Rome, and deliver the empire from all the barbarians both of the North and of the East.[66] His pride was flattered by the applause of the senate; and medals are still extant, representing him with the name and attributes of Hercules the Victor, and of Mars the Avenger.[67]

Gallus abandoned and slain, A.D. 253, May

If the new monarch possessed the abilities, he wanted the time, necessary to fulfil these splendid promises. Less than four months intervened between his victory and his fall.[68] He had vanquished Gallus: he sunk under the weight of a competitor more formidable than Gallus. That unfortunate prince had sent Valerian, already distinguished by the honourable title of

Valerian revenges the death of Gallus, and is acknowledged emperor

[63] Zosimus, l. i. p. 25, 26 [28].

[64] Victor in Cæsaribus [31, 2, states that Gallus and his son were slain at Interamna].

[65] [Veldumnianus Volusianus became Cæsar on the accession of his father, and Augustus on the death of Hostilianus (before end of 251).]

[66] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628 [22].

[67] Banduri Numismata, p. 94.

[68] Eutropius, l. ix. c. 6, says tertio mense. Eusebius omits this emperor. [Valerian and Gallienus were emperors before 22nd October 253; see Wilmanns, 1472. Alexandrian coins, which are so useful in determining limits, prove that Æmilianus must have overthrown Gallus before 29th August 253, and that he was not slain himself earlier than 30th August 253. Aurelius Victor and Zonaras agree that the reign of Æmilianus lasted not quite four months; Jordanes, like Eutropius, says *tertio mense*. If, then, we place the death of Æmilianus early in September, we must place that of Gallus late in May or early in June. See Schiller, i. 810.]

ensor, to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany[69] to his aid. alerian executed that commission with zeal and fidelity; nd, as he arrived too late to save his sovereign, he resolved to evenge him. The troops of Æmilianus, who still lay encamped the plains of Spoleto, were awed by the sanctity of his haracter, but much more by the superior strength of his army; nd, as they were now become as incapable of personal attachent as they had always been of constitutional principle, they eadily imbrued their hands in the blood of a prince who so A.D. 253, August itely had been the object of their partial choice. The guilt as theirs, but the advantage of it was Valerian's; who obtained he possession of the throne by the means indeed of a civil war, ut with a degree of innocence singular in that age of revolutions; since he owed neither gratitude nor allegiance to his redecessor, whom he dethroned.

Valerian was about sixty years of age[70] when he was invested Character of Valerian ith the purple, not by the caprice of the populace or the lamours of the army, but by the unanimous voice of the Roman orld. In his gradual ascent through the honours of the state e had deserved the favour of virtuous princes, and had declared imself the enemy of tyrants.[71] His noble birth, his mild but nblemished manners, his learning, prudence, and experience, ere revered by the senate and people; and, if mankind ccording to the observation of an ancient writer) had been left t liberty to choose a master, their choice would most assuredly ave fallen on Valerian.[72] Perhaps the merit of this emperor as inadequate to his reputation; perhaps his abilities, or at east his spirit, were affected by the languor and coldness of old ge. The consciousness of his decline engaged him to share General misfortunes of reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 253-268 he throne with a younger and more active associate:[73] the mergency of the times demanded a general no less than a

[69] Zosimus, l. i. p. 28 [29]. Eutropius and Victor station Valerian's army in hætia [where they proclaimed him Emperor].

[70] He was about seventy at the time of his accession, or, as it is more probable, his death. Hist. August. p. 173 [xxii. 5 (1)]. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, m. iii. p. 893, note 1.

[71] Inimicus Tyrannorum, Hist. August. p. 173 [ib.]. In the glorious struggle the senate against Maximin, Valerian acted a very spirited part. Hist. August. 156 [xx. 9].

[72] According to the distinction of Victor, he seems to have received the title of *mperator* from the army, and that of Augustus from the senate.

[73] From Victor and from the medals, Tillemont (tom. iii. p. 710) very justly fers that Gallienus was associated to the empire about the month of August of e year 253. [This date is too early. Æmilianus was not slain till after August). We can only say that Gallienus was associated as Augustus before ctober 22.]

prince; and the experience of the Roman censor might have directed him where to bestow the Imperial purple, as the reward of military merit. But, instead of making a judicious choice, which would have confirmed his reign and endeared his memory, Valerian, consulting only the dictates of affection or vanity, immediately invested with the supreme honours his son Gallienus,[74] a youth whose effeminate vices had been hitherto concealed by the obscurity of a private station. The joint government of the father and the son subsisted about seven, and the sole administration of Gallienus continued about eight, years. But the whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity. As the Roman empire was at the same time, and on every side, attacked by the blind fury of foreign invaders, and the wild ambition of domestic usurpers, we shall consult order and perspicuity by pursuing not so much the doubtful arrangement of dates as the more natural distribution of subjects. The most dangerous enemies of Rome, during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, were,—1. The Franks. 2. The Alemanni. 3. The Goths; and, 4. The Persians. Under these general appellations we may comprehend the adventures of less considerable tribes, whose obscure and uncouth names would only serve to oppress the memory and perplex the attention of the reader.

Inroads of the barbarians

Origin and confederacy of the Franks

I. As the posterity of the Franks compose one of the greatest and most enlightened nations of Europe, the powers of learning and ingenuity have been exhausted in the discovery of their unlettered ancestors. To the tales of credulity have succeeded the systems of fancy. Every passage has been sifted, every spot has been surveyed, that might possibly reveal some faint traces of their origin. It has been supposed that Pannonia,[75] that Gaul, that the northern parts of Germany,[76] gave birth to that celebrated colony of warriors. At length the most rational critics, rejecting the fictitious emigrations of ideal conquerors, have acquiesced in a sentiment whose simplicity persuades us of its truth.[77] They suppose that, about the year two hundred

[74] [P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus. The son of Gallienus was also associated in the empire—P. Licinius Cornelius Valerianus.]

[75] Various systems have been formed to explain difficult passages in Gregory of Tours, l. ii. c. 9.

[76] The Geographer of Ravenna, i. 11, by mentioning *Mauringania* on the confines of Denmark, as the ancient seat of the Franks, gave birth to an ingenious system of Leibnitz.

[77] See Cluver. Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 20. M. Freret, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. [The Franks were the descendants of the

l forty,[78] a new confederacy was formed under the name of anks by the old inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and the Weser. e present circle of Westphalia, the Landgraviate of Hesse, l the duchies of Brunswick and Luneburg, were the ancient t of the Chauci, who, in their inaccessible morasses, defied Roman arms;[79] of the Cherusci, proud of the fame of Armi- s; of the Catti, formidable by their firm and intrepid infantry; l of several other tribes of inferior power and renown.[80] The e of liberty was the ruling passion of these Germans; the oyment of it their best treasure; the word that expressed t enjoyment the most pleasing to their ear. They deserved, y assumed, they maintained the honourable epithet of Franks Freemen; which concealed, though it did not extinguish, the culiar names of the several states of the confederacy.[81] Tacit nsent and mutual advantage dictated the first laws of the on; it was gradually cemented by habit and experience. e league of the Franks may admit of some comparison with Helvetic body; in which every canton, retaining its inde- ndent sovereignty, consults with its brethren in the common se, without acknowledging the authority of any supreme ad or representative assembly.[82] But the principle of the confederacies was extremely different. A peace of two ndred years has rewarded the wise and honest policy of the iss. An inconstant spirit, the thirst of rapine, and a disre- rd to the most solemn treaties, disgraced the character of the anks.

The Romans had long experienced the daring valour of the They invade Gaul
ople of Lower Germany. The union of their strength threat- ed Gaul with a more formidable invasion, and required the sence of Gallienus, the heir and colleague of Imperial power.[83] ilst that prince[84] and his infant son Saloninus displayed in court of Treves the majesty of the empire, its armies were

ambri and Chamavi and in the third century had been increased by the tti. The Amsivarii, Chattuarii and some of the Bructeri also joined their ague".]

[78] Most probably under the reign of Gordian, from an accidental circumstance canvassed by Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 710, 1181.

[79] Plin. Hist. Natur. xvi. 1. The panegyrists frequently allude to the morasses he Franks.

[80] Tacit. Germania, c. 30, 37.

[81] In a subsequent period most of those old names are occasionally mentioned. some vestiges of them in Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. iii

[82] Simler de Republicâ Helvet, cum notis Fuselin.

[83] Zosimus, l. i. p. 27 [30].

[84] [Zonaras, xii. 14.]

ably conducted by their general Posthumus,[85] who, though l afterwards betrayed[86] the family of Valerian, was ever faithf to the great interest of the monarchy. The treacherous la guage of panegyrics and medals darkly announces a long seri of victories. Trophies and titles attest (if such evidence ca attest) the fame of Posthumus, who is repeatedly styled Th Conqueror of the Germans, and the Saviour of Gaul.[87]

ravage Spain

But a single fact, the only one indeed of which we have an distinct knowledge, erases in a great measure these monumen of vanity and adulation. The Rhine, though dignified with th title of Safeguard of the provinces, was an imperfect barri against the daring spirit of enterprise with which the Franl were actuated. Their rapid devastations stretched from th river to the foot of the Pyrenees; nor were they stopped b those mountains. Spain, which had never dreaded, was unab to resist, the inroads of the Germans. During twelve years, the greatest part of the reign of Gallienus, that opulent countr was the theatre of unequal and destructive hostilities. Tarr gona, the flourishing capital of a peaceful province, was sacke and almost destroyed;[89] and so late as the days of Orosius, wh wrote in the fifth century, wretched cottages, scattered amid the ruins of magnificent cities, still recorded the rage of th

and pass over into Africa

barbarians.[90] When the exhausted country no longer supplie a variety of plunder, the Franks seized on some vessels in th ports of Spain[91] and transported themselves into Mauritani The distant province was astonished with the fury of these ba

[85] [M. Cassianius Latinius Postumus.]

[86] [He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers in 258, shortly after Gallien had hastened from the Rhine frontier to the defence of the Danube. The emperor elder son and colleague, Valerian the Younger, who had been left at Köln represent him, was slain by the rebels in 259. The reign of Postumus, one the "thirty tyrants," lasted till 268. Gibbon omits to mention the elder son Gallienus, Valerian. Saloninus was the younger, but he was called Valerian aft his brother's death.]

[87] M. de Brequigny (in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxx.) has given us very curious life of Posthumus. A series of the Augustan History from Meda and Inscriptions has been more than once planned, and is still much wante [See Eckhel, vii. 439.]

[88] [256-268 A.D.]

[89] Aurel. Victor [Cæs.], c. 33 [§ 3]. Instead of *Pæne direpto*, both the sen and the expression require *deleto*, though, indeed, for different reasons, it is alik difficult to correct the text of the best and of the worst writers.

[90] In the time of Ausonius (the end of the fourth century) Ilerda or Lerida w in a very ruinous state (Auson. Epist. xxv. 58), which probably was the cons quence of this invasion. [See Orosius, vii. 22, 8.]

[91] Valesius is therefore mistaken in supposing that the Franks had invade Spain by sea.

rians, who seemed to fall from a new world, as their name, anners, and complexion were equally unknown on the coast of rica.[92]

II. In that part of Upper Saxony, beyond the Elbe, which is present called the Marquisate of Lusace, there existed in cient times a sacred wood, the awful seat of the superstition the Suevi. None were permitted to enter the holy precincts thout confessing, by their servile bonds and suppliant posture, e immediate presence of the sovereign Deity.[93] Patriotism ntributed, as well as devotion, to consecrate the Sonnenwald, wood of the Semnones.[94] It was universally believed that e nation had received its first existence on that sacred spot. stated periods the numerous tribes who gloried in the Suevic ood resorted thither by their ambassadors; and the memory of eir common extraction was perpetuated by barbaric rights and man sacrifices. The wide extended name of Suevi filled the terior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to ose of the Danube. They were distinguished from the other ermans by their peculiar mode of dressing their long hair, hich they gathered into a rude knot on the crown of the head; d they delighted in an ornament that showed their ranks ore lofty and terrible in the eyes of the enemy.[95] Jealous as e Germans were of military renown, they all confessed the perior valour of the Suevi; and the tribes of the Usipetes and encteri, who, with a vast army, encountered the dictator esar, declared that they esteemed it not a disgrace to have d before a people to whose arms the immortal gods themlves were unequal.[96]

Origin and renown of the Suevi

In the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, an innumerable swarm Suevi appeared on the banks of the Main, and in the neighurhood of the Roman provinces, in quest either of food, of under, or of glory.[97] The hasty army of volunteers gradually alesced into a great and permanent nation, and, as it was comsed from so many different tribes, assumed the name of lemanni, or *Allmen*, to denote at once their various lineage and

A mixed body of Suevi assume the name of Alemanni

[92] Aurel. Victor [Cæs. 33]. Eutrop. ix. 6.

[93] Tacit. Germania, 38 [39].

[94] Cluver. German. Antiq. iii. 25.

[95] Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. A oud separation!

[96] Cæsar in Bello Gallico, iv. 7.

[97] Victor in Caracal. [Cæs. 21]. Dion Cassius, lxxvii. p. 1350 [13]. [The raders were defeated by Caracalla, 213 A.D.]

their common bravery.[98] The latter was soon felt by t Romans in many a hostile inroad. The Alemanni fought chi on horseback; but their cavalry was rendered still more form able by a mixture of light infantry selected from the bravest a most active of the youth, whom frequent exercise had enured accompany the horsemen in the longest march, the most ra charge, or the most precipitate retreat.[99]

invade Gaul and Italy

This warlike people of Germans had been astonished by t immense preparations of Alexander Severus; they were d mayed by the arms of his successor, a barbarian equal in val and fierceness to themselves. But, still hovering on the frontiers the empire, they increased the general disorder that ensued af the death of Decius. They inflicted severe wounds on the ri provinces of Gaul: they were the first who removed the v that covered the feeble majesty of Italy. A numerous body the Alemanni penetrated across the Danube, and through t Rhætian Alps into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far Ravenna, and displayed the victorious banners of barbaria almost in sight of Rome.[100] The insult and the danger rekindl in the senate some sparks of their ancient virtue. Both t emperors were engaged in far distant wars, Valerian in the Ea and Gallienus on the Rhine. All the hopes and resources of t Romans were in themselves. In this emergency, the senat

are repulsed from Rome by the senate and people

resumed the defence of the republic, drew out the Prætori guards, who had been left to garrison the capital, and filled their numbers by enlisting into the public service the stoute and most willing of the Plebeians. The Alemanni, astonish with the sudden appearance of an army more numerous th their own, retired into Germany, laden with spoil; and th retreat was esteemed as a victory by the unwarlike Romans.[101]

The senators excluded by Gallienus from the military service

When Gallienus received the intelligence that his capital w delivered from the barbarians, he was much less delighted th

[98] This etymology (far different from those which amuse the fancy of the learne is preserved by Asinius Quadratus, an original historian, quoted by Agathias, i. 5. [Another derivation is Alah-mannen, "men of the sanctuary," referring to t wood of the Semnones. The identification of the Alamanni with the Suevians very uncertain.]

[99] The Suevi engaged Cæsar in this manner and the manœuvre deserved t approbation of the conqueror (in Bello Gallico, i. 48).

[100] Hist. August. p. 215, 216 [xxvi. 18, 21]. Dexippus in the Excerpta Leg tionum, p. 8 [p. 11, ed. Bonn; F.H.G. iii. p. 682]. Hieronym. Chron. Orosi vii. 22. [The first campaigns of Gallienus against the Alamanni were in 2 and 257. The invasion of Italy took place 259-260. Simultaneously another ba invaded Gaul, and was subdued near Arelate; Gregory of Tours, i. 32.]

[101] Zosimus, l. i. p. 34 [37].

med with the courage of the senate, since it might one day
npt them to rescue the republic[a] from domestic tyranny, as
as from foreign invasion. His timid ingratitude was
lished to his subjects in an edict which prohibited the
ators from exercising any military employment, and even
n approaching the camps of the legions. But his fears were
ndless. The rich and luxurious nobles, sinking into their
ral character, accepted as a favour this disgraceful exemp-
from military service; and, as long as they were indulged
he enjoyment of their baths, their theatres, and their villas,
cheerfully resigned the more dangerous cares of empire to
rough hands of peasants and soldiers.[102]

Gallienus contracts an alliance with the Alemanni

nother invasion of the Alemanni, of a more formidable aspect,
more glorious event, is mentioned by a writer of the Lower
pire. Three hundred thousand of that warlike people are
to have been vanquished, in a battle near Milan, by
lienus in person, at the head of only ten thousand Romans.[103]
may however, with great probability, ascribe this incredible
ory either to the credulity of the historian, or to some ex-
erated exploits of one of the emperor's lieutenants. It was
rms of a very different nature that Gallienus endeavoured to
ect Italy from the fury of the Germans. He espoused Pipa,
daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, which
often confounded with the Alemanni in their wars and
quests.[104] To the father, as the price of his alliance, he
nted an ample settlement in Pannonia. The native charms
npolished beauty seem to have fixed the daughter in the
ctions of the inconstant emperor, and the bands of policy
e more firmly connected by those of love. But the haughty
udice of Rome still refused the name of marriage to the
ane mixture of a citizen and a barbarian; and has stigmatized
German princess with the opprobrious title of concubine of
lienus.[105]

Inroads of the Goths

II. We have already traced the emigration of the Goths from

[The original text has *public*. I have ventured to amend. Ed.]

[a] Aurel. Victor in Gallieno et Probo [Cæsar. 34, 37]. His complaints
the an uncommon spirit of freedom.

[b] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 631 [24. This victory was probably gained in the same
sion which has been already described; Gallienus fell upon them as they were
ating. We need not assume two invasions, or doubt the statement of
ras.]

[c] One of the Victors calls him King of the Marcomanni, the other, of the
nans.

[d] See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 398, &c. [She was only
ncubine and must not be confounded with the Empress Salonina.]

Scandinavia, or at least from Prussia, to the mouth of t
Borysthenes, and have followed their victorious arms from
Borysthenes to the Danube. Under the reigns of Valerian a
Gallienus the frontier of the last-mentioned river was perpetua
infested by the inroads of Germans and Sarmatians; but it
defended by the Romans with more than usual firmness a
success. The provinces that were the seat of war recruited
armies of Rome with an inexhaustible supply of hardy soldie
and more than one of these Illyrian peasants attained
station, and displayed the abilities, of a general. Thou
flying parties of the barbarians, who incessantly hovered on
banks of the Danube, penetrated sometimes to the confines
Italy and Macedonia, their progress was commonly checked,
their return intercepted, by the Imperial lieutenants.[106]
the great stream of the Gothic hostilities was diverted int
very different channel. The Goths, in their new settlement
the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of
Euxine: to the south of that inland sea were situated the s
and wealthy provinces of Asia Minor, which possessed all t
could attract, and nothing that could resist, a barbarian c
queror.

Conquest of the Bosphorus by the Goths

The banks of the Borysthenes are only sixty miles dist
from the narrow entrance[107] of the peninsula of Crim Tarta
known to the ancients under the name of Chersonesus Taurica
On that inhospitable shore, Euripides, embellishing with
quisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one
his most affecting tragedies.[109] The bloody sacrifices of Dia
the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue a
religion over savage fierceness, serve to represent an histori
truth, that the Tauri, the original inhabitants of the peninsu
were in some degree reclaimed from their brutal manners by
gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies which settled alo
the maritime coast. The little kingdom of Bosphorus, wh
capital was situated on the straits through which the Mæ
communicates itself to the Euxine, was composed of degener

[106] See the lives of Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, in the Augustan Hist
[Dacia was lost to the Goths about 255 or 256. The event is not recorded,
it is inferred from the fact that no coins or inscriptions in the province date f
a later year than 255; see Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 220, Hodgkin, i.
[107] It is about half a league in breadth. Genealogical History of the Tart
p. 598.
[108] M. de Peyssonel, who had been French consul at Caffa, in his Observat
sur les Peuples Barbares, qui ont habité les bords du Danube.
[109] Euripides in Iphigenia in Taurid.

eks and half-civilized barbarians. It subsisted as an inde-
dent state from the time of the Peloponnesian war,[110] was
ast swallowed up by the ambition of Mithridates,[111] and, with
rest of his dominions, sunk under the weight of the Roman
s. From the reign of Augustus,[112] the kings of Bosphorus
e the humble, but not useless, allies of the empire. By
ents, by arms, and by a slight fortification drawn across the
mus, they effectually guarded against the roving plunderers
Sarmatia the access of a country which, from its peculiar
ation and convenient harbours, commanded the Euxine Sea
Asia Minor.[113] As long as the sceptre was possessed by a
al succession of kings, they acquitted themselves of their
portant charge with vigilance and success. Domestic factions,
the fears or private interest of obscure usurpers who seized
the vacant throne, admitted the Goths into the heart of
phorus. With the acquisition of a superfluous waste of fertile
the conquerors obtained the command of a naval force
cient to transport their armies to the coast of Asia.[114] The
s used in the navigation of the Euxine were of a very
ular construction. They were slight flat-bottomed barks
ed of timber only, without the least mixture of iron, and
sionally covered with a shelving roof on the appearance of a
pest.[115] In these floating houses the Goths carelessly trusted
nselves to the mercy of an unknown sea, under the conduct
ilors pressed into the service, and whose skill and fidelity
e equally suspicious. But the hopes of plunder had banished
y idea of danger, and a natural fearlessness of temper
plied in their minds the more rational confidence which is
just result of knowledge and experience. Warriors of such
ring spirit must have often murmured against the cowardice
heir guides, who required the strongest assurances of a settled
before they would venture to embark, and would scarcely
be tempted to lose sight of the land. Such, at least, is the

who acquire a naval force

Strabo, l. vii. p. 309. The first kings of Bosphorus were the allies of
ns.

Appian in Mithridat. [67].

It was reduced by the arms of Agrippa. Orosius, vi. 21. Eutropius, vii.
The Romans once advanced within three days' march of the Tanais. Tacit.
l. xii. 17.

See the Toxaris of Lucian, if we credit the sincerity and the virtues of the
ian, who relates a great war of his nation against the kings of Bosphorus.

Zosimus, l. i. p. 28 [31. Coins prove that the lineal succession did not cease
e 267 at the earliest.]

Strabo, l. xi. [p. 495]. Tacit. Hist. iii. 47. They were called *Camaræ*.

practice of the modern Turks;[116] and they are probably inferior in the art of navigation to the ancient inhabitants Bosphorus.

First naval expedition of the Goths

The fleet of the Goths, leaving the coast of Circassia on left hand, first appeared before Pityus,[117] the utmost limits of Roman provinces; a city provided with a convenient port, fortified with a strong wall. Here they met with a resistar more obstinate than they had reason to expect from the fee garrison of a distant fortress. They were repulsed; and th disappointment seemed to diminish the terror of the Got name. As long as Successianus, an officer of superior rank merit, defended that frontier, all their efforts were ineffectu but, as soon as he was removed by Valerian to a more honoura but less important station, they resumed the attack of Pity and, by the destruction of that city, obliterated the memory their former disgrace.[118]

The Goths besiege and take Trebizond

Circling round the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, navigation from Pityus to Trebizond is about three hund miles.[119] The course of the Goths carried them in sight of country of Colchis, so famous by the expedition of the Argonau and they even attempted, though without success, to pillag rich temple at the mouth of the river Phasis. Trebizo celebrated in the retreat of the Ten Thousand as an anci colony of Greeks,[120] derived its wealth and splendour from munificence of the emperor Hadrian, who had constructed artificial port on a coast left destitute by nature of sec harbours.[121] The city was large and populous; a double closure of walls seemed to defy the fury of the Goths, and usual garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement ten thousand men. But there are not any advantages capa of supplying the absence of discipline and vigilance. T numerous garrison of Trebizond, dissolved in riot and luxu disdained to guard their impregnable fortifications. The Go soon discovered the supine negligence of the besieged, erec

[116] See a very natural picture of the Euxine navigation, in the xvith lette Tournefort.

[117] Arrian places the frontier garrison at Dioscurias, or Sebastopolis, forty- miles to the east of Pityus. The garrison of Phasis consisted in his time of four hundred foot. See the Periplus of the Euxine. [For the Gothic invasions Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, i. ch. I.]

[118] Zosimus, l. i. p. 30. [256 A.D.]

[119] Arrian (in Periplo Maris Euxin. p. 130 [27]) calls the distance 2610 stadi

[120] Xenophon, Anabasis, l. iv. p. 348. Edit. Hutchinson [c. 8].

[121] Arrian, p. 129 [26]. The general observation is Tournefort's.

fty pile of fascines, ascended the walls in the silence of the
ıt, and entered the defenceless city, sword in hand. A
eral massacre of the people ensued, whilst the affrighted
iers escaped through the opposite gates of the town. The
t holy temples, and the most splendid edifices, were involved
common destruction. The booty that fell into the hands of
Goths was immense: the wealth of the adjacent countries
been deposited in Trebizond, as in a secure place of refuge.
number of captives was incredible, as the victorious barba-
s ranged without opposition through the extensive province
Pontus.[122] The rich spoils of Trebizond filled a great fleet of
ps that had been found in the port. The robust youth of
sea coast were chained to the oar; and the Goths, satisfied
ı the success of their first naval expedition, returned in
mph to their new establishments in the kingdom of
phorus.[123]

The second expedition of the Goths was undertaken with ater powers of men and ships; but they steered a different rse, and, disdaining the exhausted provinces of Pontus, fol-ed the western coast of the Euxine, passed before the wide ıths of the Borysthenes, the Dniester, and the Danube, and, reasing their fleet by the capture of a great number of fishing ques, they approached the narrow outlet through which the xine Sea pours its waters into the Mediterranean, and divides continents of Europe and Asia. The garrison of Chalcedon encamped near the temple of Jupiter Urius, on a promontory t commanded the entrance of the strait: and so inconsiderable re the dreaded invasions of the barbarians, that this body of ops surpassed in number the Gothic army. But it was in nbers alone that they surpassed it. They deserted with pre- tation their advantageous post, and abandoned the town of lcedon, most plentifully stored with arms and money, to the retion of the conquerors. Whilst they hesitated whether y should prefer the sea or land, Europe or Asia, for the scene their hostilities, a perfidious fugitive pointed out Nicomedia, e the capital of the kings of Bithynia, as a rich and easy quest. He guided the march, which was only sixty miles n the camp of Chalcedon,[124] directed the resistless attack, partook of the booty; for the Goths had learned sufficient

The second expedition of the Goths

They plunder the cities of Bithynia

[122] See an epistle of Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, quoted Mascou, v. 37.
[123] Zosimus, l. i. p. 32, 33 [35].
[124] Itiner. Hierosolym, p. 572. Wesseling.

policy to reward the traitor whom they detested. Nice, Pru Apamæa, Cius, cities that had sometimes rivalled, or imitate the splendour of Nicomedia, were involved in the same ca ami which, in a few weeks, raged without control through the wh province of Bithynia. Three hundred years of peace, enjoyed the soft inhabitants of Asia, had abolished the exercise of arn and removed the apprehension of danger. The ancient wa were suffered to moulder away, and all the revenue of the m opulent cities was reserved for the construction of baths, templ and theatres.[125]

Retreat of the Goths

When the city of Cyzicus withstood the utmost effort of Mit ridates,[126] it was distinguished by wise laws, a naval power of t hundred galleys, and three arsenals,—of arms, of military engin and of corn.[127] It was still the seat of wealth and luxury; b of its ancient strength nothing remained except the situation, a little island of the Propontis, connected with the continent Asia only by two bridges. From the recent sack of Prusa, t Goths advanced within eighteen miles[128] of the city, which th had devoted to destruction; but the ruin of Cyzicus was delay by a fortunate accident. The season was rainy, and the la Apolloniates, the reservoir of all the springs of Mount Olymp rose to an uncommon height. The little river of Rhyndac which issues from the lake, swelled into a broad and rapid strea and stopped the progress of the Goths. Their retreat to t maritime city of Heraclea, where the fleet had probably be stationed, was attended by a long train of waggons laden wi the spoils of Bithynia, and was marked by the flames of Ni and Nicomedia, which they wantonly burnt.[129] Some obscu hints are mentioned of a doubtful combat that secured th retreat.[130] But even a complete victory would have been little moment, as the approach of the autumnal equinox summon them to hasten their return. To navigate the Euxine bef the month of May, or after that of September, is esteemed the modern Turks the most unquestionable instance of rashn and folly.[131]

[125] Zosimus, l. i. p. 32, 33 [35].

[126] He besieged the place with 400 galleys, 150,000 foot, and a numer cavalry. See Plutarch in Lucul. [9]. Appian in Mithridat. [72]. Cicero Lege Manilia, c. 8.

[127] Strabo, l. xii. p. 573.

[128] Pocock's Descriptions of the East, l. ii. c. 23, 24.

[129] Zosimus, l. i. p. 33 [35].

[130] Syncellus [i. p. 717, ed. Bonn] tells an unintelligible story of Prince *Odenath* who defeated the Goths, and who was killed by Prince *Odenathus*.

[131] Voyages de Chardin. tom. i. p. 45. He sailed with the Turks fr Constantinople to Caffa.

When we are informed that the third fleet, equipped by the oths in the ports of Bosphorus, consisted of five hundred sail ships,[132] our ready imagination instantly computes and multi- ies the formidable armament; but, as we are assured by the dicious Strabo,[133] that the piratical vessels used by the bar- rians of Pontus and the Lesser Scythia, were not capable of ntaining more than twenty-five or thirty men, we may safely firm that fifteen thousand warriors at the most embarked in is great expedition. Impatient of the limits of the Euxine, ey steered their destructive course from the Cimmerian to the hracian Bosphorus. When they had almost gained the middle the Straits, they were suddenly driven back to the entrance them; till a favourable wind, springing up the next day, car- ed them in a few hours into the placid sea, or rather lake, of e Propontis.[134] Their landing on the little island of Cyzicus as attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble city. rom thence issuing again through the narrow passage of the ellespont, they pursued their winding navigation amidst the umerous islands scattered over the Archipelago or the Ægean ea. The assistance of captives and deserters must have been ry necessary to pilot their vessels, and to direct their various cursions, as well on the coast of Greece as on that of Asia. At ngth the Gothic fleet anchored in the port of Piræus, five miles stant from Athens,[135] which had attempted to make some reparations for a vigorous defence. Cleodamus, one of the ngineers employed by the emperor's orders to fortify the mari- me cities against the Goths, had already begun to repair the ncient walls fallen to decay since the time of Sylla.[136] The forts of his skill were ineffectual, and the barbarians became asters of the native seat of the muses and the arts. But, while e conquerors abandoned themselves to the licence of plunder nd intemperance,[137] their fleet, that lay with a slender guard the harbour of Pi.œus, was unexpectedly attacked by the ave Dexippus, who, flying with the engineer Cleodamus from

Third naval expedition of the Goths

They pass the Bosphorus and the Hellespont

[132] Syncellus (p. 382) [ib.] speaks of this expedition as undertaken by the eruli.

[133] Strabo, l. xi. p. 495.

[134] [Gibbon omits to mention that the Goths sustained a severe naval defeat, fore they entered the Propontis, at the hands of Venerianus. Hist. Aug. xxiii. .]

[135] Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 7 [error for iv. 7].

[136] [The renewed wall was known as the wall of Valerian. See Zosimus, i. 29. wall was built at the same time across the Isthmus. For this invasion of reece, see Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, i. 16 *sqq.*]

[137] [The monuments of Athens seem on this occasion to have been spared.]

the sack of Athens, collected a hasty band of volunteers, peasant as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamitie of his country.[138]

ravage Greece, and threaten Italy

But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declin ing age of Athens, served rather to irritate than to subdue th undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagra tion blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece.[13] Thebes and Argos, Corinth and Sparta, which had formerl waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unabl to bring an army into the field, or even to defend their ruine fortifications. The rage of war, both by land and by sea, sprea from the eastern point of Sunium to the western coast of Epirus The Goths had already advanced within sight of Italy, whe the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolen Gallienus from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeare in arms; and his presence seems to have checked the ardou and to have divided the strength, of the enemy. Naulobatus,

Their divisions and retreat

chief of the Heruli, accepted an honourable capitulation, entere with a large body of his countrymen into the service of Rom and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity which had never before been profaned by the hands of a bar barian.[140] Great numbers of the Goths, disgusted with th perils and hardships of a tedious voyage, broke into Mæsia, wit a design of forcing their way over the Danube to their settle ments in the Ukraine. The wild attempt would have prove inevitable destruction, if the discord of the Roman general had not opened to the barbarians the means of an escape.[14] The small remainder of this destroying host returned on boar their vessels, and, measuring back their way through the Helle

[138] Hist. August. p. 181 [xxiii. 13]. Victor [Cæsar.] c. 33. Orosius, vii. 4 Zosimus, l. i. p. 35 [39]. Zonaras, l. xii. 635 [26]. Syncellus, p. 382 [i. p. 71 ed. Bonn]. It is not without some attention that we can explain and concilia their imperfect hints. We can still discover some traces of the partiality Dexippus, in the relation of his own and his countrymen's exploits. [Frag. 2 An epigram on Dexippus as a scholar, not as a deliverer, has been preserve C.I.A. iii. 1, No. 716.]

[139] [Gibbon has omitted to mention the attack of the Goths on Thessalonic which almost proved fatal to that city. This incident spread terror throughou the Illyric peninsula, and thoroughly frightened the government. It was pr bably the immediate cause of the restoration of the walls of Athens and th other fortifications in Greece. See Zosimus, i. 29, and perhaps Eusebius Müller, F.H.G. v. 1, 21.]

[140] Syncellus, p. 382 [ib.]. This body of Heruli was for a long time faithf and famous.

[141] Claudius, who commanded on the Danube, thought with propriety an acted with spirit. His colleague was jealous of his fame. Hist. August. p. 18 [xxiii. 14].

nt and the Bosphorus, ravaged in their passage the shores of roy, whose fame, immortalized by Homer, will probably survive e memory of the Gothic conquests. As soon as they found emselves in safety within the bason of the Euxine, they nded at Anchialus in Thrace, near the foot of Mount Hæmus, d, after all their toils, indulged themselves in the use of those easant and salutary hot baths. What remained of the voyage as a short and easy navigation.[142] Such was the various fate this third and greatest of their naval enterprises. It may em difficult to conceive how the original body of fifteen ousand warriors could sustain the losses and divisions of so ld an adventure. But, as their numbers were gradually wasted the sword, by shipwrecks, and by the influence of a warm mate, they were perpetually renewed by troops of banditti d deserters, who flocked to the standard of plunder, and by a owd of fugitive slaves, often of German or Sarmatian extraction, no eagerly seized the glorious opportunity of freedom and venge. In these expeditions the Gothic nation claimed a perior share of honour and danger; but the tribes that fought nder the Gothic banners are sometimes distinguished and metimes confounded in the imperfect histories of that age; d, as the barbarian fleets seemed to issue from the mouth of e Tanais, the vague but familiar appellation of Scythians was equently bestowed on the mixed multitude.[143]

Ruin of the temple of Ephesus

In the general calamities of mankind the death of an individual, owever exalted, the ruin of an edifice, however famous, are ssed over with careless inattention. Yet we cannot forget at the temple of Diana at Ephesus, after having risen with creasing splendour from seven repeated misfortunes,[144] was ally burnt by the Goths in their third naval invasion. The ts of Greece and the wealth of Asia had conspired to erect at sacred and magnificent structure. It was supported by an ndred and twenty-seven marble columns of the Ionic order; ey were the gifts of devout monarchs, and each was sixty feet gh. The altar was adorned with the masterly sculptures Praxiteles, who had, perhaps, selected from the favourite gends of the place the birth of the divine children of Latona,

[142] Jornandes, c. 20

[143] Zosimus, and the Greeks (as the author of the Philopatris [see below, p. , note 81]), give the name of Scythians to those whom Jornandes, and the tin writers, constantly represent as Goths.

[144] Hist. August. p. 178 [xxiii. 6]. Jornandes, c. 20. [The chronology is ex- mely doubtful. It seems more probable that Ephesus suffered in an earlier asion. See Hodgkin, i. 62.]

the concealment of Apollo after the slaughter of the Cyclops, and the clemency of Bacchus to the vanquished Amazons.[145] Yet the length of the temple of Ephesus was only four hundred and twenty-five feet, about two thirds the measure of the church of St. Peter's at Rome.[146] In the other dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of modern architecture. The spreading arms of a Christian cross require a much greater breadth than the oblong temples of the Pagans; and the boldest artists of antiquity would have been startled at the proposal of raising in the air a dome of the size and proportions of the Pantheon. The temple of Diana was, however, admired as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had revered its sanctity, and enriched its splendour.[147] But the rude savages of the Baltic were destitute of a taste for the elegant arts, and they despised the ideal terrors of a foreign superstition.[148]

Conduct of the Goths at Athens

Another circumstance is related of these invasions, which might deserve our notice were it not justly to be suspected as the fanciful conceit of a recent sophist. We are told that in the sack of Athens the Goths had collected all the libraries, and were on the point of setting fire to this funeral pile of Grecian learning, had not one of their chiefs, of more refined policy than his brethren, dissuaded them from the design, by the profound observation, that as long as the Greeks were addicted to the study of books they would never apply themselves to the exercise of arms.[149] The sagacious counsellor (should the truth of the fact be admitted) reasoned like an ignorant barbarian. In the most polite and powerful nations genius of every kind has displayed itself about the same period; and the age of science has generally been the age of military virtue and success.

Conquest of Armenia by the Persians

IV. The new sovereigns of Persia, Artaxerxes and his son

[145] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1, præfat. l. vii. Tacit. Annal. iii. 71. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 14.

[146] The length of St. Peter's is 840 Roman palms, each palm is a very little short of nine English inches. See Greave's Miscellanies, vol. i, p. 233; On the Roman foot.

[147] The policy however of the Romans induced them to abridge the extent of the sanctuary or asylum, which by successive privileges had spread itself two stadia round the temple. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 641. Tacit. Annal. iii. 60, &c.

[148] They offered no sacrifices to the Grecians' gods. See Epistol. Gregor. Thaumat.

[149] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 635 [26]. Such an anecdote was perfectly suited to the taste of Montaigne. He makes use of it in his agreeable Essay on Pedantry, l. i. c. 24. [Compare Anon. Continuation of Dion Cassius, in Müller, F.H.G. iv. p. 196.]

ıpor, had triumphed (as we have already seen) over the house Arsaces. Of the many princes of that ancient race, Chosroes, ng of Armenia, had alone preserved both his life and his inde- ndence. He defended himself by the natural strength of his untry; by the perpetual resort of fugitives and malcontents; the alliance of the Romans; and, above all, by his own urage. Invincible in arms, during a thirty years' war, he was sassinated by the emissaries of Sapor, king of Persia. The ıtriotic satraps of Armenia, who asserted the freedom and gnity of the crown, implored the protection of Rome in favour Tiridates, the lawful heir. But the son of Chosroes was an fant, the allies were at a distance, and the Persian monarch lvanced towards the frontier at the head of an irresistible force. oung Tiridates, the future hope of his country, was saved by ıe fidelity of a servant, and Armenia continued above twenty- ven years a reluctant province of the great monarchy of ersia.[150] Elated with this easy conquest, and presuming on the stresses or the degeneracy of the Romans, Sapor obliged the rong garrisons of Carrhæ and Nisibis to surrender, and spread evastation and terror on either side of the Euphrates.

The loss of an important frontier, the ruin of a faithful and ıtural ally, and the rapid success of Sapor's ambition, affected ome with a deep sense of the insult as well as of the danger. alerian flattered himself that the vigilance of his lieutenants ould sufficiently provide for the safety of the Rhine and of the anube; but he resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to arch in person to the defence of the Euphrates. During his rogress through Asia Minor, the naval enterprises of the Goths ere suspended, and the afflicted province enjoyed a transient ıd fallacious calm. He passed the Euphrates, encountered ıe Persian monarch near the walls of Edessa, was vanquished, ıd taken prisoner by Sapor. The particulars of that great vent are darkly and imperfectly represented; yet, by the immering light which is afforded us, we may discover a long ries of imprudence, of error, and of deserved misfortunes on ıe side of the Roman emperor. He reposed an implicit con- dence in Macrianus, his Prætorian præfect.[151] That worthless

Valerian marches into the East

Is defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia, A.D. 260

[150] Moses Chorenensis, l. ii. c. 71, 73, 74. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628 [21]. The thentic relation of the Armenian historian serves to rectify the confused account the Greek. The latter talks of the children of Tiridates, who at that time was nself an infant. [The succession of Tiridates was resisted by his uncle Arta- sdes, who then ruled in Armenia as vassal of Sapor.]

[151] Hist. August. p. 191 [xxiv. 11]. As Macrianus was an enemy to the ıristians, they charged him with being a magician. [There seems no reason

minister rendered his master formidable only to the oppresse subjects, and contemptible to the enemies, of Rome.[152] By h weak or wicked counsels the Imperial army was betrayed into situation where valour and military skill were equally unavai ing.[153] The vigorous attempt of the Romans to cut their wa through the Persian host was repulsed with great slaughter;[1 and Sapor, who encompassed the camp with superior numbe patiently waited till the increasing rage of famine and pestilen had ensured his victory. The licentious murmurs of the legio soon accused Valerian as the cause of their calamities; the seditious clamours demanded an instant capitulation. An in mense sum of gold was offered to purchase the permission of disgraceful retreat. But the Persian, conscious of his superio ity, refused the money with disdain; and, detaining the deputie advanced in order of battle to the foot of the Roman ran part, and insisted on a personal conference with the empero Valerian was reduced to the necessity of intrusting his life an dignity to the faith of an enemy. The interview ended as was natural to expect. The emperor was made a prisoner, an his astonished troops laid down their arms.[155] In such a mome of triumph, the pride and policy of Sapor prompted him to f the vacant throne with a successor entirely dependent on h pleasure. Cyriades, an obscure fugitive of Antioch, stained wi every vice, was chosen to dishonour the Roman purple; and th will of the Persian victor could not fail of being ratified by th acclamations, however reluctant, of the captive army.[156]

Sapor overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia

The Imperial slave was eager to secure the favour of h master by an act of treason to his native country. He co ducted Sapor over the Euphrates, and, by the way of Chalcis, the metropolis of the East. So rapid were the motions of th Persian cavalry, that, if we may credit a very judicious hi torian,[157] the city of Antioch was surprised when the idle mul

to impute any fault to Macrianus in this disaster. He appears to have been able officer but unfortunately an invalid. For the defeat of Valerian and t chronology, see Appendix 17.]

[152] Zosimus, l. i. p. 33 [36].

[153] Hist. August. p. 174 [xxii. 32].

[154] Victor in Cæsar. [32]. Eutropius, ix. 7.

[155] Zosimus, l. i. p. 33 [36]. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 630 [23]. Peter Patricius in t Excerpta Legat. p. 29.

[156] Hist. August. p. 185 [xxiv. 1]. The reign of Cyriades appears in th collection prior to the death of Valerian; but I have preferred a probable ser of events to the doubtful chronology of a most inaccurate writer. [But s Appendix 17.]

[157] The sack of Antioch, anticipated by some historians, is assigned, by t decisive testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, to the reign of Gallienus, xxiii. 5.

e was fondly gazing on the amusements of the theatre. The endid buildings of Antioch, private as well as public, were ner pillaged or destroyed; and the numerous inhabitants re put to the sword or led away into captivity.[158] The tide devastation was stopped for a moment by the resolution of high priest of Emesa. Arrayed in his sacerdotal robes he peared at the head of a great body of fanatic peasants, armed y with slings, and defended his god and his property from sacrilegious hands of the followers of Zoroaster.[159] But the n of Tarsus, and of many other cities, furnishes a melancholy of that, except in this singular instance, the conquest of Syria l Cilicia scarcely interrupted the progress of the Persian arms. e advantages of the narrow passes of Mount Taurus were ndoned, in which an invader whose principal force consisted his cavalry would have been engaged in a very unequal com- : and Sapor was admitted to form the siege of Cæsarea, the ital of Cappadocia; a city, though of the second rank, which s supposed to contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. mosthenes commanded in the place, not so much by the com- ssion of the emperor as in the voluntary defence of his country. r a long time he deferred its fate; and, when at last Cæsarea s betrayed by the perfidy of a physician, he cut his way ough the Persians, who had been ordered to exert their most diligence to take him alive. This heroic chief escaped power of a foe who might either have honoured or punished obstinate valour; but many thousands of his fellow-citizens re involved in a general massacre, and Sapor is accused of ating his prisoners with wanton and unrelenting cruelty.[160] ich should undoubtedly be allowed for national animosity, ch for humbled pride and impotent revenge; yet, upon the ole, it is certain that the same prince who, in Armenia, had played the mild aspect of a legislator, showed himself to the mans under the stern features of a conqueror. He despaired of king any permanent establishment in the empire, and sought y to leave behind him a wasted desert, whilst he transported o Persia the people and the treasures of the provinces.[161]

[158] Zosimus, l. i. p. 35 [36].

[159] John Malala, tom. i. p. 391 [p. 296, ed. Bonn]. He corrupts this probable nt by some fabulous circumstances.

[160] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 630 [23]. Deep valleys were filled up with the slain. wds of prisoners were driven to water like beasts, and many perished for want ood.

[161] Zosimus, l. i. p. 25 [28], asserts that Sapor, had he not preferred spoil to quest, might have remained master of Asia.

Boldness and success of Odenathus against Sapor

At a time when the East trembled at the name of Sapor, received a present not unworthy of the greatest kings—a lo train of camels laden with the most rare and valuable mercha dises. The rich offering was accompanied with an epistle, respe ful but not servile, from Odenathus, one of the noblest a most opulent senators of Palmyra. "Who is this Odenathu (said the haughty victor, and he commanded that the prese should be cast into the Euphrates), "that he thus insolently p sumes to write to his lord? If he entertains a hope of mitig ing his punishment, let him fall prostrate before the foot of throne, with his hands bound behind his back. Should hesitate, swift destruction shall be poured on his head, on whole race, and on his country."[162] The desperate extremity which the Palmyrenian was reduced called into action all t latent powers of his soul. He met Sapor; but he met him arms. Infusing his own spirit into a little army collected fr the villages of Syria,[163] and the tents of the desert,[164] he hover round the Persian host, harassed their retreat, carried off part the treasure, and, what was dearer than any treasure, several the women of the Great King; who was at last obliged to repa the Euphrates with some marks of haste and confusion.[165] this exploit Odenathus laid the foundations of his future fa and fortunes. The majesty of Rome, oppressed by a Persia was protected by a Syrian or Arab of Palmyra.

Treatment of Valerian

The voice of history, which is often little more than t organ of hatred or flattery, reproaches Sapor with a proud abu of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in chai but invested with the Imperial purple, was exposed to t multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness; and th whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback,

[162] Peter Patricius in Excerpt. Leg. p. 29 [frag. 10, Müller, F.H.G. Septimius Odænathus had been made a *consularis* by Valerian before April 2 See Waddington-Le Bas iii. 2602].

[163] Syrorum agrestium manû. Sextus Rufus, c. 23. Rufus, Victor, Augustan History (p. 192 [xxiv. 14]) and several inscriptions agree in mak Odenathus a citizen of Palmyra. [Palmyra had been made a colonia by Sever As a great commercial town, its policy was to preserve neutrality between powers of the East and the West, and, while the Parthian realm lasted, this v feasible. But the ambition of the new Persian monarchy forced Palmyra to t a decided step, and either attach itself to the Empire or submit to Sapor. T step was taken by Odænathus.]

[164] He possessed so powerful an interest among the wandering tribes, t Procopius (Bell. Persic. l. ii. c. 5) and John Malala (tom. i. p. 391 [392; p. 297, Bonn]) style him Prince of the Saracens.

[165] Peter Patricius, p. 25 [frag. 11. See also Zonaras, xii. 23; Zosimus, i. Syncellus, i. 716 (ed. Bonn)].

aced his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. Notwith-
anding all the remonstrances of his allies, who repeatedly
vised him to remember the vicissitude of fortune, to dread the
turning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the
edge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained
flexible. When Valerian sunk under the weight of shame and
ief, his skin, stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness
a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated
mple of Persia; a more real monument of triumph than the
acied trophies of brass and marble so often erected by Roman
nity.[166] The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it
ay very fairly be called in question. The letters still extant
om the princes of the East to Sapor are manifest forgeries;[167]
r is it natural to suppose that a jealous monarch should, even
the person of a rival, thus publicly degrade the majesty of
ngs. Whatever treatment the unfortunate Valerian might
perience in Persia, it is at least certain that the only emperor
Rome who had ever fallen into the hands of the enemy
nguished away his life in hopeless captivity.

Character and administration of Gallienus

The Emperor Gallienus, who had long supported with
patience the censorial severity of his father and colleague,
ceived the intelligence of his misfortunes with secret pleasure,
d avowed indifference. "I knew that my father was a
ortal," said he, "and, since he has acted as becomes a brave
an, I am satisfied." Whilst Rome lamented the fate of her
vereign, the savage coldness of his son was extolled by the
rvile courtiers as the perfect firmness of a hero and a stoic.[168]
is difficult to paint the light, the various, the inconstant
aracter of Gallienus, which he displayed without constraint
soon as he became sole possessor of the empire. In every art
at he attempted his lively genius enabled him to succeed;
d, as his genius was destitute of judgment, he attempted
ery art, except the important ones of war and government.
e was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready

[166] The Pagan writers lament, the Christian insult, the misfortunes of Valerian.
eir various testimonies are accurately collected by Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 739,
. So little has been preserved of Eastern history before Mahomet, that the
odern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to
ir nation. See Bibliothèque Orientale.

[167] One of these epistles is from Artavasdes, king of Armenia: since Armenia
s then a province to Persia, the king, the kingdom, and the epistle must be
itious.

[168] See his life in the Augustan History.

orator, an elegant poet,[169] a skilful gardener, an excellent cook and most contemptible prince. When the great emergencies of the state required his presence and attention, he was engaged in conversation with the philosopher Plotinus,[170] wasting his time in trifling or licentious pleasures, preparing his initiation in the Grecian mysteries, or soliciting a place in the Areopagus of Athens. His profuse magnificence insulted the general poverty; the solemn ridicule of his triumphs impressed a deeper sense of the public disgrace.[171] The repeated intelligence of invasions, defeats, and rebellions, he received with a careless smile; and singling out, with affected contempt, some particular production of the lost province, he carelessly asked, whether Rome must be ruined, unless it was supplied with linen from Egypt, and Arras cloth from Gaul? There were, however, a few short moments in the life of Gallienus when, exasperated by some recent injury, he suddenly appeared the intrepid soldier and the cruel tyrant; till, satiated with blood or fatigued by resistance, he insensibly sunk into the natural mildness and indolence of his character.[172]

The thirty tyrants

At a time when the reins of government were held with so loose a hand, it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should start up in every province of the empire, against the son of Valerian. It was probably some ingenious fancy, of comparing

[169] There is still extant a very pretty Epithalamium, composed by Gallienus for the nuptials of his nephews [Hist. August. xxiii. 11].

Ite ait, O Juvenes, pariter sudate medullis
Omnibus, inter vos; non murmura vestra columbæ,
Brachia non hederæ, non vincant oscula conchæ.

[170] He was on the point of giving Plotinus a ruined city of Campania to try the experiment of realizing Plato's Republic. See the Life of Plotinus, by Porphyry, in Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc. l. iv.

[171] A medal which bears the head of Gallienus has perplexed the antiquarians by its legend and reverse; the former *Gallienæ Augustæ*, the latter *Ubique Pax* [Eckhel, vii. 413]. M. Spanheim supposes that the coin was struck by some of the enemies of Gallienus, and was designed as a severe satire on that effeminate prince. But, as the use of irony may seem unworthy of the gravity of the Roman mint, M. de Vallemont has deduced from a passage of Trebellius Pollio (Hist. August. p. 198) an ingenious and natural solution. Galliena was first cousin to the emperor. By delivering Africa from the usurper Celsus, she deserved the title of Augusta. [Recent authorities however accept the explanation of Spanheim. On a medal in the French king's collection, we read a similar inscription of *Faustina Augusta* round the head of Marcus Aurelius. With regard to the *Ubique Pax*, it is easily explained by the vanity of Gallienus, who seized, perhaps, the occasion of some momentary calm. See Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Janvier, 1700, p. 21-34.

[172] This singular character has, I believe, been fairly transmitted to us. The reign of his immediate successor was short and busy, and the historians who wrote before the elevation of the family of Constantine could not have the motive or remote interest to misrepresent the character of Gallienus. [But see Appendix

e thirty tyrants of Rome with the thirty tyrants of Athens, at induced the writers of the Augustan history to select that lebrated number, which has been gradually received into a pular appellation.[173] But in every light the parallel is idle d defective. What resemblance can we discover between a uncil of thirty persons, the united oppressors of a single city, d an uncertain list of independent rivals, who rose and fell in egular succession through the extent of a vast empire? Nor n the number of thirty be completed unless we include in the count the women and children who were honoured with the perial title. The reign of Gallienus, distracted as it was, oduced only nineteen pretenders to the throne: Cyriades, acrianus, Balista, Odenathus, and Zenobia in the East; in Gaul d the western provinces, Posthumus, Lollianus, Victorinus and s mother Victoria, Marius, and Tetricus. In Illyricum and the nfines of the Danube, Ingenuus, Regillianus and Aureolus; Pontus,[174] Saturninus; in Isauria, Trebellianus; Piso in essaly; Valens in Achaia; Æmilianus in Egypt; and Celsus Africa. To illustrate the obscure monuments of the life and ath of each individual would prove a laborious task, alike rren of instruction and amusement. We may content our- ves with investigating some general characters, that most ongly mark the condition of the times and the manners of e men, their pretensions, their motives, their fate, and the structive consequences of their usurpation.[175]

Their real number was no more than nineteen

It is sufficiently known that the odious appellation of *Tyrant* is often employed by the ancients to express the illegal seizure supreme power, without any reference to the abuse of it. veral of the pretenders who raised the standard of rebellion ainst the emperor Gallienus were shining models of virtue, d almost all possessed a considerable share of vigour and ility. Their merit had recommended them to the favour of lerian, and gradually promoted them to the most important mmands of the empire. The generals who assumed the title Augustus were either respected by their troops for their able nduct and severe discipline, or admired for valour and success war, or beloved for frankness and generosity. The field of tory was often the scene of their election; and even the

Character and merit of the tyrants

[173] Pollio expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number.

[174] The place of his reign is somewhat doubtful; but there *was* a tyrant in ntus, and we are acquainted with the seat of all the others. [Hist. Aug. xxiv. 1 is here referred to. See Appendix 18.]

[175] Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1163, reckons them somewhat differently.

armourer Marius, the most contemptible of all the candidat for the purple, was distinguished however by intrepid courag matchless strength, and blunt honesty.[176] His mean and rece trade cast, indeed, an air of ridicule on his elevation; but h birth could not be more obscure than was that of the great

Their obscure birth

part of his rivals, who were born of peasants, and enlisted the army as private soldiers. In times of confusion every acti genius finds the place assigned him by nature; in a gener state of war military merit is the road to glory and to greatne Of the nineteen tyrants Tetricus only was a senator; Piso alo was a noble. The blood of Numa, through twenty-eight su cessive generations, ran in the veins of Calphurnius Piso,[177] wh by female alliances, claimed a right of exhibiting in his hou the images of Crassus and of the great Pompey.[178] His ance tors had been repeatedly dignified with all the honours whic the commonwealth could bestow; and, of all the ancient famili of Rome, the Calphurnian alone had survived the tyranny of th Cæsars. The personal qualities of Piso added new lustre to h race. The usurper Valens, by whose order he was killed, co fessed, with deep remorse, that even an enemy ought to ha respected the sanctity of Piso; and, although he died in arn against Gallienus, the senate, with the emperor's generous pe mission, decreed the triumphal ornaments to the memory of virtuous a rebel.[179]

The causes of their rebellion

The lieutenants of Valerian were grateful to the father, who they esteemed. They disdained to serve the luxurious indolenc of his unworthy son. The throne of the Roman world was u supported by any principle of loyalty; and treason against suc a prince might easily be considered as patriotism to the stat Yet, if we examine with candour the conduct of these usurper it will appear that they were much oftener driven into r bellion by their fears than urged to it by their ambition. The

[176] See the speech of Marius, in the Augustan History, p. 187 [xxiv. 7]. T accidental identity of names was the only circumstance that could tempt Pollio imitate Sallust.

[177] Vos O Pompilius sanguis! is Horace's address to the Pisos. See Art. Po v. 292, with Dacier's and Sanadon's notes.

[178] Tacit. Annal. xv. 48, Hist. i. 15. In the former of these passages we m venture to change *paterna* into *materna*. In every generation from Augustus Alexander Severus, one or more Pisos appear as consuls. A Piso was deem worthy of the throne by Augustus (Tacit. Annal. i. 13). A second headed formidable conspiracy against Nero; and a third was adopted, and declar Cæsar by Galba.

[179] Hist. August. p. 195 [xxiv. 20]. The senate, in a moment of enthusias seems to have presumed on the approbation of Gallienus.

readed the cruel suspicions of Gallienus: they equally dreaded e capricious violence of their troops. If the dangerous favour the army had imprudently declared them deserving of the urple, they were marked for sure destruction; and even pru- ence would counsel them to secure a short enjoyment of the mpire, and rather to try the fortune of war than to expect the nd of an executioner. When the clamour of the soldiers vested the reluctant victims with the ensigns of sovereign thority, they sometimes mourned in secret their approaching te. "You have lost," said Saturninus, on the day of his eleva- on, "you have lost a useful commander, and you have made a ry wretched emperor."[180]

Their violent deaths

The apprehensions of Saturninus were justified by the repeated xperience of revolutions. Of the nineteen tyrants who started o under the reign of Gallienus, there was not one who enjoyed life of peace, or a natural death. As soon as they were in- sted with the bloody purple, they inspired their adherents ith the same fears and ambition which had occasioned their vn revolt. Encompassed with domestic conspiracy, military dition, and civil war, they trembled on the edge of precipices, which, after a longer or shorter term of anxiety, they were evitably lost. These precarious monarchs received, however, ch honours as the flattery of their respective armies and pro- nces could bestow; but their claim, founded on rebellion, uld never obtain the sanction of law or history. Italy, Rome, d the senate constantly adhered to the cause of Gallienus, d he alone was considered as the sovereign of the empire. hat prince condescended indeed to acknowledge the victorious ms of Odenathus, who deserved the honourable distinction by e respectful conduct which he always maintained towards the n of Valerian. With the general applause of the Romans and e consent of Gallienus, the senate conferred the title of ugustus on the brave Palmyrenian; and seemed to intrust m with the government of the East, which he already pos- ssed, in so independent a manner, that, like a private succes- on, he bequeathed it to his illustrious widow Zenobia.[181]

Fatal consequences of these usurpations

The rapid and perpetual transitions from the cottage to the rone, and from the throne to the grave, might have amused indifferent philosopher, were it possible for a philosopher to

[180] Hist. August. p. 196 [xxiv. 22].

[181] The association of the brave Palmyrenian was the most popular act of the ole reign of Gallienus. Hist. August. p. 180 [xxiii. 12, 1. The statement is tainly erroneous. See Appendix 19.]

remain indifferent amidst the general calamities of human kin
The election of these precarious emperors, their power and the
death, were equally destructive to their subjects and adherent
The price of their fatal elevation was instantly discharged
the troops by an immense donative drawn from the bowels
the exhausted people. However virtuous was their characte
however pure their intentions, they found themselves reduce
to the hard necessity of supporting their usurpation by frequen
acts of rapine and cruelty. When they fell, they involved armi
and provinces in their fall. There is still extant a most savag
mandate from Gallienus to one of his ministers, after the su
pression of Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple in Illyricu
"It is not enough," says that soft but inhuman prince, "th
you exterminate such as have appeared in arms: the chance
battle might have served me as effectually. The male sex
every age must be extirpated; provided that, in the executio
of the children and old men, you can contrive means to save o
reputation. Let every one die who has dropt an expressio
who has entertained a thought, against me, against *me*, the s
of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes.[182] R
member that Ingenuus was made emperor: tear, kill, hew
pieces. I write to you with my own hand, and would inspi
you with my own feelings."[183] Whilst the public forces of th
state were dissipated in private quarrels, the defenceless pr
vinces lay exposed to every invader. The bravest usurpers we
compelled by the perplexity of their situation to conclud
ignominious treaties with the common enemy, to purchase wi
oppressive tributes the neutrality or services of the barbarian
and to introduce hostile and independent nations into the hea
of the Roman monarchy.[184]

Such were the barbarians, and such the tyrants, who, und
the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, dismembered the province
and reduced the empire to the lowest pitch of disgrace an
ruin, from whence it seemed impossible that it should ev
emerge. As far as the barrenness of materials would permi

[182] Gallienus had given the titles of Cæsar and Augustus to his son Saloninu
slain at Cologne by the usurper Posthumus. A second son of Gallienus succeed
to the name and rank of his elder brother. Valerian, the brother of Gallienus, w
also associated to the empire: several other brothers, sisters, nephews, and niec
of the emperor, formed a very numerous royal family. See Tillemont, tom.
and M. de Brequigny in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxxii. p. 262.

[183] Hist. August. p. 188 [xxiv. 8].

[184] Regillianus had some bands of Roxolani in his service; Posthumus a bo
of Franks. It was perhaps in the character of auxiliaries that the latter introduc
themselves into Spain.

e have attempted to trace, with order and perspicuity, the neral events of that calamitous period. There still remain me particular facts; I. The disorders of Sicily; II. The mults of Alexandria; and III. The rebellion of the Isaurians which may serve to reflect a strong light on the horrid cture.

Disorders of Sicily

I. Whenever numerous troops of banditti, multiplied by ccess and impunity, publicly defy, instead of eluding, the stice of their country, we may safely infer that the excessive eakness of the government is felt and abused by the lowest nks of the community. The situation of Sicily preserved it om the barbarians; nor could the disarmed province have pported an usurper. The sufferings of that once flourishing d still fertile island were inflicted by baser hands. A licen- us crowd of slaves and peasants reigned for a while over the undered country, and renewed the memory of the servile wars more ancient times.[185] Devastations, of which the husband- an was either the victim or the accomplice, must have ruined e agriculture of Sicily; and as the principal estates were the operty of the opulent senators of Rome, who often enclosed thin a farm the territory of an old republic, it is not im- obable that this private injury might affect the capital more eply than all the conquests of the Goths or the Persians.

Tumults of Alexandria

II. The foundation of Alexandria was a noble design, at once nceived and executed by the son of Philip. The beautiful and gular form of that great city, second only to Rome itself, com- ehended a circumference of fifteen miles;[186] it was peopled three hundred thousand free inhabitants, besides at least an ual number of slaves.[187] The lucrative trade of Arabia and dia flowed through the port of Alexandria to the capital and ovinces of the empire. Idleness was unknown. Some were nployed in blowing of glass, others in weaving of linen, others ain in[a] manufacturing the papyrus. Either sex, and every age, as engaged in the pursuits of industry, nor did even the blind the lame want occupations suited to their condition.[188] But e people of Alexandria, a various mixture of nations, united e vanity and inconstancy of the Greeks with the superstition

[185] The Augustan History, p. 177 [xxiii. 4], calls it *servile bellum*. See Diodor. ul. l. xxxiv.

[186] Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 10.

[187] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 590. Edit. Wesseling [52].

[188] See a very curious letter of Hadrian in the Augustan History, p. 245 [xxix. 8. . Student's Roman Empire, p. 520.]

[a] [The original text omits, presumably by accident, after *aga*in. Ed.]

and obstinacy of the Egyptians. The most trifling occasion, transient scarcity of flesh or lentils, the neglect of an accustome salutation, a mistake of precedency in the public baths, or eve a religious dispute,[189] were at any time sufficient to kindle sedition among that vast multitude, whose resentments wer furious and implacable.[190] After the captivity of Valerian an the indolence of his son had relaxed the authority of the law the Alexandrians abandoned themselves to the ungoverned rag of their passions, and their unhappy country was the theatre a civil war, which continued (with a few short and suspiciou truces) above twelve years.[191] All intercourse was cut o between the several quarters of the afflicted city, every stree was polluted with blood, every building of strength converte into a citadel; nor did the tumults subside till a considerabl part of Alexandria was irretrievably ruined. The spacious an magnificent district of Bruchion, with its palaces and musæun the residence of the kings and philosophers of Egypt, is describe above a century afterwards, as already reduced to its preser state of a dreary solitude.[192]

Rebellion of the Isaurians

III. The obscure rebellion of Trebellianus, who assumed th purple in Isauria, a petty province of Asia Minor, was attende with strange and memorable consequences. The pageant royalty was soon destroyed by an officer of Gallienus; but h followers, despairing of mercy, resolved to shake off their alleg ance, not only to the emperor but to the empire, and suddenl returned to the savage manners from which they had neve perfectly been reclaimed. Their craggy rocks, a branch of th wide-extended Taurus, protected their inaccessible retreat. Th tillage of some fertile valleys[193] supplied them with neces saries, and a habit of rapine with the luxuries of life. In th heart of the Roman monarchy, the Isaurians long continued nation of wild barbarians. Succeeding princes, unable to reduc them to obedience either by arms or policy, were compelled t acknowledge their weakness by surrounding the hostile an independent spot with a strong chain of fortifications,[194] whic

[189] Such as the sacrilegious murder of a divine cat. See Diodor. Sicul. l. i.

[190] Hist. August. p. 195. This long and terrible sedition was first occasione by a dispute between a soldier and a townsman about a pair of shoes. [Compar the description of Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. v. 582 *sqq.*]

[191] Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vol. vii. p. [*leg.* c.] 21. Ammian. xxii. 1

[192] Scaliger Animadver. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 258. Three dissertations M. Bonamy, in the Mém. de l'Académie, tom. ix.

[193] Strabo, l. xii. p. 569.

[194] Hist. August. p. 197 [xxiv, 25].

en proved insufficient to restrain the incursions of these mestic foes. The Isaurians, gradually extending their terri- y to the sea coast, subdued the western and mountainous t of Cilicia, formerly the nest of those daring pirates against om the republic had once been obliged to exert its utmost ce, under the conduct of the great Pompey.[195]

Famine and pestilence

Our habits of thinking so fondly connect the order of the iverse with the fate of man, that this gloomy period of history s been decorated with inundations, earthquakes, uncommon teors, preternatural darkness, and a crowd of prodigies fictiti- s or exaggerated.[196] But a long and general famine was a amity of a more serious kind. It was the inevitable conse- ence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce the present and the hope of future harvests. Famine is nost always followed by epidemical diseases, the effect of nty and unwholesome food. Other causes must however ve contributed to the furious plague which, from the year two ndred and fifty to the year two hundred and sixty-five, raged thout interruption in every province, every city, and almost ery family of the Roman empire. During some time five ousand persons died daily in Rome; and many towns that d escaped the hands of the barbarians were entirely depopu- ed.[197]

Diminution of the human species

We have the knowledge of a very curious circumstance, of ne use perhaps in the melancholy calculation of human cala- ties. An exact register was kept at Alexandria of all the izens entitled to receive the distribution of corn. It was nd that the ancient number of those comprised between the es of forty and seventy had been equal to the whole sum of imants, from fourteen to fourscore years of age, who remained ve after the reign of Gallienus.[198] Applying this authentic t to the most correct tables of mortality, it evidently proves at above half the people of Alexandria had perished; and

[195] See Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 137, upon the limits of Isauria.

[196] Hist. August. p. 177 [xxiii. 5].

[197] Hist. August. p. 177 [ib.]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 24 [26]. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 623 [21]. seb. Chronicon. Victor in Epitom. Victor in Cæsar. [33]. Eutropius, ix. 5. sius, vii. 21. [One of the most significant proofs of the distress of the empire he reign of Gallienus is the bankruptcy of the government, which resorted he old expedient of shameless depreciation of the coinage. At the end of his n the argenteus was merely a coin of base metal washed over with silver. Finlay, History of Greece, ed. Tozer, vol. I. Appendix ii.]

[198] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. 21. The fact is taken from the Letters of Dionysius, o in the time of those troubles was bishop of Alexandria.

could we venture to extend the analogy to the other provinces we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine, had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species.[199]

[199] In a great number of parishes 11,000 persons were found between fourteen and eighty; 5365 between forty and seventy. See Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. ii. p. 590.

CHAPTER XI

gn of Claudius—Defeat of the Goths—Victories, triumph, and death, of Aurelian

DER the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the pire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers, the nts, and the barbarians. It was saved by a series of great ces, who derived their obscure origin from the martial pro- es of Illyricum. Within a period of about thirty years, udius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and his colleagues, mphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, stablished, with the military discipline, the strength of the tiers, and deserved the glorious title of Restorers of the man world.

Aureolus invades Italy, is defeated, and besieged at Milan

The removal of an effeminate tyrant made way for a succession heroes. The indignation of the people imputed all their mities to Gallienus, and the far greater part were, indeed, consequence of his dissolute manners and careless adminis- ion. He was even destitute of a sense of honour, which so uently supplies the absence of public virtue; and, as long as vas permitted to enjoy the possession of Italy, a victory of the barians, the loss of a province, or the rebellion of a general, om disturbed the tranquil course of his pleasures. At length, A.D. 268 nsiderable army, stationed on the Upper Danube, invested n the Imperial purple their leader Aureolus; who, disdaining onfined and barren reign over the mountains of Rhætia, ed the Alps, occupied Milan, threatened Rome, and chal- ged Gallienus to dispute in the field the sovereignty of Italy. emperor, provoked by the insult, and alarmed by the instant ger, suddenly exerted that latent vigour wh ch sometimes e through the indolence of his temper. Forcing himself n the luxury of the palace, he appeared in arms at the head is legions, and advanced beyond the Po to encounter his petitor. The corrupted name of Pontirolo[1] still preserves

[1] *Pons Aureoli*, thirteen miles from Bergamo, and thirty-two from Milan. Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. I, p. 245. Near this place, in the year 1703, the

the memory of a bridge over the Adda, which, during the actio must have proved an object of the utmost importance to bo armies. The Rhætian usurper, after receiving a total defe and a dangerous wound, retired into Milan. The siege of th great city was immediately formed; the walls were batter with every engine in use among the ancients; and Aureol doubtful of his internal strength, and hopeless of foreign succou already anticipated the fatal consequences of unsuccessful r bellion.

His last resource was an attempt to seduce the loyalty of t besiegers. He scattered libels through their camp, inviting t troops to desert an unworthy master, who sacrificed the publ happiness to his luxury, and the lives of his most valuable subjec to the slightest suspicions. The arts of Aureolus diffused fea and discontent among the principal officers of his rival. A co spiracy was formed by Heraclianus, the Prætorian præfect, Marcian, a general of rank and reputation, and by Cecrops,[2] w commanded a numerous body of Dalmatian guards. The dea of Gallienus was resolved, and, notwithstanding their desire first terminating the siege of Milan, the extreme danger whi accompanied every moment's delay obliged them to hasten t execution of their daring purpose. At a late hour of the nigh but while the emperor still protracted the pleasures of the tab an alarm was suddenly given that Aureolus, at the head of his forces, had made a desperate sally from the town; Gallienu who was never deficient in personal bravery, started from l silken couch, and, without allowing himself time either to p on his armour or to assemble his guards, he mounted on hors back, and rode full speed towards the supposed place of the attac Encompassed by his declared or concealed enemies, he soo amidst the nocturnal tumult, received a mortal dart from uncertain hand. Before he expired, a patriotic sentiment risi in the mind of Gallienus induced him to name a deservi successor, and it was his last request that the Imperial ornamer should be delivered to Claudius, who then commanded a detach army in the neighbourhood of Pavia. The report at least w diligently propagated, and the order cheerfully obeyed by t conspirators, who had already agreed to place Claudius on t throne. On the first news of the emperor's death, the troo

A.D. 268. March 20 Death of Gallienus

obstinate battle of Cassano was fought between the French and Austrians. T excellent relation of the Chevalier de Folard, who was present, gives a w distinct idea of the ground. See Polybe de Folard, tom. 3, p. 223-248.

[2] [Cecropius is the name, Hist. Aug. xxiii. 14.]

ressed some suspicion and resentment, till the one was re-
ved and the other assuaged by a donative of twenty pieces of
d to each soldier. They then ratified the election, and
nowledged the merit, of their new sovereign.[3]

Character and elevation of the emperor Claudius

The obscurity which covered the origin of Claudius, though it afterwards embellished by some flattering fictions,[4] suffi-ntly betrays the meanness of his birth. We can only discover t he was a native of one of the provinces bordering on the nube; that his youth was spent in arms, and that his modest our attracted the favour and confidence of Decius. The ate and people already considered him as an excellent officer, al to the most important trusts; and censured the inatten- of Valerian, who suffered him to remain in the subordinate ion of a tribune. But it was not long before that emperor inguished the merit of Claudius, by declaring him general chief of the Illyrian frontier, with the command of all the ps in Thrace, Mæsia, Dacia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the ointments of the præfect of Egypt, the establishment of the consul of Africa, and the sure prospect of the consulship. his victories over the Goths, he deserved from the senate honour of a statue and excited the jealous apprehensions of lienus. It was impossible that a soldier could esteem so olute a sovereign, nor is it easy to conceal a just contempt. he unguarded expressions which dropped from Claudius were iously transmitted to the royal ear. The emperor's answer n officer of confidence describes in very lively colours his own racter and that of the times. "There is not anything able of giving me more serious concern, than the intelligence tained in your last dispatch,[5] that some malicious suggestions e indisposed towards us the mind of our friend and parent, udius. As you regard your allegiance, use every means to

On the death of Gallienus, see Trebellius Pollio in Hist. August. p. 181 [xxiii. Zosimus, l. i. p. 37 [40]. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 634 [25]. Eutropius, ix. 11. lius Victor in Epitom. [33]. Victor in Cæsar. [33]. I have compared and ded them all, but have chiefly followed Aurelius Victor, who seems to have the best memoirs. [Cecropius slew him according to Hist. Aug.; but another named Heraclian, John of Antioch 152, 3 (Müller, F.H.G. iv.) and Zonaras, 5. Zosimus, i. 40 is probably right in saying that Heraclian instigated the natian officer to strike the blow. There is a further confusion in John of och, who makes Heraclian the Dalmatian captain.]

Some supposed him, oddly enough, to be a bastard of the younger Gordian. rs took advantage of the province of Dardania, to deduce his origin from Dar- s and the ancient kings of Troy. [M. Aurelius Claudius was his name.]

Votoria, a periodical and official dispatch which the emperors received from *rumentarii* or agents dispersed through the provinces. Of these we may k hereafter

appease his resentment, but conduct your negotiation wi secrecy; let it not reach the knowledge of the Dacian troop they are already provoked, and it might inflame their fury. myself have sent him some presents: be it your care that h accept them with pleasure. Above all, let him not suspect th I am made acquainted with his imprudence. The fear of n anger might urge him to desperate counsels."[6] The presen which accompanied this humble epistle, in which the monar solicited a reconciliation with his discontented subject, consiste of a considerable sum of money, a splendid wardrobe, and valuable service of silver and gold plate. By such arts Gallien softened the indignation, and dispelled the fears, of his Illyri general; and during the remainder of that reign the formidab sword of Claudius was always drawn in the cause of a mast whom he despised. At last, indeed, he received from the co spirators the bloody purple of Gallienus: but he had been abse from their camps and counsels; and, however he might applau the deed, we may candidly presume that he was innocent of th knowledge of it.[7] When Claudius ascended the throne, he w about fifty-four years of age.

Death of Aureolus

The siege of Milan was still continued, and Aureolus soo discovered that the success of his artifices had only raised up more determined adversary. He attempted to negotiate wi Claudius a treaty of alliance and partition. "Tell him," repli the intrepid emperor, "that such proposals should have be made to Gallienus; *he*, perhaps, might have listened to the with patience, and accepted a colleague as despicable as hi self."[8] This stern refusal, and a last unsuccessful effort, oblig Aureolus to yield the city and himself to the discretion of th conqueror. The judgment of the army pronounced him worth of death, and Claudius, after a feeble resistance, consented the execution of the sentence. Nor was the zeal of the sena less ardent in the cause of their new sovereign. They ratifie perhaps with a sincere transport of zeal, the election of Claudiu and, as his predecessor had shown himself the personal enemy their order, they exercised, under the name of justice, a seve

[6] Hist. August. p. 208 [xxv. 17]. Gallienus describes the plate, vestmen &c., like a man who loved and understood those splendid trifles.

[7] Julian (Orat. i. p. 6) affirms that Claudius acquired the empire in a just a even holy manner. But we may distrust the partiality of a kinsman.

[8] Hist. August. p. 203 [ib. 5]. There are some trifling differences concerni the circumstances of the last defeat and death of Aureolus. [The inscription Boeckh (C.I.G. 6761) seems to have no independent value, but to have been co posed on the basis of the account of Zosimus. See Schiller, i. 846.]

enge against his friends and family. The senate was permitted to discharge the ungrateful office of punishment, and the emperor reserved for himself the pleasure and merit of gaining by his intercession a general act of indemnity.[9]

Such ostentatious clemency discovers less of the real character of Claudius than a trifling circumstance in which he seems to have consulted only the dictates of his heart. The frequent rebellions of the provinces had involved almost every person in the guilt of treason, almost every estate in the case of confiscation; and Gallienus often displayed his liberality by distributing among his officers the property of his subjects. On the accession of Claudius, an old woman threw herself at his feet, and complained that a general of the late emperor had obtained an arbitrary grant of her patrimony. This general was Claudius himself, who had not entirely escaped the contagion of the times. The emperor blushed at the reproach, but deserved the confidence which she had reposed in his equity. The confession of his fault was accompanied with immediate and ample restitution.[10]

Clemency and justice of Claudius

In the arduous task which Claudius had undertaken, of restoring the empire to its ancient splendour, it was first necessary to revive among his troops a sense of order and obedience. With the authority of a veteran commander, he represented to them that the relaxation of discipline had introduced a long train of disasters, the effects of which were at length experienced by the soldiers themselves; that a people ruined by oppression, and indolent from despair, could no longer supply a numerous army with the means of luxury, or even of subsistence; that the danger of each individual had increased with the despotism of the military order, since princes who tremble on the throne will guard their safety by the instant sacrifice of every obnoxious subject. The emperor gratiated on the mischiefs of a lawless caprice which the soldiers could only gratify at the expense of their own blood, as their factitious elections had so frequently been followed by civil wars, which consumed the flower of the legions either in the field of battle or in the cruel abuse of victory. He painted in the most lively colours the exhausted state of the treasury, the desolation of the provinces, the disgrace of the Roman name, and the insolent triumph of rapacious barbarians. It was against those bar-

He undertakes the reformation of the army

Aurelius Victor in Gallien. The people loudly prayed for the damnation of Gallienus. The senate decreed that his relations and servants should be thrown down headlong from the Gemonian stairs. An obnoxious officer of the revenue had his eyes torn out whilst under examination.

[10] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 137 [*leg.* 635; c. 26].

barians, he declared, that he intended to point the first effort their arms. Tetricus might reign for a while over the West, ar even Zenobia might preserve the dominion of the East.[11] The usurpers were his personal adversaries; nor could he think indulging any private resentment till he had saved an empir whose impending ruin would, unless it was timely prevente crush both the army and the people.

A.D. 269. The Goths invade the empire

The various nations of Germany and Sarmatia[12] who fough under the Gothic standard had already collected an armame more formidable than any which had yet issued from the Euxin On the banks of the Dniester, one of the great rivers that di charge themselves into that sea, they constructed a fleet of tw thousand, or even of six thousand vessels;[13] numbers whic however incredible they may seem, would have been insufficie to transport their pretended army of three hundred and twent thousand barbarians. Whatever might be the real strength the Goths, the vigour and success of the expedition were n adequate to the greatness of the preparations. In their passag through the Bosphorus, the unskilful pilots were overpowered b the violence of the current; and while the multitude of the ships were crowded in a narrow channel, many were dashe against each other, or against the shore. The barbarians mad several descents on the coasts both of Europe and Asia; but th open country was already plundered, and they were repulsed wit shame and loss from the fortified cities which they assaulted. spirit of discouragement and division arose in the fleet, and som of their chiefs sailed away towards the islands of Crete and Cyprus but the main body, pursuing a more steady course, anchored a length near the foot of Mount Athos, and assaulted the city Thessalonica, the wealthy capital of all the Macedonian province Their attacks, in which they displayed a fierce but artless bravery were soon interrupted by the rapid approach of Claudius, has tening to a scene of action that deserved the presence of a wa like prince at the head of the remaining powers of the empir

[11] Zonaras on this occasion mentions Posthumus; but the registers of t senate (Hist. August. p. 203 [ib. 4]) prove that Tetricus was already emperor the western provinces.

[12] [The author does not mention the coalition of Grethungi, Tervingi, Alaman and other nations, which Claudius had to face in 268. The Alamanni crossed t Brenner and were defeated by Claudius near Lake Garda. Aurelius Victor, epit. 3 2; Eckhel, vii. 474; C. I. L. iii. 3521.]

[13] The Augustan History mentions the smaller, Zonaras [Zosimus, i. 42] t larger, number; the lively fancy of Montesquieu induced him to prefer the latte [For these invasions see Hodgkin, i. c. 1.]

patient for battle, the Goths immediately broke up their camp, inquished the siege of Thessalonica, left their navy at the foot Mount Athos, traversed the hills of Macedonia, and pressed wards to engage the last defence of Italy.

Distress and firmness of Claudius

We still possess an original letter addressed by Claudius to e senate and people on this memorable occasion. "Conscript hers," says the emperor, "know that three hundred and enty thousand Goths have invaded the Roman territory. If I nquish them, your gratitude will reward my services. Should all, remember that I am the successor of Gallienus. The whole public is fatigued and exhausted. We shall fight after Vale-n, after Ingenuus, Regillianus, Lollianus, Posthumus, Celsus, d a thousand others, whom a just contempt for Gallienus pro-ked into rebellion. We are in want of darts, of spears, and of elds. The strength of the empire, Gaul and Spain, are rped by Tetricus, and we blush to acknowledge that the hers of the East serve under the banners of Zenobia. What-er we shall perform will be sufficiently great."[14] The melan-oly firmness of this epistle announces a hero careless of his e, conscious of his danger, but still deriving a well-grounded pe from the resources of his own mind.

His victory over the Goths

The event surpassed his own expectations and those of the rld. By the most signal victories he delivered the empire m this host of barbarians, and was distinguished by posterity der the glorious appellation of the Gothic Claudius. The im-rfect historians of an irregular war[15] do not enable us to de-ribe the order and circumstances of his exploits; but, if we uld be indulged in the illusion, we might distribute into three ts this memorable tragedy. I. The decisive battle was fought ar Naissus, a city of Dardania. The legions at first gave way, pressed by numbers, and dismayed by misfortunes. Their in was inevitable, had not the abilities of their emperor pre-red a seasonable relief. A large detachment, rising out of e secret and difficult passes of the mountains, which, by his der, they had occupied, suddenly assailed the rear of the torious Goths. The favourable instant was improved by the tivity of Claudius. He revived the courage of his troops, re-ored their ranks, and pressed the barbarians on every side.

[14] Trebell. Pollio in Hist. August. p. 204 [xxv. 7].

[15] Hist. August. in Claud. Aurelian. et Prob. Zosimus, l. i. p. 38-42 [c. 42]. naras, l. xii. p. 638 [c. 26]. Aurel. Victor in Epitom. Victor Junior in esar. Eutrop. ix. 11. Euseb. in Chron. [The skill with which Claudius nned the campaign is well brought out in the account of Schiller, i. 848.]

Fifty thousand men are reported to have been slain in the batt of Naissus. Several large bodies of barbarians, covering the retreat with a moveable fortification of waggons, retired, or rath escaped, from the field of slaughter. II. We may presume th some insurmountable difficulty, the fatigue, perhaps, or the di obedience, of the conquerors, prevented Claudius from comple ing in one day the destruction of the Goths. The war w diffused over the provinces of Mæsia, Thrace, and Macedonia, an its operations drawn out into a variety of marches, surprises, an tumultuary engagements, as well by sea as by land. When th Romans suffered any loss, it was commonly occasioned by their ow cowardice or rashness; but the superior talents of the empero his perfect knowledge of the country, and his judicious choi of measures as well as officers, assured on most occasions th success of his arms. The immense booty, the fruit of so man victories, consisted for the greater part of cattle and slaves. select body of the Gothic youth was received among the In perial troops; the remainder was sold into servitude; and s considerable was the number of female captives, that eve soldier obtained to his share two or three women. A circun stance from which we may conclude that the invaders ente tained some designs of settlement as well as of plunder; sinc even in a naval expedition they were accompanied by the families. III. The loss of their fleet, which was either taken sunk, had intercepted the retreat of the Goths. A vast circ of Roman posts, distributed with skill, supported with firmnes and gradually closing towards a common centre, forced th barbarians into the most inaccessible parts of Mount Hæmu where they found a safe refuge, but a very scanty subsistenc During the course of a rigorous winter, in which they wer besieged by the emperor's troops, famine and pestilence, dese tion and the sword, continually diminished the imprisone A.D. 270 multitude. On the return of spring, nothing appeared in arm except a hardy and desperate band, the remnant of that might host which had embarked at the mouth of the Dniester.

March. Death of the emperor, who recommends Aurelian for his successor

The pestilence which swept away such numbers of the ba barians at length proved fatal to their conqueror. After a sho but glorious reign of two years, Claudius expired at Sirmiun amidst the tears and acclamations of his subjects. In his la illness, he convened the principal officers of the state and arm and in their presence recommended Aurelian,[16] one of h

[16] According to Zonaras (l. xii. p. 636 [ib.]) Claudius, before his death, invest

ierals,[17] as the most deserving of the throne, and the best lified to execute the great design which he himself had been mitted only to undertake. The virtues of Claudius, his our, affability, justice, and temperance, his love of fame and his country, place him in that short list of emperors who led lustre to the Roman purple. Those virtues, however, were ebrated with peculiar zeal and complacency by the courtly ters of the age of Constantine, who was the great-grandson Crispus, the elder brother of Claudius. The voice of flattery s soon taught to repeat that the gods, who so hastily had tched Claudius from the earth, rewarded his merit and piety the perpetual establishment of the empire in his family.[18]

Notwithstanding these oracles, the greatness of the Flavian nily (a name which it had pleased them to assume) was de- red above twenty years, and the elevation of Claudius oc- ioned the immediate ruin of his brother Quintilius, who ssessed not sufficient moderation or courage to descend into e private station to which the patriotism of the late emperor d condemned him. Without delay or reflection, he assumed e purple at Aquileia, where he commanded a considerable ce; and, though his reign lasted only seventeen days, he had ne to obtain the sanction of the senate, and to experience a tiny of the troops. As soon as he was informed that the eat army of the Danube had invested the well-known valour Aurelian with Imperial power, he sunk under the fame and rit of his rival; and, ordering his veins to be opened, prudently thdrew himself from the unequal contest.[19] The attempt and fall of Quintilius. April

The general design of this work will not permit us minutely relate the actions of every emperor after he ascended the Origin and services of Aurelian.

with the purple; but this singular fact is rather contradicted than confirmed other writers. [Zonaras says that Claudius recommended Aurelian to his cers, and that, *according to some*, he even proclaimed him emperor on the t.]

[17] [L. Domitius Aurelianus.]

[18] See the life of Claudius by Pollio, and the orations of Mamertinus, Eumenius, Julian. See likewise the Cæsars of Julian, p. 313. In Julian it was not adula-, but superstition and vanity.

[19] Zosimus, l. i. p. 42 [47]. Pollio (Hist. August. p. 206 [xxv. 12, 5]) allows virtues, and says that like Pertinax he was killed by licentious soldiers. ording to Dexippus [quoted by Pollio, Hist. Aug., but what he said was (not *sum* but) *mortuum* ἀποθανεῖν *nec tamen addit morbo*, thus leaving it doubtful] died of a disease. [M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus (this is the form of name on coins, and in best MSS. of Hist Aug.; Eckhel, vii. 478). It is to be ed that the Senate favoured his claims. He had been stationed to guard the an Alps and Aquileia, to cover the rear of Claudius in his Gothic war. He ms to have gained some victory, Cohen, 52.]

throne, much less to deduce the various fortunes of his privat life. We shall only observe, that the father of Aurelian was peasant of the territory of Sirmium, who occupied a small farm the property of Aurelius, a rich senator. His warlike son en listed in the troops as a common soldier, successively rose to th rank of a centurion, a tribune, the præfect of a legion, the in spector of the camp,[20] the general, or, as it was then called, th duke of a frontier; and at length, during the Gothic war exercised the important office of commander-in-chief of th cavalry. In every station he distinguished himself by matchles valour,[21] rigid discipline, and successful conduct. He was in [258 A.D.] vested with the consulship by the emperor Valerian, who style him, in the pompous language of that age, the deliverer o Illyricum, the restorer of Gaul, and the rival of the Scipios. A the recommendation of Valerian, a senator of the highest ran and merit, Ulpius Crinitus, whose blood was derived from th same source as that of Trajan, adopted the Pannonian peasant gave him his daughter in marriage, and relieved with his ampl fortune the honourable poverty which Aurelian had preserve inviolate.[22]

Aurelian's successful reign

The reign of Aurelian lasted only four years and about nin months; but every instant of that short period was filled b some memorable achievement. He put an end to the Gothi war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recovered Gau Spain, and Britain out of the hands of Tetricus, and destroye the proud monarchy which Zenobia had erected in the East o the ruins of the afflicted empire.

His severe discipline

It was the rigid attention of Aurelian even to the minute articles of discipline which bestowed such uninterrupted succes on his arms. His military regulations are contained in a ver

[20] [This seems to be an invention of Vopiscus. Such an office did not exist.]

[21] Theoclius [Cæsareanorum temporum scriptor] (as quoted in the Augusta History, p. 211 [xxvi. 6]) affirms that in one day he killed, with his own hand forty-eight Sarmatians, and in several subsequent engagements nine hundred an fifty. This heroic valour was admired by the soldiers, and celebrated in their ru songs, the burthen of which was *mille mille mille occidit.*

[22] Acholius (ap. Hist. August. p. 213 [xxvi. 12]) describes the ceremony of th adoption, as it was performed at Byzantium, in the presence of the emperor an his great officers. [Grave doubts are felt as to the truth of these statement which Vopiscus professes to quote from Acholius. (1) Aurelian was consul for th first time in 271, according to the consular Fasti (see Klein, *Fasti consulares*, 110), an therefore cannot have been consul in 258. (2) Had he been adopted by Ulpiu Crinitus, he must have assumed the name of his adopted father; but he never d so. (3) Some of the persons present at the ceremony held offices of who existence before Diocletian's time there is no other trace. See Rothkegel, *D Regierung des Kaisers Gallienus*, p. 10.]

ncise epistle to one of his inferior officers, who is commanded enforce them, as he wishes to become a tribune, or as he is sirous to live. Gaming, drinking, and the arts of divination re severely prohibited. Aurelian expected that his soldiers ould be modest, frugal, and laborious; that their armour ould be constantly kept bright, their weapons sharp, their thing and horses ready for immediate service; that they ould live in their quarters with chastity and sobriety, without maging the corn fields, without stealing even a sheep, a fowl a bunch of grapes, without exacting from their landlords her salt, or oil, or wood. "The public allowance," continues e emperor, "is sufficient for their support; their wealth should collected from the spoil of the enemy, not from the tears of e provincials."[23] A single instance will serve to display the rour, and even cruelty, of Aurelian. One of the soldiers had duced the wife of his host. The guilty wretch was fastened to o trees forcibly drawn towards each other, and his limbs were rn asunder by their sudden separation. A few such examples pressed a salutary consternation. The punishments of Aurelian were terrible; but he had seldom occasion to punish more an once the same offence. His own conduct gave a sanction his laws, and the seditious legions dreaded a chief who had rned to obey, and who was worthy to command.

He concludes a treaty with the Goths

The death of Claudius had revived the fainting spirit of the Goths. The troops which guarded the passes of Mount Hæmus, and the nks of the Danube, had been drawn away by the apprehension of civil war; and it seems probable that the remaining body of e Gothic and Vandalic tribes embraced the favourable opportuty, abandoned their settlements of the Ukraine, traversed the ers, and swelled with new multitudes the destroying host of eir countrymen. Their united numbers were at length entered by Aurelian, and the bloody and doubtful conflict ded only with the approach of night.[24] Exhausted by so ny calamities which they had mutually endured and inflicted ring a twenty years' war, the Goths and the Romans conted to a lasting and beneficial treaty. It was earnestly

[23] Hist. August. p. 211 [xxvi. 7]. This laconic epistle is truly the work of a dier; it abounds with military phrases and words, some of which cannot be derstood without difficulty. *Ferramenta samiata* is well explained by Salmasius. e former of the words means all weapons of offence, and is contrasted with *Arma*, ensive armour. The latter signifies keen and well sharpened. [He is called *titutor exercitii* on coins, Cohen, 175, as well as by the more ambitious title *restitutor is*, Cohen, 164 *sqq.*]

[24] Zosim. l. 1, p. 45 [48]

solicited by the barbarians, and cheerfully ratified by the legions, to whose suffrage the prudence of Aurelian referred the decision of that important question. The Gothic nation engaged to supply the armies of Rome with a body of two thousand auxiliaries, consisting entirely of cavalry, and stipulated in return an undisturbed retreat, with a regular market as far as the Danube, provided by the emperor's care, but at their own expense. The treaty was observed with such religious fidelity, that, when a party of five hundred men straggled from the camp in quest of plunder, the king or general of the barbarians commanded that the guilty leader should be apprehended and shot to death with darts, as a victim devoted to the sanctity of their engagements. It is, however, not unlikely that the precaution of Aurelian, who had exacted as hostages the sons and daughters of the Gothic chiefs, contributed something to this pacific temper. The youths he trained in the exercise of arms, and near his own person; to the damsels he gave a liberal and Roman education, and, by bestowing them in marriage on some of his principal officers, gradually introduced between the two nations the closest and most endearing connexions.[25]

and resigns to them the province of Dacia

But the most important condition of peace was understood rather than expressed in the treaty. Aurelian withdrew the Roman forces from Dacia, and tacitly relinquished that great province to the Goths and Vandals.[26] His manly judgment convinced him of the solid advantages, and taught him to despise the seeming disgrace, of thus contracting the frontiers of the monarchy. The Dacian subjects, removed from those distant possessions which they were unable to cultivate or defend, added strength and populousness to the southern side of the Danube. A fertile territory, which the repetition of barbarous inroads had changed into a desert, was yielded to their industry, and a new province of Dacia[27] still preserved the memory of Trajan's conquests. The old country of that name detained, however, a considerable number of its inhabi-

[25] Dexippus (ap. Excerpta Legat. p. 12 [p. 19, ed. Bonn]) relates the whole transaction under the name of Vandals. Aurelian married one of the Gothic ladies to his general Bonosus, who was able to drink with the Goths and discover their secrets. Hist. August. p. 247 [xxix. 14, 15]. [The author is mistaken in applying the account of Dexippus to the Goths: the negotiations were with the Vandals.]

[26] Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 39]. Eutrop. ix. 15. Sextus Rufus, c. 9. Lactantius de mortibus Persecutorum, c. 9. [But see above, chap. x. note 106.]

[27] [*Dacia felix* on coins, Eckhel, vii. 481. Unfortunately this new province unlike the old, had no strategic importance.]

nts, who dreaded exile more than a Gothic master.[28] These egenerate Romans continued to serve the empire, whose allegi-nce they had renounced, by introducing among their conquerors ne first notions of agriculture, the useful arts, and the con-eniences of civilized life. An intercourse of commerce and nguage was gradually established between the opposite banks the Danube; and, after Dacia became an independent state, often proved the firmest barrier of the empire against the vasions of the savages of the North. A sense of interest tached these more settled barbarians to the alliance of Rome, id a permanent interest very frequently ripens into sincere and seful friendship. This various colony, which filled the ancient rovince and was insensibly blended into one great people, still cknowledged the superior renown and authority of the Gothic ibe, and claimed the fancied honour of a Scandinavian origin. t the same time the lucky though accidental resemblance of ne name of Getæ, infused among the credulous Goths a vain ersuasion that, in a remote age, their own ancestors, already ated in the Dacian provinces, had received the instructions of molxis, and checked the victorious arms of Sesostris and Darius.[29]

The Alemannic war

While the vigorous and moderate conduct of Aurelian restored ne Illyrian frontier, the nation of the Alemanni[30] violated the nditions of peace, which either Gallienus had purchased, or laudius had imposed, and, inflamed by their impatient youth, ddenly flew to arms. Forty thousand horse appeared in the eld,[31] and the numbers of the infantry doubled those of the valry.[32] The first objects of their avarice were a few cities of

[28] The Walachians still preserve many traces of the Latin language, and have asted in every age of their Roman descent. They are surrounded by, but not ixed with, the barbarians. See a Memoir of M. d'Anville, on ancient Dacia, the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxx. [The Roumanian boast as to their scent was challenged about twenty years ago by Roesler, whose book led to notable controversy, which will claim our attention at a later stage.]

[29] See the first chapter of Jornandes. The Vandals however (c. 22) main-ined a short independence between the rivers Marisia and Crissia (Maros and eres) which fell into the Theiss.

[30] Dexippus, p. 7-12 [fr. 25]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 43 [49]. Vopiscus in Aurelian. Hist. August. [c. 18]. However these historians differ in names (Alemanni, thungi, and Marcomanni) it is evident that they mean the same people, and e same war; but it requires some care to conciliate and explain them. [Aurelius ctor, 35, 2, says Alamanni. But the whole narrative in the text is vitiated by e author's deliberate confusion of the Juthungi, Alamanni and Vandals.]

[31] Cantoclarus, with his usual accuracy, chooses to translate three hundred ousand; his version is equally repugnant to sense and to grammar.

[32] We may remark, as an instance of bad taste, that Dexippus applies to the ht infantry of the Alemanni the technical terms proper only to the Grecian alanx.

the Rhætian frontier; but, their hopes soon rising with success, the rapid march of the Alemanni traced a line of devastation from the Danube to the Po.[33]

A.D. 270, September

The emperor was almost at the same time informed of the irruption, and of the retreat, of the barbarians. Collecting an active body of troops, he marched with silence and celerity along the skirts of the Hercynian forest; and the Alemanni, laden with the spoils of Italy, arrived at the Danube, without suspecting that, on the opposite bank, and in an advantageous post, a Roman army lay concealed and prepared to intercept their return. Aurelian indulged the fatal security of the barbarians, and permitted about half their forces to pass the river without disturbance and without precaution. Their situation and astonishment gave him an easy victory; his skilful conduct improved the advantage. Disposing the legions in a semicircular form, he advanced the two horns of the crescent across the Danube, and, wheeling them on a sudden towards the centre, inclosed the rear of the German host. The dismayed barbarians, on whatsoever side they cast their eyes, beheld with despair a wasted country, a deep and rapid stream, a victorious and implacable enemy.

Reduced to this distressed condition, the Alemanni no longer disdained to sue for peace.[34] Aurelian received their ambassadors at the head of his camp, and with every circumstance of martial pomp that could display the greatness and discipline of Rome. The legions stood to their arms in well-ordered ranks and awful silence. The principal commanders, distinguished by the ensigns of their rank, appeared on horseback on either side of the Imperial throne. Behind the throne, the consecrated images of the emperor and his predecessors,[35] the golden eagles, and the various titles of the legions, engraved in letters of gold, were exalted in the air on lofty pikes covered with silver. When Aurelian assumed his seat, his manly grace and majestic figure[36] taught the barbarians to revere the person as well as the purple of their conqueror. The ambassadors fell prostrate on the ground in silence. They were commanded to rise, and permitted to

[33] In Dexippus we at present read Rhodanus; M. de Valois very judiciously alters the word to Eridanus. [This narrative of Dexippus refers to the Juthungi, not to the Alamanni.]

[34] [Really the Juthungi, Dexippus, p. 25. A.D. 270. A treaty was also made with the Vandals, ib.]

[35] The emperor Claudius was certainly of the number; but we are ignorant how far this mark of respect was extended; if to Cæsar and Augustus, it must have produced a very awful spectacle; a long line of the masters of the world.

[36] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 210 [xxvi. 6].

eak. By the assistance of interpreters they extenuated their rfidy, magnified their exploits, expatiated on the vicissitudes of tune and the advantages of peace, and, with an ill-timed conence, demanded a large subsidy, as the price of the alliance iich they offered to the Romans. The answer of the emperor is stern and imperious. He treated their offer with contempt, d their demand with indignation; reproached the barbarians, at they were as ignorant of the arts of war as of the laws of ace; and finally dismissed them with the choice only of subtting to his unconditioned mercy, or awaiting the utmost verity of his resentment.[37] Aurelian had resigned a distant ovince to the Goths; but it was dangerous to trust or to pardon ese perfidious barbarians, whose formidable power kept Italy elf in perpetual alarms.

The Alemanni invade Italy

Immediately after this conference it should seem that some nexpected emergency required the emperor's presence in nnonia. He devolved on his lieutenants the care of finishing e destruction of the Alemanni, either by the sword, or by the rer operation of famine. But an active despair has often umphed over the indolent assurance of success. The barrians, finding it impossible to traverse the Danube and the oman camp, broke through the posts in their rear, which were ore feebly or less carefully guarded; and with incredible ligence, but by a different road, returned towards the mountains Italy.[38] Aurelian, who considered the war as totally exnguished, received the mortifying intelligence of the escape of e Alemanni, and of the ravage which they already committed the territory of Milan. The legions were commanded to llow, with as much expedition as those heavy bodies were pable of exerting, the rapid flight of an enemy whose infantry d cavalry moved with almost equal swiftness. A few days terwards the emperor himself marched to the relief of Italy, the head of a chosen body of auxiliaries (among whom were e hostages and cavalry of the Vandals), and of all the Prætorian ards who had served in the wars on the Danube.[39]

and are at last vanquished by Aurelian

As the light troops of the Alemanni had spread themselves om the Alps to the Apennine, the incessant vigilance of Aurean and his officers was exercised in the discovery, the attack,

[37] Dexippus gives them a subtle and prolix oration, worthy of a Grecian Sophist.

[38] Hist. August. p. 215 [xxvi. 18, where the invaders are called Marcomanni. he second invasion of the Juthungi (Dexippus, ib. *ad fin.*) may have been connected th this Alamannic invasion.]

[39] Dexippus, p. 12 [fr. 25 *ad fin.*].

and the pursuit of the numerous detachments. Notwithstanding this desultory war, three considerable battles are mentioned, in which the principal force of both armies was obstinately engaged.[40] The success was various. In the first, fought near Placentia, the Romans received so severe a blow, that, according to the expression of a writer extremely partial to Aurelian, the immediate dissolution of the empire was apprehended.[41] The crafty barbarians, who had lined the woods, suddenly attacked the legions in the dusk of the evening, and, it is most probable, after the fatigue and disorder of a long march. The fury of their charge was irresistible; but at length, after a dreadful slaughter, the patient firmness of the emperor rallied his troops, and restored, in some degree, the honour of his arms. The second battle was fought near Fano in Umbria; on the spot which, five hundred years before, had been fatal to the brother of Hannibal.[42] Thus far the successful Germans had advanced along the Æmilian and Flaminian way, with a design of sacking the defenceless mistress of the world. But Aurelian, who, watchful for the safety of Rome, still hung on their rear, found in this place the decisive moment of giving them a total and irretrievable defeat.[43] The flying remnant of their host was exterminated in a third and last battle near Pavia; and Italy was delivered from the inroads of the Alemanni.

Superstitious ceremonies

Fear has been the original parent of superstition, and every new calamity urges trembling mortals to deprecate the wrath of their invisible enemies. Though the best hope of the republic was in the valour and conduct of Aurelian, yet such was the public consternation, when the barbarians were hourly expected at the gates of Rome, that, by a decree of the senate, the Sibylline books were consulted. Even the emperor himself, from a motive either of religion or of policy, recommended the salutary measure, chided the tardiness of the senate,[44] and offered to supply whatever expense, whatever animals, whatever captives of any nation, the gods should require. Notwithstanding this liberal offer, it does not appear that any human victims expiated with their blood the sins of the Roman

[40] Victor Junior in Aurelian. [Epit. 35].

[41] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216 [xxvi. 21, 1].

[42] The little river or rather torrent of Metaurus, near Fano, has been immortalized by finding such an historian as Livy, and such a poet as Horace.

[43] It is recorded by an inscription found at Pezaro. See Gruter. cclxxvi. 3 [Orelli 1031].

[44] One should imagine, he said, that you were assembled in a Christian church, not in the temple of all the gods.

ople. The Sibylline books enjoined ceremonies of a more A.D. 271, Jan. 11
rmless nature, processions of priests in white robes, attended
a chorus of youths and virgins; lustrations of the city and
jacent country; and sacrifices, whose powerful influence dis-
led the barbarians from passing the mystic ground on which
ey had been celebrated. However puerile in themselves,
ese superstitious arts were subservient to the success of the
r; and if, in the decisive battle of Fano, the Alemanni
ıcied they saw an army of spectres combating on the side of
ırelian, he received a real and effectual aid from this imaginary
nforcement.[45]

But, whatever confidence might be placed in ideal ramparts, Fortifications of Rome
e experience of the past, and the dread of the future, induced
e Romans to construct fortifications of a grosser and more
ɔstantial kind. The seven hills of Rome had been surrounded
the successors of Romulus with an ancient wall of more than
irteen miles.[46] The vast inclosure may seem disproportioned
the strength and numbers of the infant state. But it was
cessary to secure an ample extent of pasture and arable land
ainst the frequent and sudden incursions of the tribes of
ɪtium, the perpetual enemies of the republic. With the pro-
ess of Roman greatness, the city and its inhabitants gradually
ɔreased, filled up the vacant space, pierced through the use-
ss walls, covered the field of Mars, and, on every side, followed
e public highways in long and beautiful suburbs.[47] The ex-
ɪt of the new walls, erected by Aurelian, and finished in the
ign of Probus, was magnified by popular estimation to near
ty;[48] but is reduced by accurate measurement to about twenty-
e miles.[49] It was a great but a melancholy labour, since

[45] Vopiscus in Hist. Aug. p. 215, 216 [xxvi. 19 and 20] gives a long account of se ceremonies, from the Registers of the senate.

[46] Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5. To confirm our idea, we may observe that for a g time Mount Cælius was a grove of oaks, and Mount Viminal was over-run with ers; that in the fourth century, the Aventine was a vacant and solitary retire- nt; that, till the time of Augustus, the Esquiline was an unwholesome burying ound; and that the numerous inequalities remarked by the ancients in the irinal sufficiently prove that it was not covered with buildings. Of the seven ls, the Capitoline and Palatine only, with the adjacent valleys, were the primitive bitations of the Roman people. But this subject would require a dissertation. is now generally admitted that Pliny must have meant the circumference of the y as divided by Augustus into 14 regions.]

[47] Expatiantia tecta multas addidere urbes, is the expression of Pliny.

[48] Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 39, 2]. Both Lipsius and Isaac Vossius have gerly embraced this measure.

[49] See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. i. c. 8. [Compare Jordan, Topographie der adt Rom im Alterthum, i. 340 *sqq.*]

the defence of the capital betrayed the decline of the monarch
The Romans of a more prosperous age, who trusted to the arm
of the legions the safety of the frontier camps,[50] were very fa
from entertaining a suspicion that it would ever become necessar
to fortify the seat of empire against the inroads of the barbarians.

Aurelian suppresses the two usurpers

The victory of Claudius over the Goths, and the success
Aurelian against the Alemanni, had already restored to th
arms of Rome their ancient superiority over the barbarou
nations of the North. To chastise domestic tyrants, and to re
unite the dismembered parts of the empire, was a task reserve
for the latter of those warlike emperors. Though he wa
acknowledged by the senate and people, the frontiers of Italy
Africa, Illyricum, and Thrace, confined the limits of his reig
Gaul, Spain, and Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor wer
still possessed by two rebels, who alone, out of so numerous
list, had hitherto escaped the dangers of their situation; and, t
complete the ignominy of Rome, these rival thrones had bee
usurped by women.

Succession of usurpers in Gaul

A rapid succession of monarchs had arisen and fallen in th
provinces of Gaul. The rigid virtues of Posthumus served only t
hasten his destruction. After suppressing a competitor, who ha
assumed the purple at Mentz, he refused to gratify his troops wit
the plunder of the rebellious city; and, in the seventh year of h
reign, became the victim of their disappointed avarice.[52] Th
death of Victorinus, his friend and associate, was occasioned b
a less worthy cause. The shining accomplishments[53] of tha
prince were stained by a licentious passion, which he indulge
in acts of violence, with too little regard to the laws of society
or even to those of love.[54] He was slain at Cologne, by a cou

[50] Tacit. Hist. iv. 23.

[51] For Aurelian's walls, see Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216, 222 [xxvi. 21; 39
Zosimus, l. i. p. 43 [49]. Eutropius, ix. 15. Aurel. Victor in Aurelian., Victo
Junior in Aurelian., Euseb. Hieronym. et Idatius in Chronic.

[52] His competitor was Lollianus, or Ælianus, if indeed these names mean th
same person. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1177. [Lælianus. See Appendix 18.

[53] The character of this prince by Julius Aterianus (ap. Hist. August. p. 18
[xxiv. 6]) is worth transcribing, as it seems fair and impartial. Victorino qui po
Junium Posthumum Gallias [G. post J. P.] rexit neminem existimo [æstimo
præferendum: non in virtute Trajanum; non Antoninum in clementia; non
gravitate Nervam; non in gubernando ærario Vespasianum; non in censu
totius vitæ ac severitate militari Pertinacem vel Severum. Sed omnia hæc libido,
cupiditas voluptatis mulierariæ [mul. vol.] sic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtutes ej
in literas mittere quem constat omnium judicio meruisse puniri. [The right readin
are inserted in brackets.]

[54] He ravished the wife of Attitianus, an *actuary*, or army agent. Hist. Augus
p. 186 [ib.]. Aurel. Victor in Aurelian.

piracy of jealous husbands, whose revenge would have appeared more justifiable, had they spared the innocence of his son. After the murder of so many valiant princes, it is somewhat remarkable that a female for a long time controlled the fierce legions of Gaul, and still more singular that she was the mother of the unfortunate Victorinus. The arts and treasures of Victoria enabled her successfully to place Marius and Tetricus on the throne, and to reign with a manly vigour under the name of those dependent emperors. Money of copper, of silver, and of gold, was coined in her name; she assumed the titles of Augusta and Mother of the Camps: her power ended only with her life; but her life was perhaps shortened by the ingratitude of Tetricus.[55]

When, at the instigation of his ambitious patroness, Tetricus[56] assumed the ensigns of royalty, he was governor of the peaceful province of Aquitaine, an employment suited to his character and education. He reigned four or five years over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the slave and sovereign of a licentious army, whom he dreaded and by whom he was despised. The valour and fortune of Aurelian at length opened the prospect of a deliverance. He ventured to disclose his melancholy situation, and conjured the emperor to hasten to the relief of his unhappy rival. Had this secret correspondence reached the ears of the soldiers, it would most probably have cost Tetricus his life; nor could he resign the sceptre of the West without committing an act of treason against himself. He affected the appearances of a civil war, led his forces into the field against Aurelian, posted them in the most disadvantageous manner, betrayed his own counsels to the enemy, and with a few chosen friends deserted in the beginning of the action. The rebel legions, though disordered and dismayed by the unexpected treachery of their chief, defended themselves with a desperate valour, till they were cut in pieces almost to a man, in this bloody and memorable battle, which was fought near Chalons in Champagne.[57]

The reign and defeat of Tetricus

A.D. 271, summer

[55] Pollio assigns her an article among the thirty tyrants. Hist. Aug. p. 200 [xxvi. As for Marius, see Appendix 18.]

[56] [Gaius Pius (?) Esuvius Tetricus. He made his son his colleague, compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1106, and Burdigala (owing to his Aquitanian connexions) is capital.]

[57] Pollio in Hist. August p. 196. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 220 [xxiv. 24; xxvi. 32]. The two Victors, in the lives of Gallienus and Aurelian. Eutropius, ix. 13. Euseb. in Chron. Of all these writers, only the two last (but with strong probability) place the fall of Tetricus before that of Zenobia. M. de Boze (in the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxx.) does not wish, and Tillemont (tom. iii. p. 1189)

The retreat of the irregular auxiliaries, Franks and Batavians whom the conqueror soon compelled or persuaded to repass t Rhine, restored the general tranquillity, and the power Aurelian was acknowledged from the wall of Antoninus to t columns of Hercules.

As early as the reign of Claudius, the city of Autun, alone a unassisted, had ventured to declare against the legions of Ga After a siege of seven months, they stormed and plundered th unfortunate city, already wasted by famine.[59] Lyons, on the co trary, had resisted with obstinate disaffection the arms of Aurelia We read of the punishment of Lyons,[60] but there is not a mention of the rewards of Autun. Such, indeed, is the policy civil war; severely to remember injuries, and to forget the mo important services. Revenge is profitable, gratitude is expensiv

A.D. 272. Character of Zenobia

Aurelian had no sooner secured the person and provinces Tetricus, than he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrat queen of Palmyra and the East. Modern Europe has produc several illustrious women who have sustained with glory t weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such disti guished characters. But if we except the doubtful achievemen of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superi genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her s by the climate and manners of Asia.[61] She claimed her desce from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty h ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity

her beauty and learning

and valour. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well the most heroic of her sex. She was of dark complexion (for speaking of a lady these trifles become important). Her tee were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkl with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetne Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understandi

does not dare, to follow them. I have been fairer than the one, and bolder th the other. [The sources leave no doubt that Aurelian had to deal with Zenob and the East before he turned to Tetricus and Gaul. Tillemont's caution w justified.]

[58] Victor Junior in Aurelian. Eumenius mentions *Batavicæ;* some critics, wit out any reason, would fain alter the word to *Bagaudicæ.*

[59] Eumen. in Vet. Panegyr. iv. 8 [*pro restaur. schol.* ed. Bährens, p. 119].

[60] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 246 [xxix. 13]. Autun was not restored till t reign of Diocletian. See Eumenius de restaurandis scholis. [On Autun (Augus dunum) see the elaborate essay of Mr. Freeman, Historical Essays, 4th series.

[61] Almost everything that is said of the manners of Odenathus and Zenob is taken from their lives in the Augustan History, by Trebellius Pollio, see p. 19 198 [xxiv. 15 and 30].

[62] She never admitted her husband's embraces but for the sake of poster If her hopes were baffled, in the ensuing *month* she reiterated the experiment.

as strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant f the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, ne Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for er own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly com- ared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the ıblime Longinus.

This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who rom a private station raised himself to the dominion of the East. he soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the ıtervals of war, Odenathus passionately delighted in the exercise f hunting; he pursued with ardour the wild beasts of the desert, ons, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that angerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had ıured her constitution to fatigue, disdained the use of a covered arriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and ometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the troops. he success of Odenathus was in a great measure ascribed to her ncomparable prudence and fortitude. Their splendid victories ver the Great King, whom they twice pursued as far as the ates of Ctesiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and ower. The armies which they commanded, and the provinces hich they had saved, acknowledged not any other sovereigns han their invincible chiefs. The senate and people of Rome evered a stranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and ven the insensible son of Valerian accepted Odenathus for his egitimate colleague. her valour

After a successful expedition against the Gothic plunderers of sia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emesa in yria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by domestic reason, and his favourite amusement of hunting was the cause, r at least the occasion, of his death.[63] His nephew, Mæonius, resumed to dart his javelin before that of his uncle; and, hough admonished of his error, repeated the same insolence. s a monarch and as a sportsman, Odenathus was provoked: ook away his horse, a mark of ignominy among the barbarians, nd chastised the rash youth by a short confinement. The ffence was soon forgot, but the punishment was remembered; A.D 267 nd Mæonius, with a few daring associates, assassinated his uncle n the midst of a great entertainment. Herod, the son of Odena- She revenges her husband's death

[63] Hist. August. p. 192, 193 [xxiv. 15]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 36 [39]. Zonaras, l. i. p. 633 [c. 24]. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inonsistent. The text of Syncellus [i. p. 717, ed. Bonn], if not corrupt, is absolute onsense.

thus, though not of Zenobia, a young man of a soft and effem ate temper,[64] was killed with his father. But Mæonius obtain only the pleasure of revenge by this bloody deed. He h scarcely time to assume the title of Augustus, before he w sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband.[65]

and reigns over the East and Egypt

With the assistance of his most faithful friends, she imme ately filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly couns Palmyra, Syria, and the East, above five years. By the death Odenathus, that authority was at an end which the senate h granted him only as a personal distinction; but his mart widow, disdaining both the senate and Gallienus, obliged one the Roman generals, who was sent against her, to retreat in Europe, with the loss of his army and his reputation.[66] Inste of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reig the steady administration of Zenobia was guided by the m judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, s could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, s could impose silence on the voice of pity. Her strict econor was accused of avarice; yet on every proper occasion she a peared magnificent and liberal. The neighbouring states Arabia, Armenia, and Persia, dreaded her enmity, and solicit her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extend from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow add the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kin dom of Egypt. The emperor Claudius acknowledged her mer and was content that, while *he* pursued the Gothic war, s should assert the dignity of the empire in the East.[67] T conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguit nor is it unlikely that she had conceived the design of erecti an independent and hostile monarchy. She blended with t popular manners of Roman princes the stately pomp of t courts of Asia, and exacted from her subjects the same adorati that was paid to the successors of Cyrus. She bestowed on h three sons[68] a Latin education, and often showed them to t

[64] Odenathus and Zenobia often sent him, from the spoils of the enemy, prese of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

[65] Some very unjust suspicions have been cast on Zenobia, as if she w accessory to her husband's death.

[66] Hist. August. p. 180, 181 [xxiii. 13. See Appendix 19.]

[67] See in Hist. August. p. 198 [xxiv. 30] Aurelian's testimony to her mer and for the conquest of Egypt, Zosimus, l. i. p. 39, 40 [44].

[68] Timolaus, Herennianus, and Vaballathus. It is supposed that the t former were already dead before the war. On the last, Aurelian bestowed small province of Armenia, with the title of king; several of his medals are s extant. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1190. [See Appendix 19.]

ops adorned with the Imperial purple. For herself she re-ved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen the East.

The Expedition of Aurelian, A.D. 272 [spring]

When Aurelian passed over into Asia, against an adversary ose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, hi esence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already aken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia.[69] Advancing at e head of his legions, he accepted the submission of Ancyra, d was admitted into Tyana, after an obstinate siege, by the lp of a perfidious citizen. The generous though fierce temper Aurelian abandoned the traitor to the rage of the soldiers: a perstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the ıntrymen of Apollonius the philosopher.[70] Antioch was serted on his approach, till the emperor, by his salutary edicts, called the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, m necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the vice of the Palmyrenian queen. The unexpected mildness of ch a conduct reconciled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as e gates of Emesa, the wishes of the people seconded the terror his arms.[71]

The emperor defeats the Palmyrenians in the battles of Antioch and Emesa

Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she inlently permitted the emperor of the West to approach within hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the East was cided in two great battles; so similar in almost every circumnce that we can scarcely distinguish them from each other, cept by observing that the first was fought near Antioch,[72] d the second near Emesa.[73] In both, the queen of Palmyra imated the armies by her presence, and devolved the execun of her orders on Zabdas, who had already signalized his litary talents by the conquest of Egypt. The numerous forces Zenobia consisted for the most part of light archers, and of avy cavalry clothed in complete steel. The Moorish and Ilian horse of Aurelian were unable to sustain the ponderous arge of their antagonists. They fled in real or affected dis-

[69] Zosimus, l. i. p. 44 [50].

[70] Vopiscus (in Hist. August. p. 217[xxvi. 23, 24]) gives us an authentic letter, and doubtful vision, of Aurelian. Apollonius of Tyana was born about the same e as Jesus Christ. His life (that of the former) is related in so fabulous a manner his disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, an imtor, or a fanatic.

[71] Zosimus, l. i. p. 46 [52].

[72] At a place called Immæ. Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, and Jerome, mention y this first battle.

[73] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 217 [xxvi. 25] mentions only the second.

order, engaged the Palmyrenians in a laborious pursuit, harass them by a desultory combat, and at length discomfited this i penetrable but unwieldy body of cavalry. The light infanti in the meantime, when they had exhausted their quivers, r maining without protection against a closer onset, exposed th naked sides to the swords of the legions. Aurelian had chos these veteran troops, who were usually stationed on the Upp Danube, and whose valour had been severely tried in t Alemannic war.[74] After the defeat of Emesa, Zenobia found impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier Egypt, the nations subject to her empire had joined the standa of the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of l generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmy was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retir within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for vigorous resistance, and declared, with the intrepidity of a heroi that the last moment of her reign and of her life should be t same.

The state of Palmyra

Amid the barren deserts of Arabia, a few cultivated spots ri like islands out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadm or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in t Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm trees whi afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region. The s was pure, and the soil, watered by some invaluable springs, w capable of producing fruits as well as corn. A place possess of such singular advantages, and situated at a convenient d tance,[75] between the Gulf of Persia and the Mediterranea was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to t nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commoditi of India. Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and i dependent city, and, connecting the Roman and the Parthi monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victori of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, a flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subo dinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during th peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscri tions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those templ

[74] Zosimus, l. i. p. 44-48 [50-53]. His account of the two battles is clear a circumstantial.

[75] It was five hundred and thirty-seven miles from Seleucia, and two hund and three from the nearest coast of Syria, according to the reckoning of Pli who in a few words (Hist. Natur. v. 21) gives an excellent description of Palmyr

aces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, ttered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the iosity of our travellers. The elevation of Odenathus and obia appeared to reflect new splendour on their country, and myra for a while stood forth the rival of Rome: but the com- ition was fatal, and ages of prosperity were sacrificed to a ment of glory.[76]

In his march over the sandy desert, between Emesa and myra, the Emperor Aurelian was perpetually harassed by the abs; nor could he always defend his army, and especially his ggage, from these flying troops of active and daring robbers, o watched the moment of surprise, and eluded the slow pur- t of the legions. The siege of Palmyra was an object far re difficult and important, and the emperor, who with incessant our pressed the attacks in person, was himself wounded with dart. "The Roman people," says Aurelian, in an original ter, "speak with contempt of the war which I am waging ainst a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her war- e preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of ssile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two three *balistæ*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military gines. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate rage. Yet still I trust in the protecting deities of Rome, who ve hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings."[77] Doubt- , however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of e siege, Aurelian judged it more prudent to offer terms of an vantageous capitulation: to the queen, a splendid retreat; to e citizens, their ancient privileges. His proposals were stinately rejected, and the refusal was accompanied with ult.

It is besieged by Aurelian

The firmness of Zenobia was supported by the hope that in a ry short time famine would compel the Roman army to repass e desert; and by the reasonable expectation that the kings of e East, and particularly the Persian monarch, would arm in e defence of their most natural ally. But fortune and the rseverance of Aurelian overcame every obstacle. The death

who becomes master of Zenobia and of the city

[76] Some English travellers from Aleppo *discovered* the ruins of Palmyra, about end of the last century. Our curiosity has since been gratified in a more splen- manner by Messieurs Wood and Dawkins. For the history of Palmyra, we y consult the masterly dissertation of Dr. Halley in the Philosophical Transac- ns; Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. iii. p. 518.

[77] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 218 [xxvi. 26].

of Sapor, which happened about this time,[78] distracted the co
cils of Persia, and the inconsiderable succours that attemp
to relieve Palmyra, were easily intercepted either by the a
or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syri
regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, wh
was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious tro
from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resol
to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries,[79] and
already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty m
from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit
Aurelian's light horse, seized, and brought back a captive to
A.D. 273 [spring] feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterwards surrende
and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horses,
camels, with an immense treasure of gold, silver, silk,
precious stones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who, leav
only a garrison of six hundred archers, returned to Emesa,
employed some time in the distribution of rewards and pun
ments at the end of so memorable a war, which restored to
obedience of Rome those provinces that had renounced t
allegiance since the captivity of Valerian.

Behaviour of Zenobia

When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence
Aurelian, he sternly asked her, How she had presumed to ris
arms against the emperors of Rome? The answer of Zeno
was a prudent mixture of respect and firmness. "Because I
dained to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallie
You alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign
But, as female fortitude is commonly artificial, so it is sele
steady or consistent. The courage of Zenobia deserted he
the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamours of
soldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution, fo
the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had propo
as her model, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacri
of her fame and her friends. It was to their counsels, wh
governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the g
of her obstinate resistance; it was on their heads that

[78] From a very doubtful chronology I have endeavoured to extract the probable date. [The death of Sapor (Shâhpûr I.) is variously placed in 269 272; his son was involved in a war with a pretender.]

[79] Hist. August. p. 218 [xxvi. 28]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 50 [55]. Though camel is a heavy beast of burden, the dromedary, who is either of the same or kindred species, is used by the natives of Asia and Africa, on all occasions w require celerity. The Arabs affirm that he will run over as much groun one day as their fleetest horses can perform in eight or ten. See Buffon, Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 222, and Shaw's Travels, p. 167.

[80] Pollio in Hist. August. p. 199 [xxiv. 30, 23].

ted the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of inus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps ent victims of her fear, will survive that of the queen who yed, or the tyrant who condemned, him. Genius and ing were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of inus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing ort on his afflicted friends.[81]

Rebellion and ruin of Palmyra

eturning from the conquest of the East, Aurelian had already ed the Straits which divide Europe from Asia, when he provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had acred the governor and garrison which he had left among , and again erected the standard of revolt. Without a ent's deliberation, he once more turned his face towards . Antioch was alarmed by his rapid approach, and the less city of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resent- t. We have a letter of Aurelian himself, in which he owledges[82] that old men, women, children, and peasants been involved in that dreadful execution, which should been confined to armed rebellion; and, although his cipal concern seems directed to the re-establishment of a ple of the Sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuild- and inhabiting their city. But it is easier to destroy than estore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, ually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at th a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, isting of thirty or forty families, have erected their mud ages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.

Aurelian suppresses the rebellion of Firmus in Egypt

nother and a last labour still awaited the indefatigable elian; to suppress a dangerous though obscure rebel, who, ng the revolt of Palmyra, had arisen on the banks of the . Firmus, the friend and ally, as he proudly styled himself, denathus and Zenobia, was no more than a wealthy merchant gypt. In the course of his trade to India, he had formed intimate connexions with the Saracens and the Blemmyes, se situation on either coast of the Red Sea gave them an introduction into the Upper Egypt. The Egyptians he med with the hope of freedom, and, at the head of their

[81] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 219 [xxvi. 30]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 51 [56].
[82] Hist. August. p. 219 [xxvi. 31].

furious multitude, broke into the city of Alexandria, where
assumed the Imperial purple, coined money, published edic
and raised an army, which, as he vainly boasted, he was capal
of maintaining from the sole profits of his paper trade. Su
troops were a feeble defence against the approach of Aurelia
and it seems almost unnecessary to relate that Firmus w
routed, taken, tortured, and put to death. Aurelian might n
congratulate the senate, the people, and himself, that in litt
more than three years he had restored universal peace and ord
to the Roman world.[83]

A.D. 274. Triumph of Aurelian

Since the foundation of Rome, no general had more nob
deserved a triumph than Aurelian; nor was a triumph ev
celebrated with superior pride and magnificence.[84] The pon
was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and abo
two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate
the North, the East, and the South. They were followed
sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement
the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns
so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and war
robe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry
artful disorder. The ambassadors of the most remote parts
the earth, of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, India, a
China, all remarkable by their rich or singular dresses, display
the fame and power of the Roman emperor, who exposed lik
wise to the public view the presents that he had received, a
particularly a great number of crowns of gold, the offerings
grateful cities. The victories of Aurelian were attested by t
long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triump
Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syria
and Egyptians. Each people was distinguished by its peculi
inscription, and the title of Amazons was bestowed on t
martial heroines of the Gothic nation who had been taken
arms.[85] But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, w
fixed on the emperor Tetricus and the queen of the East. T

[83] See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 220, 242 [xxvi. 32, xxix. 5]. As an insta
of luxury, it is observed that he had glass windows. He was remarkable for
strength and appetite, his courage and dexterity. From the letter of Aurelian
may justly infer that Firmus was the last of the rebels, and consequently t
Tetricus was already suppressed.

[84] See the triumph of Aurelian, described by Vopiscus. He relates the parti
lars with his usual minuteness; and on this occasion they *happen* to be interesti
Hist. August. 220 [xxvi. 33].

[85] Among barbarous nations, women have often combated by the side of th
husbands. But it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should e
have existed either in the old or new world.

ıer, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was ısed in Gallic trowsers,[86] a saffron tunic, and a robe of purple. beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; ıve supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She ceded on foot the magnificent chariot in which she once ed to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two er chariots, still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and of the ian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian (it had ıerly been used by a Gothic king) was drawn, on this ıorable occasion, either by four stags or by four elephants.[87] most illustrious of the senate, the people, and the army, ed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder and grati- e swelled the acclamations of the multitude; but the sfaction of the senate was clouded by the appearance of ricus; nor could they suppress a rising murmur that the ghty emperor should thus expose to public ignominy the son of a Roman and a magistrate.[88]

His treatment of Tetricus and Zenobia

ut however, in the treatment of his unfortunate rivals, elian might indulge his pride, he behaved towards them with enerous clemency which was seldom exercised by the ancient querors. Princes who, without success, had defended their ne or freedom were frequently strangled in prison, as soon he triumphal pomp ascended the capitol. These usurpers, m their defeat had convicted of the crime of treason, were nitted to spend their lives in affluence and honourable repose. emperor presented Zenobia with an elegant villa at Tibur, Tivoli, about twenty miles from the capital; the Syrian queen nsibly sank into a Roman matron, her daughters married into le families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth

The use of *Braccæ*, breeches, or trowsers, was still considered in Italy as a c and Barbarian fashion. The Romans, however, had made great advances rds it. To encircle the legs and thighs with *fasciæ*, or bands, was understood e time of Pompey and Horace to be a proof of ill-health or effeminacy. In ge of Trajan, the custom was confined to the rich and luxurious. It gradually adopted by the meanest of the people. See a very curious note of Casaubon, ıeton. in August. c. 82.

Most probably the former: the latter, seen on the medals of Aurelian, only te (according to the learned Cardinal Norris [Noris]) an oriental victory.

The expression of Calphurnius (Eclog. i. 50), Nullos ducet *captiva* triumphos, plied to Rome, contains a very manifest allusion and censure. [Gibbon osed Calpurnius to have been a contemporary of Carus. It is now established Calpurnius wrote under Nero, and that the games which he describes were rated by that prince. Some of the idylls however which were ascribed to urnius were really written (as Haupt has proved) by Nemesianus, the author e *Cynegetica*, who lived in the time of Carus.]

century.[89] Tetricus and his son were reinstated in their ra and fortunes. They erected on the Cælian Hill a magnifice palace, and, as soon as it was finished, invited Aurelian to supp On his entrance, he was agreeably surprised with a pictu which represented their singular history. They were delineat offering to the emperor a civic crown and the sceptre of Ga and again receiving at his hands the ornaments of the senator dignity. The father was afterwards invested with the gover ment of Lucania,[90] and Aurelian, who soon admitted the abdicat monarch to his friendship and conversation, familiarly asked hi Whether it were not more desirable to administer a province Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps? The son long continu a respectable member of the senate; nor was there any one the Roman nobility more esteemed by Aurelian, as well as his successors.[91]

His magnificence and devotion

So long and so various was the pomp of Aurelian's trium that, although it opened with the dawn of day, the slow maje of the procession ascended not the Capitol before the ninth ho and it was already dark when the emperor returned to t palace. The festival was protracted by theatrical represen tions, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beas combats of gladiators, and naval engagements. Libe donatives were distributed to the army and people, and seve institutions, agreeable or beneficial to the city, contributed perpetuate the glory of Aurelian. A considerable portion of oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome; the Capit and every other temple, glittered with the offerings of ostentatious piety; and the temple of the Sun alone receiv above fifteen thousand pounds of gold.[92] This last was magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of t Quirinal hill, and dedicated, soon after the triumph, to that de whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortun His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of t Sun; a peculiar devotion to the god of Light was a sentime

[89] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 199 [xxiv. 29]. Hieronym. in Chron. Prospe Chron. Baronius supposes that Zenobius, bishop of Florence in the time of Ambrose, was of her family.

[90] Vopisc. in Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 39, 1]. Eutropius, ix. 13. Vic Jun or. But Pollio in Hist. August. p. 196, says that Tetricus [xxiv. 24] was ma corrector of all Italy. [See Appendix 20.]

[91] Hist. August. p. 197 [xxiv. 25].

[92] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 39]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 56 [61]. placed in it the images of Belus and of the Sun, which he had brought fr Palmyra. It was dedicated in the fourth year of his reign (Euseb. in Chron.), was most assuredly begun immediately on his accession.

ich the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy; and every p of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified superstin by gratitude.[93]

The arms of Aurelian had vanquished the foreign and domes- foes of the republic. We are assured that, by his salutary our, crimes and factions, mischievous arts and pernicious conance, the luxuriant growth of a feeble and oppressive governnt, were eradicated throughout the Roman world.[94] But, if attentively reflect how much swifter is the progress of corption than its cure, and if we remember that the years andoned to public disorders exceeded the months allotted to e martial reign of Aurelian, we must confess that a few short ervals of peace were insufficient for the arduous work of formation. Even his attempt to restore the integrity of the in was opposed by a formidable insurrection. The emperor's xation breaks out in one of his private letters: "Surely," ys he, "the gods have decreed that my life should be a rpetual warfare. A sedition within the walls has just now ven birth to a very serious civil war. The workmen of the nt, at the instigation of Felicissimus, a slave to whom I had rusted an employment in the finances, have risen in rebellion. ney are at length suppressed; but seven thousand of my ldiers have been slain in the contest, of those troops whose dinary station is in Dacia, and the camps along the Danube."[95] her writers, who confirm the same fact, add likewise that it ppened soon after Aurelian's triumph; that the decisive engement was fought on the Cælian Hill; that the workmen of e mint had adulterated the coin; and that the emperor reored the public credit by delivering out good money in exange for the bad which the people was commanded to bring to the treasury.[96]

He suppresses a sedition at Rome

We might content ourselves with relating this extraordinary ansaction, but we cannot dissemble how much, in its present m, it appears to us inconsistent and incredible. The debasent of the coin is, indeed, well suited to the administration of allienus; nor is it unlikely that the instruments of the cor-

Observations upon it

[93] See in the Augustan History, p. 210 [xxvi. 4], the omens of his fortune. His votion to the sun appears in his letters, on his medals, and is mentioned in the esars of Julian. Commentaire de Spanheim, p. 107 [108, 109].

[94] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221 [xxvi. 37].

[95] Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 38]. Aurelian calls those soldiers *Hiberi* [in best SS. the name is corrupt—*Iembariorum*], *Riparienses*, *Castriani*, and *Dacisci*.

[96] Zosimus, l. i. p. 56 [61]. Eutropius, ix. 14. Aurel. Victor.

ruption might dread the inflexible justice of Aurelian. But the guilt, as well as the profit, must have been confined to a few; nor is it easy to conceive by what arts they could arm a people whom they had injured against a monarch whom they had betrayed. We might naturally expect that such miscreants should have shared the public detestation with the informers and the other ministers of oppression; and that the reformation of the coin should have been an action equally popular with the destruction of those obsolete accounts which, by the emperor's order, were burnt in the forum of Trajan.[97] In an age when the principles of commerce were so imperfectly understood, the most desirable end might perhaps be effected by harsh and injudicious means; but a temporary grievance of such a nature can scarcely excite and support a serious civil war. The repetition of intolerable taxes, imposed either on the land or on the necessaries of life, may at last provoke those who will not, or who cannot, relinquish their country. But the case is far otherwise in every operation which, by whatsoever expedients, restores the just value of money. The transient evil is soon obliterated by the permanent benefit, the loss is divided among multitudes; and, if a few wealthy individuals experience a sensible diminution of treasure, with their riches they at the same time lose the degree of weight and importance which they derived from the possession of them. However Aurelian might choose to disguise the real cause of the insurrection, his reformation of the coin could furnish only a faint pretence to a party already powerful and discontented. Rome, though deprived of freedom, was distracted by faction. The people, towards whom the emperor, himself a plebeian, always expressed a peculiar fondness, lived in perpetual dissension with the senate, the equestrian order, and the Prætorian guards.[98] Nothing less than the firm though secret conspiracy of those orders, of the authority of the first, the wealth of the second, and the arms of the third, could have displayed a strength capable of contending in battle with the veteran legions of the Danube, which, under the conduct of a martial sovereign, had achieved the conquest of the West and of the East.

Cruelty of Aurelian

Whatever was the cause or the object of this rebellion, imputed

[97] Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 38]. Aurel. Victor. [Aurelian's monetary reform does not seem to have passed much beyond the stage of excellent intentions.]

[98] It already raged before Aurelian's return from Egypt. See Vopiscus who quotes an original letter. Hist. August. p. 244 [xxix. 5].

th so little probability to the workmen of the mint, Aurelian ed his victory with unrelenting rigour.[99] He was naturally of evere disposition. A peasant and a soldier, his nerves yielded t easily to the impressions of sympathy, and he could sustain thout emotion the sight of tortures and death. Trained m his earliest youth in the exercise of arms, he set too small alue on the life of a citizen, chastised by military execution e slightest offences, and transferred the stern discipline of the mp into the civil administration of the laws. His love of tice often became a blind and furious passion; and, whenever deemed his own or the public safety endangered, he disre- rded the rules of evidence, and the proportion of punishments. e unprovoked rebellion with which the Romans rewarded his rvices exasperated his haughty spirit. The noblest families of e capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark nspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecu- n, and it proved fatal to one of the nephews of the emperor. ie executioners (if we may use the expression of a contem- rary poet) were fatigued, the prisons were crowded, and the happy senate lamented the death or absence of its most illus- ous members.[100] Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the straints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by y other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of nquest an empire which he had saved and subdued.[101]

It was observed by one of the most sagacious of the Roman inces that the talents of his predecessor Aurelian were better ited to the command of an army than to the government of an npire.[102] Conscious of the character in which nature and perience had enabled him to excel, he again took the field a w months after his triumph. It was expedient to exercise the stless temper of the legions in some foreign war, and the rsian monarch, exulting in the shame of Valerian, still braved th impunity the offended majesty of Rome. At the head of

He marches into the East, and is assassinated

A.D. 274, October

[99] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 38]. The two Victors. Eutropius, 14. Zosimus (l. i. p. 43) mentions only three senators, and places their death ore the eastern war.

[100] Nulla catenati feralis pompa senatûs
Carnificum lassabit opus; nec carcere pleno
Infelix raros numerabit curia Patres.—Calphurn. Eclog. i. 60.
[See above, note 88.]

[101] According to the younger Victor, he sometimes wore the diadem [Epit. 35]. *us* and *Dominus* appear on his medals.

[102] It was the observation of Diocletian. See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 224 vi. 44].

an army, less formidable by its numbers than by its discipline and valour, the emperor advanced as far as the Streights which divide Europe from Asia. He there experienced that the most absolute power is a weak defence against the effects of despair. He had threatened one of his secretaries who was accused of extortion; and it was known that he seldom threatened in vain. The last hope which remained for the criminal was to involve some of the principal officers of the army in his danger, or at least in his fears. Artfully counterfeiting his master's hand, he showed them, in a long and bloody list, their own names devoted to death. Without suspecting or examining the fraud, they resolved to secure their lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person; and, after a short resistance, fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he had always loved and trusted. He died regretted by the army, detested by the senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state.[102]

A.D. 275, January

[102] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221 [xxvi. 35]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57 [62]. Eutrop. ix. 15. The two Victors. [Lactantius, de mort. pers. 6, John of Antioch, fr. 156 (F. H. G. iv.). The date of Aurelian's murder is uncertain, but Gibbon puts it at least eight months too early. Alexandrian coins prove that he was alive on, or shortly before (the coins, as Herzog suggests, might have been struck in advance and circulated notwithstanding the emperor's death) 29th August, 275. Herzog (who deals with the problem in his Gesch. und System der röm. Staatsverf. ii. p. 585) accepts the date 25th Sept. (Hist. Aug. xxvii. 3) for the election of Tacitus by the senate, rejecting (1) the date Feb. 3 (xxvi. 41, 3), and (2) the statements as to an interregnum of six or eight months; and (3) condemning the evidence of an inscription on an Orleans milestone (in Henzen's collection 5551) which would place Aurelian's death at the end of 275. This is confirmed by the statement that he reigned about five and a half years (cp. Hist. Aug. xxvi. 37, 4, as amended by Giambelli, after Eutropius, ix. 15); he did not become emperor before spring 270. See next chapter, note 2. Cp. Schiller, i. 871-2.]

CHAPTER XII

onduct of the Army and Senate after the Death of Aurelian—Reigns of Tacitus, Probus, Carus and his Sons

Extraordinary contest between the army and the senate for the choice of an emperor

UCH was the unhappy condition of the Roman emperors, that, hatever might be their conduct, their fate was commonly the me. A life of pleasure or virtue, of severity or mildness, of dolence or glory, alike led to an untimely grave; and almost very reign is closed by the same disgusting repetition of treason nd murder. The death of Aurelian, however, is remarkable by s extraordinary consequences. The legions admired, lamented, nd revenged their victorious chief. The artifice of his perdious secretary was discovered and punished. The deluded onspirators attended the funeral of their injured sovereign, with ncere or well-feigned contrition, and submitted to the unaniious resolution of the military order, which was signified by the llowing epistle. "The brave and fortunate armies to the enate and people of Rome. The crime of one man, and the rror of many, have deprived us of the late emperor Aurelian. lay it please you, venerable lords and fathers! to place him in ne number of the gods, and to appoint a successor whom your dgment shall declare worthy of the Imperial purple. None of ose whose guilt or misfortune have contributed to our loss all ever reign over us."[1] The Roman senators heard, without rprise, that another emperor had been assassinated in his camp; ey secretly rejoiced in the fall of Aurelian; but the modest nd dutiful address of the legions, when it was communicated in ll assembly by the consul, diffused the most pleasing astonishent. Such honours as fear and perhaps esteem could extort ey liberally poured forth on the memory of their deceased overeign. Such acknowledgments as gratitude could inspire ey returned to the faithful armies of the republic, who ntertained so just a sense of the legal authority of the senate in ne choice of an emperor. Yet, notwithstanding this flattering

[1] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222 [xxvi. 40]. Aurelius Victor mentions a rmal deputation from the troops to the senate.

appeal, the most prudent of the assembly declined exposing the safety and dignity to the caprice of an armed multitude. Th strength of the legions was, indeed, a pledge of their sincerit since those who may command are seldom reduced to th necessity of dissembling; but could it naturally be expecte that a hasty repentance would correct the inveterate habits fourscore years? Should the soldiers relapse into their a customed seditions, their insolence might disgrace the majes of the senate, and prove fatal to the object of its choic Motives like these dictated a decree by which the election of new emperor was referred to the suffrage of the military order

A.D. 275, Feb. 3. A peaceful interregnum of eight months

The contention that ensued is one of the best attested, bu most improbable, events in the history of mankind.[2] The troop as if satiated with the exercise of power, again conjured th senate to invest one of its own body with the Imperial purpl The senate still persisted in its refusal; the army in its reques The reciprocal offer was pressed and rejected at least three time and, whilst the obstinate modesty of either party was resolved receive a master from the hands of the other, eight month insensibly elapsed; an amazing period of tranquil anarch during which the Roman world remained without a sovereig without an usurper, and without a sedition. The generals an magistrates appointed by Aurelian continued to execute the ordinary functions; and it is observed that a proconsul of As was the only considerable person removed from his office in th whole course of the interregnum.

An event somewhat similar, but much less authentic, is suppose to have happened after the death of Romulus, who, in his li and character, bore some affinity with Aurelian. The throne w vacant during twelve months till the election of a Sabine phil sopher, and the public peace was guarded in the same mann by the union of the several orders of the state. But, in the tim of Numa and Romulus, the arms of the people were controlle by the authority of the Patricians; and the balance of freedo was easily preserved in a small and virtuous community.[3] Th

[2] Vopiscus, our principal authority, wrote at Rome sixteen years only after death of Aurelian; and, besides the recent notoriety of the facts, constantly dra his materials from the Journals of the Senate, and the original papers of Ulpian library. [See Appendix 1.] Zosimus and Zonaras appear as ignorant of t transaction as they were in general of the Roman constitution. [The interregn was *six* months, according to Vopiscus, xxvii. 1, 1, and xxvi. 40, 4. *Eight* mon results from combining the date 3rd February (xxvi. 41, 3) with 25th Septem (xxvii. 3, 2). But see last chapter, note 103.]

[3] Liv. i. 17. Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 115 [57]. Plutarch. in Numa, p.

cline of the Roman state, far different from its infancy, was tended with every circumstance that could banish from an terregnum the prospect of obedience and harmony: an im- ense and tumultuous capital, a wide extent of empire, the ser- le equality of despotism, an army of four hundred thousand ercenaries, and the experience of frequent revolution. Yet, twithstanding all these temptations, the discipline and memory Aurelian still restrained the seditious temper of the troops, as ell as the fatal ambition of their leaders. The flower of the gions maintained their stations on the banks of the Bosphorus, d the Imperial standard awed the less powerful camps of Rome d of the provinces. A generous though transient enthusiasm emed to animate the military order; and we may hope that a w real patriots cultivated the returning friendship of the army d the senate, as the only expedient capable of restoring the public to its ancient beauty and vigour.

A.D. 275, Sept. 25. The consul assembles the senate

On the twenty-fifth of September,[4] near eight months after the urder of Aurelian, the consul convoked an assembly of the senate, d reported the doubtful and dangerous situation of the empire. e slightly insinuated that the precarious loyalty of the soldiers pended on the chance of every hour and of every accident; but e represented, with the most convincing eloquence, the various ngers that might attend any farther delay in the choice of an nperor. Intelligence, he said, was already received that the ermans had passed the Rhine and occupied some of the rongest and most opulent cities of Gaul. The ambition of the ersian king kept the East in perpetual alarms; Egypt, Africa, d Illyricum were exposed to foreign and domestic arms; and e levity of Syria would prefer even a female sceptre to the nctity of the Roman laws. The consul then, addressing himself Tacitus, the first of the senators,[5] required his opinion on e important subject of a proper candidate for the vacant rone.

Character of Tacitus

If we can prefer personal merit to accidental greatness, we all esteem the birth of Tacitus more truly noble than that of ngs. He claimed his descent from the philosophic historian

e first of these writers relates the story like an orator, the second like a lawyer, d the third like a moralist, and none of them probably without some intermixture fable.

[4] [This date is confirmed by xxvii. 13, 6, whereas that of the former meeting of e senate, 3rd February, is probably false.]

[5] Vopiscus (in Hist. August. p. 227 [xxvii. 4]) calls him "primæ sententiæ nsularis"; and soon afterwards, *Princeps senatûs*. It is natural to suppose at the monarchs of Rome, disdaining that humble title, resigned it to the most cient of the senators.

whose writings will instruct the last generations of mankin
The senator Tacitus was then seventy-five years of age.[7] T
long period of his innocent life was adorned with wealth a
honours. He had twice been invested with the consular dignit
and enjoyed with elegance and sobriety his ample patrimo
of between two and three millions sterling.[9] The expe
ence of so many princes, whom he had esteemed or endur
from the vain follies of Elagabalus to the useful rigour of Aureli
taught him to form a just estimate of the duties, the dange
and the temptations of their sublime station. From the assidu
study of his immortal ancestor he derived the knowledge of t
Roman constitution and of human nature.[10] The voice of t
people had already named Tacitus as the citizen the most wort
of empire. The ungrateful rumour reached his ears, and induc
him to seek the retirement of one of his villas in Campar
He had passed two months in the delightful privacy of Ba
when he reluctantly obeyed the summons of the consul to resu
his honourable place in the senate, and to assist the republic w
his counsels on this important occasion.

He is elected emperor

He arose to speak, when, from every quarter of the house,
was saluted with the names of Augustus and Emperor. "Taci
Augustus, the gods preserve thee, we choose thee for our so
reign, to thy care we intrust the republic and the world. A
cept the empire from the authority of the senate. It is due
thy rank, to thy conduct, to thy manners." As soon as t
tumult of acclamations subsided, Tacitus attempted to decli
the dangerous honour, and to express his wonder that th
should elect his age and infirmities to succeed the martial vig
of Aurelian. "Are these limbs, conscript fathers! fitted to s
tain the weight of armour, or to practise the exercises of t

[6] The only objection to this genealogy is that the historian was named Cornel
the emperor, Claudius [M. Claudius Tacitus]. But under the Lower Em
surnames were extremely various and uncertain.

[7] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637 [28]. The Alexandrian Chronicle, by an obvi
mistake, transfers that age to Aurelian.

[8] In the year 273 he was ordinary consul. But he must have been Suffe
many years before, and most probably under Valerian.

[9] *Bis millies octingenties.* Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 229 [xxvii. 10]. T
sum, according to the old standard, was equivalent to eight hundred and f
thousand Roman pounds of silver, each of the value of three pounds sterling.
in the age of Tacitus the coin had lost much of its weight and purity.

[10] After his accession, he gave orders that ten copies of the historian should
annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries. The Roman libraries h
long since perished, and the most valuable part of Tacitus was preserved in a si
MS. and discovered in a monastery of Westphalia. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, *
Tacite, Landipsius ad Annal. ii. 9.

mp? The variety of climates, and the hardships of a military e, would soon oppress a feeble constitution, which subsists ly by the most tender management. My exhausted strength arcely enables me to discharge the duty of a senator; how inficient would it prove to the arduous labours of war and govern-ent! Can you hope that the legions will respect a weak old n, whose days have been spent in the shade of peace and re-ement? Can you desire that I should ever find reason to gret the favourable opinion of the senate?" [11]

and accepts the purple

The reluctance of Tacitus, and it might possibly be sincere, is encountered by the affectionate obstinacy of the senate. Five ndred voices repeated at once, in eloquent confusion, that the eatest of the Roman princes, Numa, Trajan, Hadrian, and the ntonines, had ascended the throne in a very advanced season life; that the mind, not the body, a sovereign, not a soldier, s the object of their choice; and that they expected from him more than to guide by his wisdom the valour of the legions. ese pressing though tumultuary instances were seconded by a re regular oration of Metius Falconius, the next on the consu-bench to Tacitus himself. He reminded the assembly of the ils which Rome had endured from the vices of headstrong and pricious youths, congratulated them on the election of a virtuous d experienced senator, and, with a manly, though perhaps a fish, freedom, exhorted Tacitus to remember the reasons of his evation, and to seek a successor, not in his own family, but in e republic. The speech of Falconius was enforced by a general clamation. The emperor elect submitted to the authority of country, and received the voluntary homage of his equals. e judgment of the senate was confirmed by the consent of the man people, and of the Prætorian guards.[12]

Authority of the senate

The administration of Tacitus was not unworthy of his life and inciples. A grateful servant of the senate, he considered that tional council as the author, and himself as the subject, of the ws.[13] He studied to heal the wounds which Imperial pride, il discord, and military violence had inflicted on the constitu-n, and to restore, at least, the image of the ancient republic, it had been preserved by the policy of Augustus, and the

[11] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 227 [xxvii. 4].

[12] Hist. August. p. 228 [xxvii. 7]. Tacitus addressed the Prætorians by the pellation of *sanctissimi milites*, and the people by that of *sacratissimi Quirites*.

[13] In his manumissions he never exceeded the number of an hundred, as limited the Caninian law, which was enacted under Augustus, and at length repealed Justinian. See Casaubon ad locum Vopisci. [*S.C.* appears on his coins.]

virtues of Trajan and the Antonines. It may not be useless recapitulate some of the most important prerogatives which th senate appeared to have regained by the election of Tacitus. 1. To invest one of their body, under the title of emperor, wi the general command of the armies and the government of th frontier provinces. 2. To determine the list, or, as it was the styled, the College of Consuls. They were twelve in numbe who, in successive pairs, each during the space of two month filled the year, and represented the dignity of that ancient offic The authority of the senate in the nomination of the consuls w exercised with such independent freedom that no regard w paid to an irregular request of the emperor in favour of h brother Florianus. "The senate," exclaimed Tacitus, with th honest transport of a patriot, "understand the character of prince whom they have chosen." 3. To appoint the proconsu and presidents of the provinces, and to confer on all the magi trates their civil jurisdiction. 4. To receive appeals through th intermediate office of the præfect of the city from all th tribunals of the empire. 5. To give force and validity, by the decrees, to such as they should approve of the emperor's edict 6. To these several branches of authority we may add son inspection over the finances, since, even in the stern reign Aurelian, it was in their power to divert a part of the reven from the public service.[15]

Their joy and confidence

Circular epistles were sent, without delay, to all the princip cities of the empire, Treves, Milan, Aquileia, Thessalonic Corinth, Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, to clai their obedience, and to inform them of the happy revolutio which had restored the Roman senate to its ancient dignit Two of these epistles are still extant. We likewise possess tv very singular fragments of the private correspondence of th senators on this occasion. They discover the most excessi joy and the most unbounded hopes. "Cast away your indolence it is thus that one of the senators addresses his friend, "emer from your retirements of Baiæ and Puteoli. Give yourself the city, to the senate. Rome flourishes, the whole republ flourishes. Thanks to the Roman army, to an army tru Roman, at length we have recovered our just authority, th

[14] See the lives of Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus, in the Augustan History; may be well assured that whatever the soldier gave the senator had already giv

[15] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216 [xxvi. 20]. The passage is perfectly cle yet both Casaubon and Salmasius wish to correct it. [Est præterea vest auctoritatis arca publica.]

of all our desires. We hear appeals, we appoint proconsuls, create emperors: perhaps, too, we may restrain them—to wise, a word is sufficient."[16] These lofty expectations were, ever, soon disappointed; nor, indeed, was it possible that the ies and the provinces should long obey the luxurious and unlike nobles of Rome. On the slightest touch, the unsupported ic of their pride and power fell to the ground. The expiring ite displayed a sudden lustre, blazed for a moment, and was nguished for ever.

A.D. 276. Tacitus is acknowledged by the army

ll that had yet passed at Rome was no more than a theatrical esentation, unless it was ratified by the more substantial er of the legions. Leaving the senators to enjoy their im of freedom and ambition, Tacitus proceeded to the acian camp, and was there, by the Prætorian præfect, ented to the assembled troops, as the prince whom they nselves had demanded, and whom the senate had bestowed. soon as the præfect was silent, the emperor addressed him- to the soldiers with elegance and propriety. He gratified r avarice by a liberal distribution of treasure, under the es of pay and donative. He engaged their esteem by a ted declaration that, although his age might disable him n the performance of military exploits, his counsels should er be unworthy of a Roman general, the successor of the e Aurelian.[17]

The Alani invade Asia, and are repulsed by Tacitus

Whilst the deceased emperor was making preparations for a nd expedition into the East, he had negotiated with the ni, a Scythian people, who pitched their tents in the hbourhood of the lake Mæotis. Those barbarians, allured presents and subsidies, had promised to invade Persia with a nerous body of light cavalry. They were faithful to their agements; but, when they arrived on the Roman frontier, elian was already dead, the design of the Persian war was ast suspended, and the generals, who, during the interregnum, rcised a doubtful authority, were unprepared either to ive or to oppose them. Provoked by such treatment, which considered as trifling and perfidious, the Alani had recourse heir own valour for their payment and revenge; and, as they ed with the usual swiftness of Tartars, they had soon spread nselves over the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and atia. The legions, who from the opposite shores of the

Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 230, 232, 233 [xxvii. 18, 19]. The senators rated the happy restoration with hecatombs and public rejoicings.
Hist. August p. 228 [xxvii. 8].

Bosphorus could almost distinguish the flames of the cities
villages, impatiently urged their general to lead them aga
the invaders. The conduct of Tacitus was suitable to his
and station. He convinced the barbarians of the faith, as
as of the power, of the empire. Great numbers of the Al
appeased by the punctual discharge of the engagements wh
Aurelian had contracted with them, relinquished their booty
captives, and quietly retreated to their own deserts beyond
Phasis. Against the remainder, who refused peace, the Ro
emperor waged, in person, a successful war. Seconded by an a
of brave and experienced veterans, in a few weeks he delive
the provinces of Asia from the terror of the Scythian invasio

death of the Emperor Tacitus

But the glory and life of Tacitus were of short durat
Transported, in the depth of winter, from the soft retiremen
Campania to the foot of Mount Caucasus, he sunk under
unaccustomed hardships of a military life. The fatigues of
body were aggravated by the cares of the mind. For a wh
the angry and selfish passions of the soldiers had been suspen
by the enthusiasm of public virtue. They soon broke out
redoubled violence, and raged in the camp, and even in
tent of the aged emperor. His mild and amiable character se
only to inspire contempt, and he was incessantly tormen
with factions which he could not assuage, and by demands wh
it was impossible to satisfy. Whatever flattering expectat
he had conceived of reconciling the public disorders, Tac
soon was convinced that the licentiousness of the army disda
the feeble restraint of laws, and his last hour was hastened
anguish and disappointment. It may be doubtful whether
soldiers imbrued their hands in the blood of this inno
prince.[19] It is certain that their insolence was the cause of
death. He expired at Tyana in Cappadocia, after a reig
only six months and about twenty days.[20]

A.D. 276, April 12

Usurpation and death of his brother Florianus

The eyes of Tacitus were scarcely closed before his bro

[18] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 230 [xxvii. 13]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57
Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637 [28]. Two passages in the life of Probus (p. 236, 238 [
12]) convince me that these Scythian invaders of Pontus were Alani. [Ra
Goths; cp. *Victoria Gothica*, Cohen, 6, 236; title *Gothicus Maximus*, Wilm
1046.] If we may believe Zosimus (l. i. p. 58 [64]), Florianus pursued them
as the Cimmerian Bosphorus. But he had scarcely time for so long and di
an expedition.

[19] Eutropius [xv. 9] and Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 36] only say that he died;
Junior adds that it was of a fever. Zosimus [i. 63] and Zonaras [ib.] affirm
he was killed by the soldiers. Vopiscus [xxvii. 13] mentions both account
seems to hesitate. Yet surely these jarring opinions are easily reconciled.

[20] According to the two Victors, he reigned exactly two hundred days.

rianus[21] showed himself unworthy to reign, by the hasty rpation of the purple, without expecting the approbation of senate. The reverence for the Roman constitution, which influenced the camp and the provinces, was sufficiently ng to dispose them to censure, but not to provoke them to ose, the precipitate ambition of Florianus. The discontent ld have evaporated in idle murmurs, had not the general the East, the heroic Probus, boldly declared himself the nger of the senate. The contest, however, was still unequal; could the most able leader, at the head of the effeminate ps of Egypt and Syria, encounter, with any hopes of victory, legions of Europe, whose irresistible strength appeared to port the brother of Tacitus. But the fortune and activity of bus triumphed over every obstacle. The hardy veterans of rival, accustomed to cold climates, sickened and consumed y in the sultry heats of Cilicia, where the summer proved arkably unwholesome. Their numbers were diminished by uent desertion, the passes of the mountains were feebly de-ded; Tarsus opened its gates, and the soldiers of Florianus, n they had permitted him to enjoy the Imperial title about e months,[22] delivered the empire from civil war by the easy ifice of a prince whom they despised.[23]

Their family subsists in obscurity

he perpetual revolutions of the throne had so perfectly ed every notion of hereditary right, that the family of an ortunate emperor was incapable of exciting the jealousy of successors. The children of Tacitus and Florianus were nitted to descend into a private station, and to mingle with general mass of the people. Their poverty indeed became dditional safeguard to their innocence. When Tacitus was ted by the senate, he resigned his ample patrimony to the lic service,[24] an act of generosity specious in appearance, but ch evidently disclosed his intention of transmitting the ire to his descendants. The only consolation of their n state was the remembrance of transient greatness, and a ant hope, the child of a flattering prophecy, that, at the of a thousand years, a monarch of the race of Tacitus should

[M. Annius Florianus.]

[*Vix duobus mensibus*, Hist. Aug. xxvii. 14; 2 months, 20 days, Eutropius.] Hist. August. p. 231 [xxvii. 14]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 58, 59 [64, 65]. Zonaras, p. 637 [28]. Aurelius Victor says that Probus assumed the empire in Illyri- an opinion which (though adopted by a very learned man) would throw that d of history into inextricable confusion. [Probus was *dux totius orientis*, but rmy seems to have summoned him from Illyricum.]

Hist. August. p. 229 [xxvii. 10, 1].

rise, the protector of the senate, the restorer of Rome, and conqueror of the whole earth.[25]

Character and elevation of the emperor Probus

The peasants of Illyricum, who had already given Clau and Aurelian to the sinking empire, had an equal right to g in the elevation of Probus.[26] Above twenty years before, emperor Valerian, with his usual penetration, had discov the rising merit of the young soldier, on whom he conferred rank of tribune long before the age prescribed by the mili regulations. The tribune soon justified his choice by a vic over a great body of Sarmatians, in which he saved the life near relation of Valerian; and deserved to receive from emperor's hand the collars, bracelets, spears, and banners, mural and the civic crown, and all the honourable rew reserved by ancient Rome for successful valour. The third, afterwards the tenth, legion were intrusted to the comman Probus, who, in every step of his promotion, showed him superior to the station which he filled. Africa and Pontus, Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile, by t afforded him the most splendid occasions of displaying personal prowess and his conduct in war.[27] Aurelian was debted to him for the conquest of Egypt, and still more indeb for the honest courage with which he often checked the cru of his master. Tacitus, who desired by the abilities of generals to supply his own deficiency of military talents, nar him commander in chief of all the eastern provinces, with times the usual salary, the promise of the consulship, and hope of a triumph. When Probus ascended the Imperial thr he was about forty-four years of age;[28] in the full possessio his fame, of the love of the army, and of a mature vigou mind and body.

His respectful conduct towards the senate

His acknowledged merit, and the success of his arms aga Florianus, left him without an enemy or a competitor. Ye we may credit his own professions, very far from being desi of the empire, he had accepted it with the most sincere re tance. "But it is no longer in my power," says Probus,

[25] He was to send judges to the Parthians, Persians, and Sarmatians, a presi to Taprobana, and a proconsul to the Roman island (supposed by Casaubon Salmasius to mean Britain). Such a history as mine (says Vopiscus with pr modesty) will not subsist a thousand years to expose or justify the prediction.

[26] For the private life of Probus, see Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 234 [xxviii. 3 *sqq.* M. Aurelius Probus, Eckhel, vii. 500.]

[27] [*Semper victorioso* which appears on coins was thus deserved before elevation.]

[28] According to the Alexandrian Chronicle, he was fifty at the time of his d

rivate letter, "to lay down a title so full of envy and of danger. must continue to personate the character which the soldiers ave imposed upon me." [29] His dutiful address to the senate isplayed the sentiments, or at least the language, of a Roman atriot: "When you elected one of your order, conscript fathers! o succeed the Emperor Aurelian, you acted in a manner suitable o your justice and wisdom. For you are the legal sovereigns f the world, and the power which you derive from your ances- ors will descend to your posterity. Happy would it have been, Florianus, instead of usurping the purple of his brother, like a rivate inheritance, had expected what your majesty might etermine, either in his favour or in that of any other person. he prudent soldiers have punished his rashness. To me they ave offered the title of Augustus. But I submit to your clem- ncy my pretensions and my merits." [30] When this respectful pistle was read by the consul, the senators were unable to dis- A.D. 276, August 3 uise their satisfaction that Probus should condescend thus umbly to solicit a sceptre which he already possessed. They elebrated with the warmest gratitude his virtues, his exploits, nd above all his moderation. A decree immediately passed, ithout a dissenting voice, to ratify the election of the eastern rmies, and to confer on their chief all the several branches of ne Imperial dignity: the names of Cæsar and Augustus, the tle of Father of his country, the right of making in the same ay three motions in the senate,[31] the office of Pontifex Maximus, ne tribunitian power, and the proconsular command; a mode f investiture, which, though it seemed to multiply the authority f the emperor, expressed the constitution of the ancient re- ublic. The reign of Probus corresponded with this fair begin- ing. The senate was permitted to direct the civil administration f the empire. Their faithful general asserted the honour of ne Roman arms, and often laid at their feet crowns of gold and arbaric trophies, the fruits of his numerous victories.[32] Yet,

[29] The letter was addressed to the Prætorian præfect, whom (on condition of his ood behaviour) he promised to continue in his great office. See Hist. Aug. p. 37 [xxviii. 10].

[30] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 237 [ib. 11]. The date of the letter is assuredly ulty. Instead of *Non. Februar.* we may read *Non. August.* [So Tillemont and linton. The evidence of Alexandrian coins shows that Probus ascended the rone before 29th August, 276.]

[31] Hist. August. p. 238 [ib. 12, 8]. It is odd that the senate should treat Pro- us less favourably than Marcus Antoninus. That prince had received, even before ne death of Pius, *Jus quintae relationis.* See Capitolin. in Hist. August. p. 24.

[32] See the dutiful letter of Probus to the senate, after his German victories. Hist. ugust. p. 239 [xxviii. 15].

whilst he gratified their vanity, he must secretly have despise their indolence and weakness. Though it was every moment i their power to repel the disgraceful edict of Gallienus, the prou successors of the Scipios patiently acquiesced in their exclusio from all military employments. They soon experienced tha those who refuse the sword must renounce the sceptre.

Victories of Probus over the barbarians

The strength of Aurelian had crushed on every side the enemi of Rome. After his death they seemed to revive, with an in crease of fury and of numbers. They were again vanquished b the active vigour of Probus, who, in a short reign of about si years,[33] equalled the fame of ancient heroes, and restored peac and order to every province of the Roman world. The dangerou frontier of Rhætia he so firmly secured, that he left it withou the suspicion of an enemy. He broke the wandering power o the Sarmatian tribes, and by the terror of his arms compelle those barbarians to relinquish their spoil. The Gothic natio courted the alliance of so warlike an emperor.[34] He attacke [278] the Isaurians in their mountains, besieged and took several o their strongest castles,[35] and flattered himself that he had fo ever suppressed a domestic foe, whose independence so deep wounded the majesty of the empire. The troubles excited b the usurper Firmus in the Upper Egypt had never been perfect appeased, and the cities of Ptolemais and Coptos, fortified by th alliance of the Blemmyes, still maintained an obscure rebellio The chastisement of those cities, and of their auxiliaries th savages of the South, is said to have alarmed the court of Persia, and the Great King sued in vain for the friendship of Probu Most of the exploits which distinguished his reign were achieve by the personal valour and conduct of the emperor, insomuc that the writer of his life expresses some amazement how, in s short a time, a single man could be present in so many distan wars. The remaining actions he intrusted to the care of h lieutenants, the judicious choice of whom forms no inconsiderab part of his glory. Carus, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantiu

[33] The date and duration of the reign of Probus are very correctly ascertained Cardinal Noris, in his learned work, De Epochis Syro-Macedonum, p. 96-105. passage of Eusebius connects the second year of Probus with the æras of seve of the Syrian cities.

[34] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239 [xxviii. 16, 3, omnes *Geticos* populos].

[35] Zosimus (l. i. p. 62-65 [69]) tells a very long and trifling story of Lydius t Isaurian robber.

[36] Zosim. l. i. p. 65 [71]. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239, 240 [xxviii. 17, 4 a 18, 1]. But it seems incredible that the defeat of the savages of Æthiopia cou affect the Persian monarch. [There is no proof that Probus was in Egypt duri his reign; but he celebrated the successes against the Blemmyes and the annexati of Ptolemais with a costly triumph.]

lerius, Asclepiodatus, Annibalianus, and a crowd of other efs, who afterwards ascended or supported the throne, were ned to arms in the severe school of Aurelian and Probus.[37]

A.D. 277. He delivers Gaul from the invasion of the Germans

But the most important service which Probus rendered to the ublic was the deliverance of Gaul, and the recovery of seventy rishing cities oppressed by the barbarians of Germany, who, ce the death of Aurelian, had ravaged that great province with ounity.[38] Among the various multitude of those fierce in- lers we may distinguish, with some degree of clearness, three at armies, or rather nations, successively vanquished by the our of Probus. He drove back the Franks into their morasses; lescriptive circumstance from whence we may infer that the nfederacy known by the manly appellation of *Free* already oc- pied the flat maritime country, intersected and almost over- vn by the stagnating waters of the Rhine, and that several pes of the Frisians and Batavians had acceded to their alliance. vanquished the Burgundians, a considerable people of the ndalic race. They had wandered in quest of booty from the [278] nks of the Oder to those of the Seine. They esteemed them- ves sufficiently fortunate to purchase, by the restitution of all ir booty, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. They at- npted to elude that article of the treaty. Their punishment s immediate and terrible.[39] But of all the invaders of Gaul, most formidable were the Lygians, a distant people who gned over a wide domain on the frontiers of Poland and esia.[40] In the Lygian nation, the Arii held the first rank by ir numbers and fierceness. "The Arii (it is thus that they described by the energy of Tacitus) study to improve by art l circumstances the innate terrors of their barbarism. Their elds are black, their bodies are painted black. They choose the combat the darkest hour of the night. Their host ad- nces, covered as it were with a funereal shade;[41] nor do they

[37] Besides these well-known chiefs, several others are named by Vopiscus (Hist. ust. p. 241 [ib. 22]), whose actions have not reached our knowledge.

[38] See the Cæsars of Julian, and Hist. August. p. 238, 240, 241 [ib. 15, 18].

[39] Zosimus, l. i. p. 62 [67, 68]. Hist. August. p. 240 [*leg.* 238, ib. 14]. But the r supposes the punishment inflicted with the consent of their kings; if so, it was ial, like the offence. [In 277 Probus himself drove back the Alamanni "beyond Neckar and the Alba" (=Rauhe Alp of Swabia) while his generals repelled the nks. The Burgundian victory was perhaps in 278.]

[40] See Cluver. Germania Antiqua, l. iii. Ptolemy places in their country the of Calisia, probably Calish in Silesia. [The author has made too much he Δογίωνες mentioned by Zosimus (ib.). It is quite uncertain who this people .]

[41] *Feralis umbra* is the expression of Tacitus: it is surely a very bold one. [A pprehension. *Umbra* is ablative and *feralis* agrees with *exercitus*.]

often find an enemy capable of sustaining so strange and infer an aspect. Of all our senses, the eyes are the first vanquish in battle." [42] Yet the arms and discipline of the Romans eas discomfited these horrid phantoms. The Lygii were defeated a general engagement, and Semno, the most renowned of th chiefs, fell alive into the hands of Probus. That prudent emper unwilling to reduce a brave people to despair, granted them honourable capitulation, and permitted them to return in safe to their native country. But the losses which they suffered the march, the battle, and the retreat, broke the power of t nation: nor is the Lygian name ever repeated in the histo either of Germany or of the empire. The deliverance of Gaul reported to have cost the lives of four hundred thousand of t invaders; a work of labour to the Romans, and of expense to t emperor, who gave a piece of gold for the head of every b barian.[43] But, as the fame of warriors is built on the destructi of human kind, we may naturally suspect that the sanguina account was multiplied by the avarice of the soldiers, and accept without any very severe examination by the liberal vanity Probus.

and carries his arms into Germany

Since the expedition of Maximin, the Roman generals h confined their ambition to a defensive war against the nations Germany, who perpetually pressed on the frontiers of t

[277] empire. The more daring Probus pursued his Gallic victori passed the Rhine, and displayed his invincible eagles on t banks of the Elbe and the Neckar.[44] He was fully convinc that nothing could reconcile the minds of the barbarians peace, unless they experienced in their own country t calamities of war. Germany, exhausted by the ill success of t last emigration, was astonished by his presence. Nine of t most considerable princes repaired to his camp, and fell prostr at his feet. Such a treaty was humbly received by the Germa as it pleased the conqueror to dictate. He exacted a str restitution of the effects and captives which they had carri away from the provinces; and obliged their own magistrates punish the more obstinate robbers who presumed to detain a part of the spoil. A considerable tribute of corn, cattle a horses, the only wealth of barbarians, was reserved for the use the garrisons which Probus established on the limits of th

[42] Tacit. Germania (c. 43).

[43] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 238 [ib. 15].

[44] [These events belong to the year 277, and the reduction of the Alamanni. above, note 39, where *Albam*, which Gibbon took for *Albim*, is explained.]

erritory. He even entertained some thoughts of compelling he Germans to relinquish the exercise of arms, and to trust their ifferences to the justice, their safety to the power, of Rome. To ccomplish these salutary ends, the constant residence of an mperial governor, supported by a numerous army, was indis- ensably requisite. Probus therefore judged it more expedient o defer the execution of so great a design; which was indeed ather of specious than solid utility.[45] Had Germany been re- luced into the state of a province, the Romans, with immense abour and expense, would have acquired only a more extensive oundary to defend against the fiercer and more active barba- ians of Scythia.

He builds a wall from the Rhine to the Danube

Instead of reducing the warlike natives of Germany to the ondition of subjects, Probus contented himself with the humble xpedient of raising a bulwark against their inroads. The ountry which now forms the circle of Swabia had been left lesert in the age of Augustus by the emigration of its ancient nhabitants.[46] The fertility of the soil soon attracted a new olony from the adjacent provinces of Gaul. Crowds of adven- urers, of a roving temper and of desperate fortunes, occupied the loubtful possession, and acknowledged, by the payment of tithes, he majesty of the empire.[47] To protect these new subjects, a ine of frontier garrisons was gradually extended from the Rhine o the Danube. About the reign of Hadrian, when that mode of defence began to be practised, these garrisons were connected nd covered by a strong intrenchment of trees and palisades. n the place of so rude a bulwark, the emperor Probus con- tructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened t by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Neustadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, it stretched across ills, valleys, rivers, and morasses, as far as Wimpfen on the Neckar, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine, fter a winding course of near two hundred miles.[48] This

[45] Hist. August. p. 238, 239 [ib. 14, 15]. Vopiscus quotes a letter from the mperor to the senate, in which he mentions his design of reducing Germany into province.

[46] Strabo, l. vii. [p. 290]. According to Velleius Paterculus (ii. 108) Maro- oduus led his Marcomanni into Bohemia: Cluverius (Germ. Antiq. iii. 8) roves that it was from Swabia.

[47] These settlers, from the payment of tithes, were denominated *Decumates.* Tacit. Germania, c. 29.]

[48] See notes de l'Abbé de la Bléterie à la Germanie de Tacite, p. 183. His ccount of the wall is chiefly borrowed (as he says himself) from the *Alsatia Illustrata* of Schœpflin. [For the Germanic limes see Appendix 21.]

important barrier, uniting the two mighty streams that protected the provinces of Europe, seemed to fill up the vacant space through which the barbarians, and particularly the Alemanni, could penetrate with the greatest facility into the heart of the empire. But the experience of the world, from China to Britain, has exposed the vain attempt of fortifying any extensive tract of country.[49] An active enemy, who can select and vary his points of attack, must, in the end, discover some feeble spot or unguarded moment. The strength as well as the attention of the defenders is divided; and such are the blind effects of terror on the firmest troops, that a line broken in a single place is almost instantly deserted. The fate of the wall which Probus erected may confirm the general observation. Within a few years after his death, it was overthrown by the Alemanni. Its scattered ruins, universally ascribed to the power of the Dæmon, now serve only to excite the wonder of the Swabian peasant.

Introduction and settlement of the barbarians

Among the useful conditions of peace, imposed by Probus on the vanquished nations of Germany, was the obligation of supplying the Roman army with sixteen thousand recruits, the bravest and most robust of their youth. The emperor dispersed them through all the provinces, and distributed this dangerous reinforcement in small bands, of fifty or sixty each, among the national troops; judiciously observing that the aid which the republic derived from the barbarians should be felt but not seen.[50] Their aid was now become necessary. The feeble elegance of Italy and the internal provinces could no longer support the weight of arms. The hardy frontier of the Rhine and Danube still produced minds and bodies equal to the labours of the camp; but a perpetual series of wars had gradually diminished their numbers. The infrequency of marriage, and the ruin of agriculture, affected the principles of population, and not only destroyed the strength of the present, but intercepted the hope of future, generations. The wisdom of Probus embraced a great and beneficial plan of replenishing the exhausted frontiers, by new colonies of captive or fugitive barbarians, on whom he bestowed lands, cattle, instruments of husbandry, and every

[49] See Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 81-102. The anonymous author [de Pauw] is well acquainted with the globe in general, and with Germany in particular: with regard to the latter, he quotes a work of M. Hanselman; but he seems to confound the wall of Probus, designed against the Alemanni, with the fortification of the Mattiaci, constructed in the neighbourhood of Frankfort against the Catti.

[50] He distributed about fifty or sixty barbarians to a *Numerus*, as it was then called, a corps with whose established number we are not exactly acquainted.

encouragement that might engage them to educate a race of soldiers for the service of the republic. Into Britain, and most probably into Cambridgeshire,[51] he transported a considerable body of Vandals. The impossibility of an escape reconciled them to their situation, and in the subsequent troubles of that island they approved themselves the most faithful servants of the state.[52] Great numbers of Franks and Gepidæ were settled on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine. An hundred thousand Bastarnæ, expelled from their own country, cheerfully accepted an establishment in Thrace, and soon imbibed the manners and sentiments of Roman subjects.[53] But the expectations of Probus were too often disappointed. The impatience and idleness of the barbarians could ill brook the slow labours of agriculture. Their unconquerable love of freedom, rising against despotism, provoked them into hasty rebellions, alike fatal to themselves and to the provinces;[54] nor could these artificial supplies, however repeated by succeeding emperors, restore the important limit of Gaul and Illyricum to its ancient and native vigour.

Daring enterprise of the Franks

Of all the barbarians who abandoned their new settlements, and disturbed the public tranquillity, a very small number returned to their own country. For a short season they might wander in arms through the empire; but in the end they were surely destroyed by the power of a warlike emperor. The successful rashness of a party of Franks was attended, however, with such memorable consequences, that it ought not to be passed unnoticed. They had been established by Probus on the sea-coast of Pontus, with a view of strengthening that frontier against the inroads of the Alani. A fleet stationed in one of the harbours of the Euxine fell into the hands of the Franks; and they resolved, through unknown seas, to explore their way from the mouth of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder by frequent descents on the unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa. The opulent city of Syracuse, in whose port the navies of Athens and Carthage had formerly been sunk, was sacked by a handful of barbarians, who massacred

[51] Camden's Britannia, Introduction, p. 136; but he speaks from a very doubtful conjecture.

[52] Zosimus, l. i. p. 62 [68]. According to Vopiscus, another body of Vandals was less faithful.

[53] Hist. August. p. 240 [ib. 18]. They were probably expelled by the Goths. Zosim. l. i. p. 66 [71].

[54] Hist. August. p. 240 [ib.].

the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily the Franks proceeded to the columns of Hercules, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and, steering their triumphant course through the British channel, at length finished their surprising voyage by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores.[55] The example of their success, instructing their countrymen to conceive the advantages, and to despise the dangers, of the sea, pointed out to their enterprising spirit a new road to wealth and glory.

Revolt of Saturninus in the East

Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of Probus, it was almost impossible that he could at once contain in obedience every part of his wide-extended dominions. The barbarians, who broke their chains, had seized the favourable opportunity of a domestic war. When the emperor marched to the relief of Gaul, he devolved the command of the East on Saturninus. That general, a man of merit and experience, was driven into rebellion by the absence of his sovereign, the levity of the Alexandrian people, the pressing instances of his friends, and his own fears; but from the moment of his elevation he never entertained a hope of empire, or even of life. "Alas!" he said, "the republic has lost a useful servant, and the rashness of an hour has destroyed the services of many years. You know not," continued he, "the misery of sovereign power: a sword is perpetually suspended over our head. We dread our very guards, we distrust our companions. The choice of action or of repose is no longer in our disposition, nor is there any age, or character, or conduct, that can protect us from the censure of envy. In thus exalting me to the throne, you have doomed me to a life of cares, and to an untimely fate. The only consolation which remains is the assurance that I shall not fall alone."[56] But as the former part of his prediction was verified by the victory, so the latter was disappointed by the clemency, of Probus. That amiable prince attempted even to save the unhappy Saturninus from the fury of the soldiers. He had more than once solicited A.D. 279 the usurper himself to place some confidence in the mercy of a sovereign who so highly esteemed his character, that he had punished, as a malicious informer, the first who related the improbable news of his defection.[57] Saturninus might, perhaps

[55] Panegyr. Vet. v. 18 [ed. Bährens, p. 145]. Zosimus, l. i. p. 66 [71].

[56] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 245, 246 [xxix. 10]. The unfortunate orator had studied rhetoric at Carthage, and was therefore more probably a Moor (Zosim. l. i. p. 60 [66]) than a Gaul, as Vopiscus calls him.

[57] Zonaras, l. xii. p. 638 [29].

e embraced the generous offer, had he not been restrained by obstinate distrust of his adherents. Their guilt was deeper, their hopes more sanguine, than those of their experienced ler.

A.D. 280. Of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul

The revolt of Saturninus was scarcely extinguished in the t, before new troubles were excited in the West by the ellion of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul. The most distinshed merit of those two officers was their respective prowess, the one in the combats of Bacchus, of the other in those of nus;[58] yet neither of them were destitute of courage and acity, and both sustained, with honour, the august character ich the fear of punishment had engaged them to assume, till y sunk at length beneath the superior genius of Probus. He d the victory with his accustomed moderation, and spared fortunes as well as the lives of their innocent families.[59]

A.D. 281. Triumph of the emperor Probus

The arms of Probus had now suppressed all the foreign and nestic enemies of the state. His mild but steady administran confirmed the re-establishment of the public tranquillity; was there left in the provinces a hostile barbarian, a tyrant, even a robber, to revive the memory of past disorders. It was e that the emperor should revisit Rome, and celebrate his n glory and the general happiness. The triumph due to the our of Probus was conducted with a magnificence suitable to fortune, and the people who had so lately admired the trophies Aurelian gazed with equal pleasure on those of his heroic cessor.[60] We cannot, on this occasion, forget the desperate rage of about fourscore Gladiators, reserved, with near six ndred others, for the inhuman sports of the amphitheatre. daining to shed their blood for the amusement of the populace, y killed their keepers, broke from the place of their confinent, and filled the streets of Rome with blood and confusion. er an obstinate resistance they were overpowered and cut in ces by the regular forces; but they obtained at least an nourable death, and the satisfaction of a just revenge.[61]

[58] A very surprising instance is recorded of the prowess of Proculus. He had en one hundred Sarmatian virgins. The rest of the story we must relate in own language. Ex his unâ nocte decem inivi: omnes tamen, quod in me erat, ieres intra dies quindecim reddidi. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 246 [ib. 12].

[59] Proculus, who was a native of Albengue on the Genoese coast, armed two usand of his own slaves. His riches were great, but they were acquired by bery. It was afterwards a saying of his family, Nec latrones esse, nec principes placere. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 247 [ib. 13: sibi non placere esse vel cipes vel latrones].

[60] Hist. August. p. 240 [xxviii. 19].

[61] Zosim. l. i. p. 66 [71].

His discipline

The military discipline which reigned in the camps of Prob was less cruel than that of Aurelian, but it was equally rigid a exact. The latter had punished the irregularities of the soldie with unrelenting severity, the former prevented them by emplo ing the legions in constant and useful labours. When Probus co manded in Egypt, he executed many considerable works for t splendour and benefit of that rich country. The navigation the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improved; and templ bridges, porticoes, and palaces, were constructed by the hands the soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, a as husbandmen.[62] It was reported of Hannibal that, in order preserve his troops from the dangerous temptations of idlene he had obliged them to form large plantations of olive tre along the coast of Africa.[63] From a similar principle, Prob exercised his legions in covering with rich vineyards the hills Gaul and Pannonia, and two considerable spots are describe which were entirely dug and planted by military labour.[64] O of these, known under the name of Mount Alma, was situat near Sirmium, the country where Probus was born, for which ever retained a partial affection, and whose gratitude he ende voured to secure by converting into tillage a large and unhealth tract of marshy ground. An army thus employed constitut perhaps the most useful, as well as the bravest, portion of t Roman subjects.

His death

But, in the prosecution of a favourite scheme, the best of me satisfied with the rectitude of their intentions, are subject forget the bounds of moderation; nor did Probus himself suf ciently consult the patience and disposition of his fierce legio aries.[65] The dangers of the military profession seem only to compensated by a life of pleasure and idleness; but, if the duti of the soldier are incessantly aggravated by the labours of t peasant, he will at last sink under the intolerable burden, shake it off with indignation. The imprudence of Probus is sa to have inflamed the discontent of his troops. More attenti

[62] Hist. August. p. 236 [ib. 9].

[63] Aurel. Victor in Prob. But the policy of Hannibal, unnoticed by any m ancient writer, is irreconcileable with the history of his life. He left Africa when was nine years old, returned to it when he was forty-five, and immediately lost army in the decisive battle of Zama. Livius, xxx. 37 [*leg.* 35].

[64] Hist. August. p. 240 [ib. 18, 8]. Eutrop. ix. 17. Aurel. Victor in Pr Victor Junior [ep. 37, 3]. He revoked the prohibition of Domitian, and gran a general permission of planting vines to the Gauls, the Britons, and the Pannonia

[65] Julian bestows a severe, and indeed excessive, censure on the rigour of Prob who, as he thinks, almost deserved his fate. [In the *Cæsars.*]

the interests of mankind than to those of the army, he ex-
essed the vain hope that, by the establishment of universal
ace, he should soon abolish the necessity of a standing and
ercenary force.[66] The unguarded expression proved fatal to
n. In one of the hottest days of summer, as he severely
ged the unwholesome labour of draining the marshes of
rmium, the soldiers, impatient of fatigue, on a sudden threw
wn their tools, grasped their arms, and broke out into a furious
utiny. The emperor, conscious of his danger, took refuge in
ofty tower, constructed for the purpose of surveying the pro-
ess of the work.[67] The tower was instantly forced, and a A.D. 282. August
ousand swords were plunged at once into the bosom of the
fortunate Probus. The rage of the troops subsided as soon as
had been gratified. They then lamented their fatal rashness,
got the severity of the emperor whom they had massacred,
d hastened to perpetuate, by an honourable monument, the
emory of his virtues and victories.[68]

When the legions had indulged their grief and repentance for Election and character of Carus
e death of Probus, their unanimous consent declared Carus,
s Prætorian præfect, the most deserving of the Imperial throne.
ery circumstance that relates to this prince appears of a mixed
d doubtful nature. He gloried in the title of Roman Citizen;
d affected to compare the purity of *his* blood with the foreign,
d even barbarous, origin of the preceding emperors: yet the
ost inquisitive of his contemporaries, very far from admitting
claim, have variously deduced his own birth, or that of his
rents, from Illyricum, from Gaul, or from Africa.[69] Though
oldier, he had received a learned education; though a senator,

[66] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 241 [ib. 20, 3-6]. He lavishes on this idle hope
rge stock of very foolish eloquence.

[67] Turris ferrata. It seems to have been a moveable tower, and cased with iron.
rus (according to Greek sources) was proclaimed Imperator in Rætia before the
th of Probus. In fact the hesitation of Probus about proceeding to quell the
ellion seems to have been the immediate cause of his fall. See Anon. Contin.
Dio, 5, and John of Antioch, fr. 160 (F. H. G. iv.).]

[68] Probus, et vere probus situs est: Victor omnium gentium Barbararum; victor
m tyrannorum. [He survived the 29th August, 276, we know by Alexandrian
ns. There is some variation in the sources as to the length of his reign. Hist.
g. xxviii. 21, he was killed in the fifth year of his reign; Aurelius Victor, Cæs.
4, he reigned somewhat less than six years, epit. 37, 1, six years; Cassiodorus,
ron., he reigned six years, three months; Orosius, 7, 24, gives him six years, four
nths.]

[69] Yet all this may be conciliated. He was born at Narbonne [Narona] in
ricum, confounded by Eutropius with the more famous city of that name in
il. His father might be an African, and his mother a noble Roman. [M.
elius] Carus himself was educated in the capital. See Scaliger, Animadversion.
Euseb. Chron. p. 241.

he was invested with the first dignity of the army; and, in age when the civil and military professions began to be in coverably separated from each other, they were united in t person of Carus. Notwithstanding the severe justice which exercised against the assassins of Probus, to whose favour a esteem he was highly indebted, he could not escape the su picion of being accessary to a deed from whence he derived t principal advantage. He enjoyed, at least before his elevatio an acknowledged character of virtue and abilities:[70] but austere temper insensibly degenerated into moroseness a cruelty; and the imperfect writers of his life almost hesita whether they shall not rank him in the number of Rom tyrants.[71] When Carus assumed the purple, he was about six years of age, and his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, h already attained the season of manhood.[72]

The sentiments of the senate and people

The authority of the senate expired with Probus; nor was t repentance of the soldiers displayed by the same dutiful rega for the civil power which they had testified after the unfortuna death of Aurelian. The election of Carus was decided witho expecting the approbation of the senate, and the new emper contented himself with announcing, in a cold and stately epist that he had ascended the vacant throne.[73] A behaviour so ve opposite to that of his amiable predecessor afforded no favourab presage of the new reign; and the Romans, deprived of pow and freedom, asserted their privilege of licentious murmurs The voice of congratulation and flattery was not howev silent; and we may still peruse, with pleasure and contempt, eclogue, which was composed on the accession of the emper Carus. Two shepherds, avoiding the noon-tide heat, retire into t cave of Faunus. On a spreading beech they discover some rece characters. The rural deity had described, in prophetic vers the felicity promised to the empire under the reign of so great prince. Faunus hails the approach of that hero, who, receivi

[70] Probus had requested of the senate an equestrian statue and a marble pala at the public expense, as a just recompens of the singular merit of Carus. Vop cus in Hist. August. p. 249 [xxx. 6].

[71] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 242, 249 [xxix. 1, xxx. 3]. Julian excludes Emperor Carus and both his sons from the banquet of the Cæsars.

[72] John Malala, tom. i. p. 401. But the authority of that ignorant Greek is v slight. He ridiculously derives from Carus the city of Carrhæ, and the province Caria, the latter of which is mentioned by Homer. [The names of the sons w M. Aurelius Carinus and M. Aurelius Numerianus].

[73] Hist. Aug. p. 249 [xxx. 5]. Carus congratulated the senate, that one of th own order was made emperor.

[74] Hist. Aug. p. 242 [xxviii. 24].

his shoulders the sinking weight of the Roman world, shall inguish war and faction, and once again restore the innocence l security of the golden age.[75]

t is more than probable that these elegant trifles never reached ears of a veteran general, who, with the consent of the legions, s preparing to execute the long-suspended design of the Per- n war. Before his departure for this distant expedition, Carus ferred on his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, the title of sar; and, investing the former with almost an equal share of Imperial power, directed the young prince, first to suppress ne troubles which had arisen in Gaul, and afterwards to fix the t of his residence at Rome, and to assume the government of Western provinces.[76] The safety of Illyricum was confirmed a memorable defeat of the Sarmatians;[77] sixteen thousand of se barbarians remained on the field of battle, and the number captives amounted to twenty thousand. The old emperor, mated with the fame and prospect of victory, pursued his rch, in the midst of winter, through the countries of Thrace l Asia Minor, and at length, with his younger son, Numerian, ved on the confines of the Persian monarchy. There, en- mping on the summit of a lofty mountain, he pointed out to troops the opulence and luxury of the enemy whom they re about to invade.

Carus defeats the Sarmatians, and marches into the East

The successor of Artaxerxes, Varanes or Bahram, though he l subdued the Segestans, one of the most warlike nations of per Asia,[78] was alarmed at the approach of the Romans and leavoured to retard their progress by a negotiation of peace. s ambassadors entered the camp about sunset, at the time en the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. e Persians expressed their desire of being introduced to the sence of the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted a soldier, who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon a few hard peas composed his supper. A coarse woollen ment of purple was the only circumstance that announced his nity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap which he wore to

A.D. 283. He gives audience to the Persian ambassadors

See the first eclogue of Calphurnius. The design of it is preferred by Fonlle to that of Virgil's Pollio. See tom. iii. p. 148. [See above, chap. xi. note

Hist. August. p. 250 [xxx. 7]. Eutropius, ix. 18. Pagi, Annal.
[And Quadi, see Eckhel, 7, 522.]
Agathias, l. iv. p. 135. We find one of his sayings in the Bibliothèque Orien of M. d'Herbelot. "The definition of humanity includes all other virtues.
Persian king was Varahran II.]

conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors that, unless th master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speed render Persia as naked of trees as his own head was destitute hair.[79] Notwithstanding some traces of art and preparation, may discover, in this scene, the manners of Carus, and the sev simplicity which the martial princes, who succeeded Gallien had already restored in the Roman camps. The ministers of t Great King trembled and retired.

His victories and extraordinary death

The threats of Carus were not without effect. He ravag Mesopotamia, cut in pieces whatever opposed his passage, ma himself master of the great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiph (which seem to have surrendered without resistance), and carri his victorious arms beyond the Tigris.[80] He had seized t favourable moment for an invasion. The Persian councils we distracted by domestic factions, and the greater part of th forces were detained on the frontiers of India. Rome and t East received with transport the news of such important adva tages. Flattery and hope painted, in the most lively colou the fall of Persia, the conquest of Arabia, the submission Egypt, and a lasting deliverance from the inroads of the Scythi nations.[81] But the reign of Carus was destined to expose t vanity of predictions. They were scarcely uttered before th were contradicted by his death; an event attended with su ambiguous circumstances, that it may best be related in a lett from his own secretary to the præfect of the city. "Carus says he, "our dearest emperor, was confined by sickness to h bed, when a furious tempest arose in the camp. The darkne which overspread the sky was so thick, that we could no long distinguish each other; and the incessant flashes of lightni took from us the knowledge of all that passed in the gene confusion. Immediately after the most violent clap of thund we heard a sudden cry that the emperor was dead; and it so appeared that his chamberlains, in a rage of grief, had set f to the royal pavilion, a circumstance which gave rise to the repo that Carus was killed by lightning. But, as far as we ha

A.D. 283, December 25

[79] Synesius tells this story of Carinus: and it is much more natural to understa it of Carus than (as Petavius and Tillemont choose to do) of Probus.

[80] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 250 [ib.]. Eutropius, ix. 18. The two Victo

[81] To the Persian victory of Carus, I refer the dialogue of the *Philopatris*, wh has so long been an object of dispute among the learned. But to explain justify my opinion would require a dissertation. [This dialogue, always prin with Lucian's works, has been held to belong to the reign of Heraclius, by Crampe, *Philopatris*, 1894.] But cp. below, vol ii. p. 531.

en able to investigate the truth, his death was the natural ect of his disorder." [82]

He is succeeded by his two sons Carinus and Numerian

The vacancy of the throne was not productive of any disturbce. The ambition of the aspiring generals was checked by eir mutual fears, and young Numerian, with his absent brother rinus, were unanimously acknowledged as Roman emperors. e public expected that the successor of Carus would pursue father's footsteps, and, without allowing the Persians to rever from their consternation, would advance sword in hand to e palaces of Susa and Ecbatana.[83] But the legions, however ong in numbers and discipline, were dismayed by the most ject superstition. Notwithstanding all the arts that were actised to disguise the manner of the late emperor's death, it s found impossible to remove the opinion of the multitude, d the power of opinion is irresistible. Places or persons struck th lightning were considered by the ancients with pious rror, as singularly devoted to the wrath of Heaven.[84] An icle was remembered, which marked the river Tigris as the al boundary of the Roman arms. The troops, terrified with e fate of Carus and with their own danger, called aloud on ung Numerian to obey the will of the gods, and to lead them ay from this inauspicious scene of war. The feeble emperor s unable to subdue their obstinate prejudice, and the Persians ndered at the unexpected retreat of a victorious enemy.[85]

A.D. 284. Vices of Carinus

The intelligence of the mysterious fate of the late emperor s soon carried from the frontiers of Persia to Rome; and the iate, as well as the provinces, congratulated the accession of e sons of Carus. These fortunate youths were strangers, hower, to that conscious superiority, either of birth or of merit, ich can alone render the possession of a throne easy, and as were natural. Born and educated in a private station, the ction of their father raised them at once to the rank of princes; d his death, which happened about sixteen months afterwards, t them the unexpected legacy of a vast empire. To sustain th temper this rapid elevation, an uncommon share of virtue

[82] Hist. August. p. 250 [xxx. 8]. Yet Eutropius, Festus, Rufus, the two Victors, ome, Sidonius Apollinaris, Syncellus, and Zonaras, all ascribe the death of Carus ightning. [It took place before Aug. 29, 283.]

[83] See Nemesian. Cynegeticon, v. 71, &c.

[84] See Festus and his commentators, on the word *Scribonianum*. *Places* struck h lightning were surrounded with a wall; *things* were buried with mysous ceremony.

[85] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 250 [xxx. 9]. Aurelius Victor seems to believe prediction, and to approve the retreat.

and prudence was requisite; and Carinus, the elder of t brothers, was more than commonly deficient in those qualities. the Gallic war, he discovered some degree of personal courage; but, from the moment of his arrival at Rome, he abandon himself to the luxury of the capital, and to the abuse of h fortune. He was soft, yet cruel; devoted to pleasure, b destitute of taste; and, though exquisitely susceptible of vanit indifferent to the public esteem. In the course of a few month he successively married and divorced nine wives,[87] most of who he left pregnant; and, notwithstanding this legal inconstanc found time to indulge such a variety of irregular appetites brought dishonour on himself and on the noblest houses Rome. He beheld with inveterate hatred all those who migh remember his former obscurity, or censure his present conduc He banished or put to death the friends and counsellors who his father had placed about him to guide his inexperience youth; and he persecuted with the meanest revenge his schoo fellows and companions, who had not sufficiently respected th latent majesty of the emperor. With the senators, Carinu affected a lofty and regal demeanour, frequently declaring tha he designed to distribute their estates among the populace Rome. From the dregs of that populace he selected h favourites, and even his ministers. The palace, and even th Imperial table, was filled with singers, dancers, prostitutes, an all the various retinue of vice and folly. One of his door-keep ers [88] he intrusted with the government of the city. In the roo of the Prætorian præfect, whom he put to death, Carinus subst tuted one of the ministers of his looser pleasures. Another wh possessed the same, or even a more infamous, title to favou was invested with the consulship. A confidential secretary, wh had acquired uncommon skill in the art of forgery, delivered th indolent emperor, with his own consent, from the irksome dut of signing his name.

When the Emperor Carus undertook the Persian war, he wa induced, by motives of affection as well as policy, to secure th fortunes of his family by leaving in the hands of his elde son the armies and provinces of the West. The intelligenc

[88] Nemesian. Cynegeticon, v. 69. He was a contemporary, but a poet.

[87] [The name of one of his wives, Magnia Urbica, is now known; C.I.L. 2384.]

[88] *Cancellarius.* This word, so humble in its origin, has, by a singular fortun risen into the title of the first great office of state in the monarchies of Europe. S Casaubon and Salmasius, ad Hist. August. p. 253 [xxx. 16].

ıich he soon received of the conduct of Carinus filled him with ame and regret; nor had he concealed his resolution of tisfying the republic by a severe act of justice, and of adopting, the place of an unworthy son, the brave and virtuous Con- ıntius, who at that time was governor of Dalmatia. But the evation of Constantius was for a while deferred; and, as soon a father's death had released Carinus from the control of fear decency, he displayed to the Romans the extravagancies of agabalus, aggravated by the cruelty of Domitian.[89]

He celebrates the Roman games

The only merit of the administration of Carinus that history uld record or poetry celebrate was the uncommon splendour th which, in his own and his brother's name, he exhibited the oman games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. ore than twenty years afterwards, when the courtiers of Dio- etian represented to their frugal sovereign the fame and pularity of his munificent predecessor, he acknowledged that e reign of Carinus had indeed been a reign of pleasure.[90] But is vain prodigality, which the prudence of Diocletian might stly despise, was enjoyed with surprise and transport by the oman people. The oldest of the citizens, recollecting the ectacles of former days, the triumphal pomp of Probus or ırelian, and the secular games of the emperor Philip, acknow- lged that they were all surpassed by the superior magnificence Carinus.[91]

Spectacles of Rome

The spectacles of Carinus may therefore be best illustrated by e observation of some particulars, which history has conde- ended to relate concerning those of his predecessors. If we nfine ourselves solely to the hunting of wild beasts, however may censure the vanity of the design or the cruelty of the ecution, we are obliged to confess that neither before nor ıce the time of the Romans so much art and expense have ever en lavished for the amusement of the people.[92] By the order Probus, a great quantity of large trees, torn up by the roots, ere transplanted into the midst of the circus. The spacious

[89] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 253, 254 [xxx. 16, 17]. Eutropius, ix. 19. Victor ıior. The reign of Diocletian, indeed, was so long and prosperous, that it must ve been very unfavourable to the fame of Carinus.

[90] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 254 [xxx. 17]. He calls him Carus, but the se is sufficiently obvious, and the words were often confounded.

[91] See Calphurnius. Eclog. vii. 43. We may observe that the spectacles of obus were still recent, and that the poet is seconded by the historian. [See ıp. xi. note 88.]

[92] The philosopher Montaigne (Essais. l. iii. 6) gives a very just and lively view Roman magnificence in these spectacles.

and shady forest was immediately filled with a thousand ostrich a thousand stags, a thousand fallow deer, and a thousand w boars; and all this variety of game was abandoned to the riotc impetuosity of the multitude. The tragedy of the succeedi day consisted in the massacre of an hundred lions, an equ number of lionesses, two hundred leopards, and three hundr bears.[93] The collection prepared by the younger Gordian his triumph, and which his successor exhibited in the secu games, was less remarkable by the number than by the singul ity of the animals. Twenty Zebras displayed their elegant for and variegated beauty to the eyes of the Roman people.[94] T elks, and as many camelopards, the loftiest and most harml creatures that wander over the plains of Sarmatia and Æthiop were contrasted with thirty African hyænas, and ten Indi tigers, the most implacable savages of the torrid zone. T unoffending strength with which Nature has endowed the grea quadrupedes was admired in the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus the Nile,[95] and a majestic troop of thirty-two elephants.[96] Wh the populace gazed with stupid wonder on the splendid sho the naturalist might indeed observe the figure and properties so many different species, transported from every part of t ancient world into the amphitheatre of Rome. But this ac dental benefit which science might derive from folly is sur insufficient to justify such a wanton abuse of the public rich There occurs, however, a single instance in the first Punic w in which the senate wisely connected this amusement of t multitude with the interest of the state. A considerable numb of elephants, taken in the defeat of the Carthaginian army, w driven through the circus by a few slaves, armed only with blu javelins.[97] The useful spectacle served to impress the Rom soldier with a just contempt for those unwieldy animals; and no longer dreaded to encounter them in the ranks of war.

The amphitheatre

The hunting or exhibition of wild beasts was conducted w

[93] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 240 [xxviii. 19].

[94] They are called *Onagri*; but the number is too inconsiderable for mere w asses. Cuper (de Elephantis Exercitat. ii. 7) has proved from Oppian, Dion, an anonymous Greek, that zebras had been seen at Rome. They were brou from some island of the ocean, perhaps Madagascar.

[95] Carinus gave an hippopotamus (see Calphurn. Eclog. vii. 66). In the l spectacles, I do not recollect any crocodiles, of which Augustus once exhibi thirty-six. Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 781 [10].

[96] Capitolin. in Hist. August. p. 164, 165 [xx. 32, 33]. We are not acquain with the animals whom he calls *archeleontes*, some read *argoleontes* [Salmasi others *agrioleontes* [Scaliger]: both corrections are very nugatory.

[97] Plin. Hist. Natur. viii. 6, from the annals of Piso.

magnificence suitable to a people who styled themselves the asters of the world; nor was the edifice appropriated to that ntertainment less expressive of Roman greatness. Posterity mires, and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphi-eatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of Colossal.[98] was a building of an elliptic figure, five hundred and sixty-four et in length, and four hundred and sixty-seven in breadth, unded on fourscore arches, and rising, with four successive ders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and forty et.[99] The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, d decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave, hich formed the inside, were filled and surrounded with sixty eighty rows of seats, of marble likewise, covered with cushions, d capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand ectators.[100] Sixty-four *vomitories* (for by that name the doors ere very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multi-de; and the entrances, passages, and staircases were contrived th such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the natorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his stined place without trouble or confusion.[101] Nothing was itted which, in any respect, could be subservient to the con-nience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected om the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn er their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the aying of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful ent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice, the *arena*, or age, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed e most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was after-ards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The sub-rraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and hat had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly nverted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and

[98] See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, P. iv. l. i. c. 2.

[99] Maffei, l. ii. c. 2. The height was very much exaggerated by the ancients. reached almost to the heavens, according to Calphurnius (Eclog. vii. 23), and passed the ken of human sight, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10). how trifling to the great pyramid of Egypt, which rises five hundred feet perpendicular!

[100] According to different copies of Victor, we read seventy-seven thousand, eighty-seven thousand spectators; but Maffei (l. ii. c. 12) finds room on the en seats for no more than thirty-four thousand. The remainder were contained the upper covered galleries.

[101] See Maffei, l. ii. c. 5-12. He treats the very difficult subject with all possible arness, and like an architect, as well as an antiquarian.

replenished with the monsters of the deep.[102] In the decorat of these scenes the Roman emperors displayed their wealth a liberality; and we read on various occasions that the wh furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or gold, or of amber.[103] The poet who describes the games Carinus, in the character of a shepherd attracted to the cap by the fame of their magnificence, affirms that the nets desig as a defence against the wild beasts were of gold wire; that porticos were gilded; and that the *belt* or circle which divi the several ranks of spectators from each other was studded w a precious Mosaic of beautiful stones.[104]

A.D. 284, Sept. 12

In the midst of this glittering pageantry, the Emperor Cari secure of his fortune, enjoyed the acclamations of the peo the flattery of his courtiers, and the songs of the poets, who, want of a more essential merit, were reduced to celebrate divine graces of his person.[105] In the same hour, but at distance of nine hundred miles from Rome, his brother expir and a sudden revolution transferred into the hands of a stran the sceptre of the house of Carus.[106]

Return of Numerian with the army from Persia

The sons of Carus never saw each other after their fath death. The arrangements which their new situation requi were probably deferred till the return of the younger brothe Rome, where a triumph was decreed to the young emper for the glorious success of the Persian war.[107] It is uncert whether they intended to divide between them the adminis tion or the provinces of the empire; but it is very unlikely t their union would have proved of any long duration. jealousy of power must have been inflamed by the oppositio characters. In the most corrupt of times, Carinus was unwor to live: Numerian deserved to reign in a happier period. affable manners and gentle virtues secured him, as soon as t

[102] Calphurn. Eclog. vii. 64, 73. These lines are curious, and the whole Ecl has been of infinite use to Maffei. Calphurnius, as well as Martial (see his book), was a poet, but when they described the amphitheatre, they both wrote their own senses, and to those of the Romans.

[103] Consult Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 16, xxxvii. 11.

[104] Balteus en gemmis, en inlita porticus auro.
Certatim radiant, &c. Calphurn. vii. [47].

[105] Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse putavi, says Calphurnius; but Malala, who had perhaps seen pictures of Carinus, describes him as thick, sh and white, tom. i. p. 403.

[106] With regard to the time when these Roman games were celebrated, Scal Salmasius and Cuper, have given themselves a great deal of trouble to pe a very clear subject.

[107] Nemesianus (in the Cynegeticon) seems to anticipate in his fancy auspicious day [80 *sqq.*].

ecame known, the regard and affections of the public. He ossessed the elegant accomplishments of a poet and orator, hich dignify as well as adorn the humblest and the most xalted station. His eloquence, however it was applauded by ie senate, was formed not so much on the model of Cicero, on that of the modern declaimers; but in an age very far from eing destitute of poetical merit, he contended for the prize ith the most celebrated of his contemporaries, and still remained ie friend of his rivals; a circumstance which evinces either the oodness of his heart, or the superiority of his genius.[108] But ie talents of Numerian were rather of the contemplative than the active kind. When his father's elevation reluctantly rced him from the shade of retirement, neither his temper or his pursuits had qualified him for the command of armies. is constitution was destroyed by the hardships of the Persian ar; and he had contracted, from the heat of the climate,[109] ch a weakness in his eyes as obliged him, in the course of a ng retreat, to confine himself to the solitude and darkness a tent or litter. The administration of all affairs, civil as well military, was devolved on Arrius Aper, the Prætorian præfect, ho to the power of his important office added the honour of eing father-in-law to Numerian. The Imperial pavilion was rictly guarded by his most trusty adherents; and, during any days, Aper delivered to the army the supposed mandates their invisible sovereign.[110]

Death of Numerian

It was not till eight months after the death of Carus that the oman army, returning by slow marches from the banks of the igris, arrived on those of the Thracian Bosphorus. The gions halted at Chalcedon in Asia, while the court passed over Heraclea, on the European side of the Propontis.[111] But a eport soon circulated through the camp, at first in secret hispers, and at length in loud clamours, of the emperor's eath, and of the presumption of his ambitious minister, who

[108] He won all the crowns from Nemesianus, with whom he vied in didactic etry. [*Nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit qui* ἁλιευτικὰ κυνηγετικὰ et υτικὰ *scripsit inque omnibus colonis illustratus emicuit.*] The senate erected statue to the son of Carus, with a very ambiguous inscription, "To the most werful of orators". See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 251 [xxx. 11].

[109] A more natural cause at least, than that assigned by Vopiscus (Hist. ugust. p. 251 [ib. 12]), incessant weeping for his father's death.

[110] In the Persian war, Aper was suspected of a design to betray Carus. Hist. ugust. p. 250 [xxx. 8].

[111] We are obliged to the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 274, for the knowledge the time and place where Diocletian was elected emperor. [Chronicon Pasch. 510, ed. Bonn.]

still exercised the sovereign power in the name of a prince wh was no more. The impatience of the soldiers could not lon support a state of suspense. With rude curiosity they brok into the Imperial tent, and discovered only the corpse Numerian.[112] The gradual decline of his health might hav induced them to believe that his death was natural; but th concealment was interpreted as an evidence of guilt, and th measures which Aper had taken to secure his election becam the immediate occasion of his ruin. Yet, even in the transpo of their rage and grief, the troops observed a regular proceedin which proves how firmly discipline had been re-established b the martial successors of Gallienus. A general assembly of th army was appointed to be held at Chalcedon, whither Aper w transported in chains, as a prisoner and a criminal. A vacan tribunal was erected in the midst of the camp, and the genera and tribunes formed a great military council. They soo announced to the multitude that their choice had fallen o Diocletian, commander of the domestics or body-guards,[113] the person the most capable of revenging and succeeding the beloved emperor. The future fortunes of the candidate depende on the chance or conduct of the present hour. Conscious th the station which he had filled exposed him to some suspicion Diocletian ascended the tribunal, and, raising his eyes toward the Sun, made a solemn profession of his own innocence, in th presence of that all-seeing Deity.[114] Then, assuming the ton of a sovereign and a judge, he commanded that Aper should b brought in chains to the foot of the tribunal. "This man," sa he, "is the murderer of Numerian"; and, without giving hi time to enter on a dangerous justification, drew his sword, an buried it in the breast of the unfortunate præfect.[115] A charg supported by such decisive proof was admitted without contra diction, and the legions, with repeated acclamations, acknow ledged the justice and authority of the emperor Diocletian.[116]

A.D. 284, Sept. 17. Election of the emperor Diocletian

[112] Hist. August. p. 251 [xxx. 12]. Eutrop. ix. 18. Hieronym. in Chro According to these *judicious* writers, the death of Numerian was discovered b the stench of his dead body. Could no aromatics be found in the imperi household?

[113] [C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus. He was *comes domesticorum*.]

[114] Aurel. Victor [Cæs. 39]. Eutropius, ix. 20. Hieronym. in Chron.

[115] [Vopiscus was informed by his grandfather, an eye-witness of this scene, th Diocletian uttered the famous words of Æneas: *Æneae magni dextra cadis* (Virg *Æn.* x. 830).]

[116] Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 252 [ib. 14, 15]. The reason why Diocletia killed *Aper* (a wild boar), was founded on a prophecy and a pun, as foolish as the are well known.

Before we enter upon the memorable reign of that prince, it ill be proper to punish and dismiss the unworthy brother of umerian. Carinus possessed arms and treasures sufficient to ıpport his legal title to the empire.[117] But his personal vices verbalanced every advantage of birth and situation. The most ithful servants of the father despised the incapacity, and readed the cruel arrogance, of the son. The hearts of the eople were engaged in favour of his rival, and even the senate as inclined to prefer an usurper to a tyrant. The arts of Dioetian inflamed the general discontent; and the winter was mployed in secret intrigues, and open preparations for a civil ar. In the spring the forces of the East and of the West enountered each other in the plains of Margus, a small city of Iæsia, in the neighbourhood of the Danube.[118] The troops, so tely returned from the Persian war, had acquired their glory at ne expense of health and numbers, nor were they in a condition o contend with the unexhausted strength of the legions of urope. Their ranks were broken, and, for a moment, Diocletian espaired of the purple and of life. But the advantage which arinus had obtained by the valour of his soldiers he quickly ost by the infidelity of his officers. A tribune, whose wife he ad seduced, seized the opportunity of revenge, and by a single low extinguished civil discord in the blood of the adulterer.[119]

Defeat and death of Carinus

A.D. 285, May [7]

[117] [And also a certain measure of energy. In his struggle against Diocletian he ained successes before his final defeat. See Hist. Aug. ib. 18, 2. And he supressed a tyrant in Pannonia, one M. Aurelius Julianus (perhaps *corrector* of enetia). Aur. Vict. Cæs. 39. John of Antioch, 163.]

[118] Eutropius marks its situation very accurately; it was between the Mons Aureus nd Viminacium. M. d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom i. p. 304) places Marus at Kastolatz in Servia, a little below Belgrade and Semendria. [It is where the ver Margus, now Morawa, joins the Danube. Cp. Chron. of 354, p. 648, and ordanes, Rom. 295. Diocletian called the province of Upper Mœsia *Margensis* in emory of this victory.]

[119] Hist. August. p. 254 [ib. 18]. Eutropius, ix. 20. Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39]. ictor in Epitome [38].

CHAPTER XIII

The reign of Diocletian and his three associates, Maximian, Galerius and Constantius—General re-establishment of order and tranquillity—The Persian war, victory, and triumph—The new form of administration—Abdication and retirement of Diocletian and Maximian

Elevation and character of Diocletian, A.D. 285 [17 Sept. 284]

As the reign of Diocletian was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more abject and obscure. The strong claims of merit and of violence had frequently superseded the ideal prerogatives of nobility; but a distinct line of separation was hitherto preserved between the free and the servile part of mankind. The parents of Diocletian had been slaves in the house of Anulinus, a Roman senator; nor was he himself distinguished by any other name than that which he derived from a small town in Dalmatia, from whence his mother deduced her origin.[1] It is, however, probable, that his father obtained the freedom of the family, and that he soon acquired an office of scribe, which was commonly exercised by persons of his condition.[2] Favourable oracles, or rather the consciousness of superior merit, prompted his aspiring son to pursue the profession of arms and the hopes of fortune; and it would be extremely curious to observe the gradation of arts and accidents which enabled him in the end to fulfil those oracles, and to display that merit to the world. Diocletian was successively promoted to the government of Mæsia, the honours of the consulship, and the important command of the guards of the palace. He distinguished his abilities in the Persian war; and, after the death of Numerian, the slave, by the confession and judgment of his rivals, was declared the most worthy of the Imperial

[1] Eutrop. ix. 19. Victor in Epitom. [39 1]. The town seems to have been properly Doclia, from the small tribe of Illyrians (see Cellarius, Geograph. Antiqua, tom. i. p. 393); and the original name of the fortunate slave was probably Docles; he first lengthened it to the Grecian harmony of Diocles, and at length to the Roman majesty of Diocletianus. He likewise assumed the Patrician name of Valerius, and it is usually given him by Aurelius Victor.

[2] See Dacier on the sixth satire of the second book of Horace. Cornel. Nepos in Vit. Eumen. c. 1.

one. The malice of religious zeal, whilst it arraigns the age fierceness of his colleague Maximian, has affected to cast picions on the personal courage of the Emperor Diocletian.[3] would not be easy to persuade us of the cowardice of a soldier fortune, who acquired and preserved the esteem of the legions, well as the favour of so many warlike princes. Yet even mny is sagacious enough to discover and to attack the most nerable part. The valour of Diocletian was never found dequate to his duty, or to the occasion; but he appears not have possessed the daring and generous spirit of a hero, who rts danger and fame, disdains artifice, and boldly challenges allegiance of his equals. His abilities were useful rather n splendid; a vigorous mind, improved by the experience and dy of mankind, dexterity and application in business; a icious mixture of liberality and economy, of mildness and our; profound dissimulation under the disguise of military kness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary means; and above all the great art of submitting his own sions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his am- on, and of colouring his ambition with the most specious pre- ces of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian y be considered as the founder of a new empire.[4] Like the pted son of Cæsar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather n a warrior; nor did either of those princes employ force, enever their purpose could be effected by policy.

His clemency and victory

The victory of Diocletian was remarkable for its singular mild- s. A people accustomed to applaud the clemency of the queror, if the usual punishments of death, exile and confis- on were inflicted with any degree of temper and equity, eld with the most pleasing astonishment a civil war, the nes of which were extinguished in the field of battle. Diocle- n received into his confidence Aristobulus, the principal minister he house of Carus, respected the lives, the fortunes, and the nity of his adversaries, and even continued in their respective ions the greater number of the servants of Carinus.[5] It is

Lactantius (or whoever was the author of the little treatise De Mortibus ecutorum [see Appendix I]) accuses Diocletian of *timidity* in two places, c. 7, In chap. 9, he says of him, "erat in omni tumultu meticulosus et animi dis- is".

[It is usual to express this fact by saying that the Principate founded by ustus was transformed by Diocletian into an absolute Monarchy.]

In this encomium, Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39, 5] seems to convey a just, though ect, censure of the cruelty of Constantius. It appears from the Fasti, that tobulus remained præfect of the city, and that he ended with Diocletian the ulship which he had commenced with Carinus.

not improbable that motives of prudence might assist t humanity of the artful Dalmatian; of these servants many h purchased his favour by secret treachery; in others, he esteem their grateful fidelity to an unfortunate master. The discerni judgment of Aurelian, of Probus, and of Carus, had filled t several departments of the state and army with officers of approv merit, whose removal would have injured the public servi without promoting the interest of the successor. Such a condu however, displayed to the Roman world the fairest prospect the new reign, and the emperor affected to confirm this favoural prepossession by declaring that, among all the virtues of his p decessors, he was the most ambitious of imitating the huma philosophy of Marcus Antoninus.[6]

Association and character of Maximian, A.D. 286, April 1

The first considerable action of his reign seemed to evince sincerity as well as his moderation. After the example of Marc he gave himself a colleague in the person of Maximian, on wh he bestowed at first the title of Cæsar, and afterwards that Augustus.[7] But the motives of his conduct, as well as the obj of his choice, were of a very different nature from those of admired predecessor. By investing a luxurious youth with t honours of the purple, Marcus had discharged a debt of priva gratitude, at the expense, indeed, of the happiness of the sta By associating a friend and a fellow-soldier to the labours government, Diocletian, in a time of public danger, provided the defence both of the East and of the West. Maximian w born a peasant, and, like Aurelian, in the territory of Sirmiu Ignorant of letters,[8] careless of laws, the rusticity of his appe ance and manners still betrayed in the most elevated fortune t meanness of his extraction. War was the only art which professed. In a long course of service, he had distinguish

[6] Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39] styles Diocletian, "Parentem potius quam Dominu See Hist. August. p. 30 [iv. 19].

[7] The question of the time when Maximian received the honours of Cæsar a Augustus has divided modern critics, and given occasion to a great deal of lear wrangling. I have followed M. de Tillemont (Histoire des Empereurs, tom. p. 500-505), who has weighed the several reasons and difficulties with his scrupul accuracy. [The question has been since discussed by Mommsen (*Abhandlun* of the Berlin Academy for 1860). Maximian seems to have been named Cæs with tribunician power, soon after 17th Sept. 285, and to have become Augus with full imperial powers 1st April, 286.]

[8] In an oration delivered before him (Panegyr. Vet. ii. 8.), Mamertinus expres a doubt whether his hero, in imitating the conduct of Hannibal and Scipio, l ever heard of their names. From thence we may fairly infer that Maximian more desirous of being considered as a soldier, than as a man of letters, and it i this manner that we can often translate the language of flattery into that of tru [We can still trace his rough features on coins.]

self on every frontier of the empire; and, though his military nts were formed to obey rather than to command, though, haps, he never attained the skill of a consummate general, he capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of executing most arduous undertakings. Nor were the vices of Maximian useful to his benefactor. Insensible to pity, and fearless of sequences, he was the ready instrument of every act of cruelty ch the policy of that artful prince might at once suggest and laim. As soon as a bloody sacrifice had been offered to dence or to revenge, Diocletian, by his seasonable intercession, ed the remaining few whom he had never designed to punish, tly censured the severity of his stern colleague, and enjoyed comparison of a golden and an iron age, which was universally lied to their opposite maxims of government. Notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two emperors maintained, on the throne, that friendship which they had contracted private station. The haughty turbulent spirit of Maximian, atal afterwards to himself and to the public peace, was accustomed to respect the genius of Diocletian, and confessed the ndant of reason over brutal violence.[9] From a motive either pride or superstition, the two emperors assumed the titles, the of Jovius, the other of Herculius. Whilst the motion of the ld (such was the language of their venal orators) was maintained by the all-seeing wisdom of Jupiter, the invincible arm of rcules purged the earth of monsters and tyrants.[10]

Association of two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, A.D. 292 [293], March 1

But even the omnipotence of Jovius and Herculius was fficient to sustain the weight of the public administration. prudence of Diocletian discovered that the empire, iled on every side by the barbarians, required on every the presence of a great army, and of an emperor. h this view he resolved once more to divide his unwieldy er, and, with the inferior title of *Cæsars*, to confer two generals of approved merit an equal share of the reign authority.[11] Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, from

Lactantius de M. P. c. 8. Aurelius Victor [ib.]. As among the Panegyrics nd orations pronounced in praise of Maximian, and others which flatter his ies at his expense, we derive some knowledge from the contrast.

See the second and third Panegyrics, particularly iii. 3, 10, 14, but it would edious to copy the diffuse and affected expressions of their false eloquence. regard to the titles, consult Aurel. Victor, Lactantius de M. P. c. 52. Spande Usu Numismatum, &c. Dissertat. xii. 8. [The titles have importance as ing that, though the colleagues were formally co-equal, Diocletian held a in primacy.]

Aurelius Victor. Victor in Epitome. Eutrop. ix. 22. Lactant. de M. P. c. Hieronym. in Chron. [For date cp. Diocletian's edict *de pretiis;* the two

his original profession of a herdsman, and Constantius, who fro his pale complexion had acquired the denomination of Chlorus, were the two persons invested with the second honours of th Imperial purple. In describing the country, extraction, an manners of Herculius, we have already delineated those Galerius, who was often, and not improperly, styled the younge Maximian, though in many instances both of virtue and abilit he appears to have possessed a manifest superiority over th elder. The birth of Constantius was less obscure than that his colleagues. Eutropius, his father, was one of the most co siderable nobles of Dardania, and his mother was the niece the Emperor Claudius.[13] Although the youth of Constantiu had been spent in arms, he was endowed with a mild an amiable disposition, and the popular voice had long sinc acknowledged him worthy of the rank which he at last attaine To strengthen the bonds of political, by those of domestic, unio each of the emperors assumed the character of a father to one the Cæsars, Diocletian to Galerius, and Maximian to Constantiu and each, obliging them to repudiate their former wive bestowed his daughter in marriage on his adopted son.[14] Thes four princes distributed among themselves the wide extent the Roman empire. The defence of Gaul, Spain,[15] and Britai was intrusted to Constantius: Galerius was stationed on th banks of the Danube, as the safeguard of the Illyrian province Italy and Africa were considered as the department of Maximia and, for his peculiar portion, Diocletian reserved Thrace, Egyp and the rich countries of Asia. Every one was sovereign with his own jurisdiction;[16] but their united authority extended ov

Departments and harmony of the four princes

Cæsars have *trib. pot.* ix. in 301 A.D. See Incert. Paneg. Constantio Cæs. 2- Chron. Pasch. i. 512. Mommsen, *loc. cit.* Also C.I.L. 2, 1439.]

[12] It is only among the modern Greeks that Tillemont can discover his appell tion of Chlorus. Any remarkable degree of paleness seems inconsistent with t *rubor* mentioned in Panegyric. v. 19. [Their names on their elevation becam C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus, and M. Flavius Valerius Constantius.]

[13] Julian, the grandson of Constantius boasts that his family was derived fro the warlike Mæsians. Misopogon, p. 348. The Dardanians dwelt on t [southern] edge of Mæsia.

[14] Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; if we speak with stri ness, Theodora, the wife of Constantius, was daughter only to the wife of Maximia Spanheim Dissertat. xi. 2.

[15] This division agrees with that of the four præfectures; yet there is some reas to doubt whether Spain was not a province of Maximian. See Tillemont, tom. iv. 517. [Lactantius, 8, says that Maximian had Spain, and he is probably right. the contrary Aurelius Victor, Cæs. 39, 30, gives him only Africa and Italy; and Julian, Or. 2, 51, D, who distinctly assigns Spain to Constantius.]

[16] [This statement must be qualified in regard to the Cæsars, who had no leg lative power, no control over the Imperial revenue, no consistorium. Nor had th

whole monarchy; and each of them was prepared to assist colleagues with his counsels or presence. The Cæsars, in ir exalted rank, revered the majesty of the emperors, and three younger princes invariably acknowledged, by their titude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. e suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among m; and the singular happiness of their union has been com- ed to a chorus of music, whose harmony was regulated and ntained by the skilful hand of the first artist.[17]

Series of events

his important measure was not carried into execution till ut six years after the association of Maximian, and that in- val of time had not been destitute of memorable incidents. we have preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, first to cribe the more perfect form of Diocletian's government, and rwards to relate the actions of his reign, following rather natural order of the events than the dates of a very doubt- chronology.

A.D. 287 State of the peasants of Gaul

he first exploit of Maximian, though it is mentioned in a few rds by our imperfect writers, deserves, from its singularity, to recorded in a history of human manners. He suppressed the sants of Gaul, who, under the appellation of Bagaudæ,[18] risen in a general insurrection; very similar to those which he fourteenth century successively afflicted both France and gland.[19] It should seem that very many of those institutions, rred by an easy solution to the feudal system, are derived n the Celtic barbarians. When Cæsar subdued the Gauls, t great nation was already divided into three orders of men; clergy, the nobility, and the common people. The first erned by superstition, the second by arms, but the third and was not of any weight or account in their public councils. was very natural for the Plebeians, oppressed by debt or rehensive of injuries, to implore the protection of some verful chief, who acquired over their persons and property the e absolute rights as, among the Greeks and Romans, a master

ight of appointing the officials in their dominions. Their military powers were ndent on the Augusti, to whom all their victories were ascribed. They wore urple, but not the diadem.]

Julian in Cæsarib. p. 315. Spanheim's notes to the French translation, p.

The general name of *Bagaudæ* (in the signification of Rebels) continued till fifth century in Gaul. Some critics derive it from a Celtic word, *Bagad*, a ultuous assembly. Scaliger ad Euseb. Du Cange Glossar. [For the social of Gaul, and the action of the priests, cp. Salvian, de Gubern. Dei, v. 5, 6.]

Chronique de Froissart, vol. i. c. 182, ii. 73-79. The *naiveté* of his story is in our best modern writers.

exercised over his slaves.[20] The greatest part of the nation
gradually reduced into a state of servitude; compelled to p
petual labour on the estates of the Gallic nobles, and confi
to the soil, either by the real weight of fetters, or by the no
cruel and forcible restraints of the laws. During the long se
of troubles which agitated Gaul, from the reign of Gallienus
that of Diocletian, the condition of these servile peasants
peculiarly miserable; and they experienced at once the co
plicated tyranny of their masters, of the barbarians, of
soldiers, and of the officers of the revenue.[21]

Their rebellion

Their patience was at last provoked into despair. On ev
side they rose in multitudes, armed with rustic weapons, a
with irresistible fury. The ploughman became a foot-soldi
the shepherd mounted on horseback, the deserted villages a
open towns were abandoned to the flames, and the ravages
the peasants equalled those of the fiercest barbarians.[22] Th
asserted the natural rights of men, but they asserted those rig
with the most savage cruelty. The Gallic nobles, justly dreadi
their revenge, either took refuge in the fortified cities, or f
from the wild scene of anarchy. The peasants reigned with
control; and two of their most daring leaders had the folly a
rashness to assume the Imperial ornaments.[23] Their pov
soon expired at the approach of the legions. The strength
union and discipline obtained an easy victory over a licentio

and chastisement

and divided multitude.[24] A severe retaliation was inflicted
the peasants who were found in arms; the affrighted remna
returned to their respective habitations, and their unsuccess
effort for freedom served only to confirm their slavery.
strong and uniform is the current of popular passions that
might almost venture, from very scanty materials, to relate the p
ticulars of this war; but we are not disposed to believe that t
principal leaders Ælianus and Amandus were Christians,[25] or
insinuate that the rebellion, as it happened in the time of Luth

[20] Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. vi. 13. Orgetorix, the Helvetian, could arm for
defence a body of ten thousand slaves.

[21] Their oppression and misery are acknowledged by Eumenius (Panegyr.
8). Gallias efferatas injuriis.

[22] Panegyr. Vet. ii. 4. Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39].

[23] Ælianus and Amandus. We have medals coined by them. Goltzius in Th
R. A. p. 117, 121. [See Eckhel, 8, 41, but they are condemned as spurious
Cohen.]

[24] Levibus prœliis domuit. Eutrop. ix. 20.

[25] The fact rests indeed on very slight authority, a life of St. Babolinus, wh
is probably of the seventh century. See Duchesne Scriptores Rer. Francicar. to
i. p. 662.

s occasioned by the abuse of those benevolent principles of ristianity which inculcate the natural freedom of mankind.

Maximian had no sooner recovered Gaul from the hands of peasants, than he lost Britain by the usurpation of Carausius. er since the rash but successful enterprise of the Franks der the reign of Probus, their daring countrymen had con- ucted squadrons of light brigantines, in which they incessantly aged the provinces adjacent to the ocean.[26] To repel their sultory incursions, it was found necessary to create a naval ver; and the judicious measure was pursued with prudence d vigour. Gessoriacum or Boulogne, in the streights of the tish channel, was chosen by the emperor for the station of Roman fleet; and the command of it was intrusted to Carau- s, a Menapian of the meanest origin,[27] but who had long nalized his skill as a pilot, and his valour as a soldier. The egrity of the new admiral corresponded not with his abilities. nen the German pirates sailed from their own harbours, he nived at their passage, but he diligently intercepted their urn, and appropriated to his own use an ample share of the il which they had acquired. The wealth of Carausius was, on s occasion, very justly considered as an evidence of his guilt; d Maximian had already given orders for his death. But the fty Menapian foresaw and prevented the severity of the peror. By his liberality he had attached to his fortunes the et which he commanded, and secured the barbarians in his erest. From the port of Boulogne he sailed over to Britain, rsuaded the legion and the auxiliaries which guarded that nd to embrace his party, and boldly assuming, with the Im- rial purple, the title of Augustus, defied the justice and the ns of his injured sovereign.[28]

A.D. 287. [A.D. 286.] Revolt of Carausius in Britain

When Britain was thus dismembered from the empire, its im- rtance was sensibly felt, and its loss sincerely lamented. The mans celebrated, and perhaps magnified, the extent of that ble island, provided on every side with convenient harbours;

Importance of Britain

[6] Aurelius Victor calls them Germans. Eutropius (ix. 21) gives them the name Saxons [(Mare) quod *Franci et Saxones* infestabant]. But Eutropius lived in ensuing century, and seems to use the language of his time.

[7] The three expressions of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and Eumenius, "vilissime is," "Bataviæ alumnus," and "Menapiæ civis," give us a very doubtful ount of the birth of Carausius. Stukely, however (Hist. of Carausius, p. 62), oses to make him a native of St. David's and a prince of the blood royal of Britain. former idea he had found in Richard of Cirencester, p. 44.

[8] Panegyr. v. 12. Britain at this time was secure, and slightly guarded. [For is with *Exspectate veni* and *Genius Britanniae* see Eckhel, 8, 45.]

the temperature of the climate, and the fertility of the s
alike adapted for the production of corn or of vines; the va
able minerals with which it abounded; its rich pastures cove
with innumerable flocks, and its woods free from wild beasts
venomous serpents. Above all, they regretted the large amou
of the revenue of Britain, whilst they confessed that such
province well deserved to become the seat of an independ

Power of Carausius

monarchy.[29] During the space of seven [30] years, it was posses
by Carausius; and fortune continued propitious to a rebell
supported with courage and ability. The British emperor
fended the frontiers of his dominions against the Caledonians
the North, invited from the continent a great number of skil
artists, and displayed, on a variety of coins that are still exta
his taste and opulence. Born on the confines of the Franks,
courted the friendship of that formidable people, by the flatt
ing imitation of their dress and manners. The bravest of th
youth he enlisted among his land or sea forces; and, in retu
for their useful alliance, he communicated to the barbari
the dangerous knowledge of military and naval arts. Caraus
still preserved the possession of Boulogne and the adjac
country. His fleets rode triumphant in the channel, command
the mouths of the Seine and of the Rhine, ravaged the coasts
the ocean, and diffused, beyond the Columns of Hercules,
terror of his name. Under his command, Britain, destined i
future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed
natural and respectable station of a maritime power.[31]

A.D. 289. acknowledged by the other emperors

By seizing the fleet of Boulogne, Carausius had deprived
master of the means of pursuit and revenge. And, when, af
vast expense of time and labour, a new armament was launch
into the water,[32] the Imperial troops, unaccustomed to t

[29] Panegyr. Vet. v. 11, vii. 9. The orator Eumenius wished to exalt the glor
the hero (Constantius), with the importance of the conquest. Notwithstand
our laudable partiality for our native country, it is difficult to conceive that in
beginning of the fourth century England deserved *all* these commendations.
century and a half before, it hardly paid its own establishment. See Appian
Procem.

[30] [Six. See Appendix 22.]

[31] As a great number of medals of Carausius are still preserved, he is becom
very favourite object of antiquarian curiosity, and every circumstance of his life
actions has been investigated with sagacious accuracy. Dr. Stukely in partic
has devoted a large volume to the British emperor. I have used his materials,
rejected most of his fanciful conjectures.

[32] When Mamertinus pronounced his first Panegyric [21st April, 289], the n
preparations of Maximian were completed: and the orator presaged an assu
victory. His silence in the second Panegyric, might alone inform us that
expedition had not succeeded.

ement, were easily baffled and defeated by the veteran sailors the usurper. This disappointed effort was soon productive of treaty of peace. Diocletian and his colleague, who justly eaded the enterprising spirit of Carausius, resigned to him the vereignty of Britain, and reluctantly admitted their perfidious vant to a participation of the Imperial honours.[33] But the option of the two Cæsars restored new vigour to the Roman ms; and, while the Rhine was guarded by the presence of aximian, his brave associate, Constantius, assumed the conduct the British war. His first enterprise was against the import- t place of Boulogne. A stupendous mole, raised across the trance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief. The A.D. 292 [293] wn surrendered after an obstinate defence; and a considerable rt of the naval strength of Carausius fell into the hands of the siegers. During the three years, which Constantius employed preparing a fleet adequate to the conquest of Britain, he cured the coast of Gaul, invaded the country of the Franks, d deprived the usurper of the assistance of those powerful ies.

Before the preparations were finished, Constantius received A.D 294 [293]. His death e intelligence of the tyrant's death, and it was considered as sure presage of the approaching victory. The servants of rausius imitated the example of treason which he had given. e was murdered by his first minister Allectus, and the assassin ceeded to his power and to his danger. But he possessed t equal abilities either to exercise the one, or to repel the ner. He beheld, with anxious terror, the opposite shores of e continent, already filled with arms, with troops, and with ssels; for Constantius had very prudently divided his forces, at he might likewise divide the attention and resistance of the emy. The attack was at length made by the principal A.D. 296. Recovery of Britain by Constantius uadron, which, under the command of the præfect Asclepio- tus, an officer of distinguished merit, had been assembled in e mouth of the Seine. So imperfect in those times was the : of navigation that orators have celebrated the daring courage the Romans, who ventured to set sail with a side-wind, and a stormy day. The weather proved favourable to their enter- ise. Under the cover of a thick fog, they escaped the fleet of

[33] Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39, 39], Eutropius [ix. 22], and the medals (Pax Aug.) orm us of the temporary reconciliation: though I will not presume (as Dr. ikely has done, Medallic History of Carausius, p. 86, &c.) to insert the identical icles of the treaty. [See Eckhel, 8, 47. *Carausius et fratres sui* appeared on his ns, as well as other manifestations of the unity of the empire.]

Allectus, which had been stationed off the Isle of Wight receive them, landed in safety on some part of the weste coast, and convinced the Britons that a superiority of na strength will not always protect their country from a forei invasion. Asclepiodotus had no sooner disembarked the l perial troops than he set fire to his ships; and, as the expediti proved fortunate, his heroic conduct was universally admir The usurper had posted himself near London, to expect t formidable attack of Constantius, who commanded in person t fleet of Boulogne; but the descent of a new enemy requi his immediate presence in the West. He performed this lo march in so precipitate a manner that he encountered the wh force of the præfect with a small body of harassed and d heartened troops. The engagement was soon terminated by t total defeat and death of Allectus; a single battle, as it l often happened, decided the fate of this great island; and, wh Constantius landed on the shores of Kent, he found them cove with obedient subjects. Their acclamations were loud and u animous; and the virtues of the conqueror may induce us believe that they sincerely rejoiced in a revolution which, af a separation of ten years, restored Britain to the body of t Roman empire.[34]

Defence of the frontiers

Britain had none but domestic enemies to dread; and, as lo as the governors preserved their fidelity, and the troops th discipline, the incursions of the naked savages of Scotland Ireland could never materially affect the safety of the provin The peace of the continent, and the defence of the principal riv which bounded the empire, were objects of far greater difficu and importance. The policy of Diocletian, which inspired t councils of his associates, provided for the public tranquillity, encouraging a spirit of dissension among the barbarians, and

Fortifications

strengthening the fortifications of the Roman limit. In t East he fixed a line of camps from Egypt to the Persian dom ions, and, for every camp, he instituted an adequate number stationary troops, commanded by their respective officers, a supplied with every kind of arms, from the new arsenals wh he had formed at Antioch, Emesa, and Damascus.[35] Nor w the precaution of the emperor less watchful against the we known valour of the barbarians of Europe. From the mouth the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns, a

[34] With regard to the recovery of Britain, we obtain a few hints from Aure Victor and Eutropius. [Chief source: *Incerti Paneg. Constantio.*]

[35] John Malala, in Chron. Antiochen. tom. i. p. 408, 409 [p. 308, ed. Bonn].

:adels, were diligently re-established, and, in the most exposed aces, new ones were skilfully constructed; the strictest gilance was introduced among the garrisons of the frontier, d every expedient was practised that could render the long ain of fortifications firm and impenetrable.[36] A barrier so re- ectable was seldom violated, and the barbarians often turned ainst each other their disappointed rage. The Goths, the ndals, the Gepidæ, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, wasted ch other's strength by destructive hostilities: and whosoever nquished, they vanquished the enemies of Rome. The subjects Diocletian enjoyed the bloody spectacle, and congratulated ch other that the mischiefs of civil war were now experienced ly by the barbarians.[37]

Dissensions of the barbarians

Notwithstanding the policy of Diocletian, it was impossible to aintain an equal and undisturbed tranquillity during a reign twenty years, and along a frontier of many hundred miles. metimes the barbarians suspended their domestic animosities, d the vigilance of the garrisons sometimes gave a passage to eir strength or dexterity. Whenever the provinces were in- ded, Diocletian conducted himself with that calm dignity hich he always affected or possessed; reserved his presence for ch occasions as were worthy of his interposition, never exposed s person or reputation to any unnecessary danger, ensured his ccess by every means that prudence could suggest, and dis- ayed, with ostentation, the consequences of his victory. In ars of a more difficult nature, and more doubtful event, he nployed the rough valour of Maximian, and that faithful soldier as content to ascribe his own victories to the wise counsels and spicious influence of his benefactor. But, after the adoption the two Cæsars, the emperors, themselves retiring to a less borious scene of action, devolved on their adopted sons the efence of the Danube and of the Rhine. The vigilant Galerius as never reduced to the necessity of vanquishing an army of rbarians on the Roman territory.[38] The brave and active

Conduct of the emperors

Valour of the Cæsars

[36] Zosimus, l. i. p. 3 [error for ii. cap. 34]. That partial historian seems to celebrate the vigilance of Diocletian, with the design of exposing the negligence of onstantine; we may, however, listen to an orator: "Nam quid ego alarum et hortium castra percenseam, toto Rheni et Istri et Euphratis limite restituta?" negyr. Vet. iv. 18.

[37] Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi, quibus non contigit esse Romanis, stinatæque feritatis pœnas nunc sponte persolvunt. Panegyr. Vet. iii. 16, Maertinus illustrates the fact by the example of almost all the nations of the world.

[38] He complained, though not with the strictest truth: "Jam fluxisse annos ndecim in quibus, in Illyrico, ad ripam Danubii relegatus cum gentibus barbaris ctaret". Lactant. de M. P. c. 18.

[A.D. 296] Constantius delivered Gaul from a very furious inroad of t Alemanni; and his victories of Langres and Vindonissa appe to have been actions of considerable danger and merit. As traversed the open country with a feeble guard he was encor passed on a sudden by the superior multitude of the enem He retreated with difficulty towards Langres; but, in the gene consternation, the citizens refused to open their gates, and t wounded prince was drawn up the wall by the means of a ro But on the news of his distress the Roman troops hastened fr all sides to his relief, and before the evening he had satisfied honour and revenge by the slaughter of six thousand Alemanni From the monuments of those times, the obscure traces of seve other victories over the barbarians of Sarmatia and Germa might possibly be collected; but the tedious search would n be rewarded either with amusement or with instruction.

Treatment of the barbarians

The conduct which the emperor Probus had adopted in t disposal of the vanquished was imitated by Diocletian and associates. The captive barbarians, exchanging death for slave were distributed among the provincials, and assigned to tho districts (in Gaul, the territories of Amiens, Beauvais, Cambra Treves, Langres, and Troyes, are particularly specified[40]) whi had been depopulated by the calamities of war. They were us fully employed as shepherds and husbandmen, but were deni the exercise of arms, except when it was found expedient to en them in the military service. Nor did the emperors refuse t property of lands, with a less servile tenure, to such of the ba barians as solicited the protection of Rome. They granted settlement to several colonies of the Carpi, the Bastarnæ, and t Sarmatians; and, by a dangerous indulgence, permitted them some measure to retain their national manners and indepen ence.[41] Among the provincials, it was a subject of flatteri

[39] In the Greek text of Eusebius, we read six thousand, a number which I ha preferred to the sixty thousand of Jerome, Orosius, Eutropius, and his Gre translator Pæanius. [For the distinction of the various campaigns against the Germ nations in early years of Diocletian's reign see Appendix 22.]

[40] Panegyr. Vet. vii. 21. [The *pagus Chamavorum* near Langres was proba settled at this time.]

[41] There was a settlement of the Sarmatians in the neighbourhood of Trev which seems to have been deserted by those lazy barbarians: Ausonius speaks them in his Moselle [5 *sqq.*].

> Unde iter ingrediens nemorosa per avia solum,
> Et nulla humani spectans vestigia cultus
> . . . . . .
> Arvaque Sauromatûm nuper metata colonis.

There was a town of the Carpi in the Lower Mæsia. [In Gaul Constantius had rebuild the ruined Autun and Trier.]

ultation, that the barbarian, so lately an object of terror, now ltivated their lands, drove their cattle to the neighbouring r, and contributed by his labour to the public plenty. They ngratulated their masters on the powerful accession of subjects d soldiers; but they forgot to observe that multitudes of secret emies, insolent from favour, or desperate from oppression, were troduced into the heart of the empire.[42]

Wars of Africa and Egypt

While the Cæsars exercised their valour on the banks of the hine and Danube, the presence of the emperors was required the southern confines of the Roman world. From the Nile to ount Atlas, Africa was in arms. A confederacy of five Moorish [296, 297] tions issued from their deserts to invade the peaceful pro- nces.[43] Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage,[44] Achil- us at Alexandria;[45] and even the Blemmyes renewed, or rather ntinued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt. Scarcely any rcumstances have been preserved of the exploits of Maximian the western parts of Africa; but it appears, by the event, that e progress of his arms was rapid and decisive, that he van- uished the fiercest barbarians of Mauritania, and that he removed em from the mountains, whose inaccessible strength had in- ired their inhabitants with a lawless confidence, and habitu- ed them to a life of rapine and violence.[46] Diocletian, on his A.D. 296 [295]. Conduct of Diocletian in Egypt le, opened the campaign in Egypt by the siege of Alexandria, t off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into ery quarter of that immense city,[47] and, rendering his camp mpregnable to the sallies of the besieged multitude, he pushed s reiterated attacks with caution and vigour. After a siege of ght months, Alexandria, wasted by the sword and by fire, im- ored the clemency of the conqueror; but it experienced the

[42] See the rhetorical exultation of Eumenius. Panegyr. vii. 9.

[43] Scaliger (Animadvers. ad Euseb. p. 243) decides, in his usual manner, that e Quinque gentiani, or five African nations, were the five great cities, the Penta- lis of the inoffensive province of Cyrene. [The Quinquegentanei had, along th the Bavares, invaded Numidia in 260 A.D., and were routed by the legatus, acrinius Decianus, C. I. L. viii. 2615. Again about ten years before Maximian's pedition the same peoples were crushed by Aurelius Litua, the præses of Maure- nia Cæsariensis.]

[44] After this defeat, Julian stabbed himself with a dagger, and immediately mped into the flames. Victor in Epitome [39, 3. John of Antioch, fr. 164.]

[45] [A correction has been made here in the punctuation of the text. See *Intro- ction*, p. xlii.]

[46] Tu ferocissimos Mauritaniæ populos inaccessis montium jugis et naturali munitione fidentes, expugnasti, recepisti, transtulisti. Panegyr. Vet. vi. 8 [Incert. en. Max. et Const. Aug. 8. Maximian was still in Africa on 10 March 298. Frag. ut. 41.]

[47] See the description of Alexandria in Hirtius de Bel. Alexandrin. c. 5.

full extent of his severity. Many thousands of the citize perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obno ous persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence either of death at least of exile.[48] The fate of Busiris and of Coptos was s more melancholy than that of Alexandria; those proud citi the former distinguished by its antiquity, the latter enriched the passage of the Indian trade, were utterly destroyed by t arms and by the severe order of Diocletian.[49] The character the Egyptian nation, insensible to kindness, but extremely s ceptible of fear, could alone justify this excessive rigour. T seditions of Alexandria had often affected the tranquillity a subsistence of Rome itself. Since the usurpation of Firmus, t province of Upper Egypt, incessantly relapsing into rebelli had embraced the alliance of the savages of Æthiopia. T number of the Blemmyes, scattered between the Island of Me and the Red Sea, was very inconsiderable, their disposition w unwarlike, their weapons rude and inoffensive.[50] Yet in t public disorders these barbarians, whom antiquity, shocked w the deformity of their figure, had almost excluded from t human species, presumed to rank themselves among the enem of Rome.[51] Such had been the unworthy allies of the Egyptia and, while the attention of the state was engaged in more seri wars, their vexatious inroads might again harass the repose of t province. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suital adversary, Diocletian persuaded the Nobatæ, or people of Nub to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Lib and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territo above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulati that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empi The treaty long subsisted; and till the establishment of Ch

[48] Eutrop. ix. 24. Orosius, vii. 25. John Malala in Chron. Antioch. p. 4 410 [p. 309, ed. Bonn]. Yet Eumenius assures us that Egypt was pacified by clemency of Diocletian. [Achilleus seems to have been preceded by another tyra L. Domitius Domitianus, whose reign was so short that he is not mentioned by writer, and his existence is only known by some coins, which puzzle numismati It has been conjectured, but not proved, that he and Achilleus were one and same person. Compare Eckhel, 8, 41; Cohen, 5, 549, also Schiller, ii. 138.]

[49] Eusebius (in Chron.) places their destruction several years sooner, and time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against the Romans. [Diocle left Nicomedia at end of March, 295; seems to have begun siege of Alexandri July, for it lasted eight months, and a rescript is dated from it on 31 March, 2 See Mommsen, *loc. cit.*]

[50] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1, 172 [*leg.* 819]. Pomponius Mela. l. i. c. 4. His words curious, "Intra, si credere libet, vix homines magisque semiferi; Ægipanes, *Blemmyes*, et Satyri".

[51] Ausus sese inserere fortunæ et provocare arma Romana.

nity introduced stricter notions of religious worship, it was nually ratified by a solemn sacrifice in the isle of Elephantine, which the Romans, as well as the barbarians, adored the same ible or invisible powers of the universe.[52]

At the same time that Diocletian chastised the past crimes the Egyptians, he provided for their future safety and happiness many wise regulations, which were confirmed and enforced der the succeeding reigns.[53] One very remarkable edict, ich he published, instead of being condemned as the effect jealous tyranny deserves to be applauded as an act of prudence l humanity. He caused a diligent inquiry to be made "for the ancient books which treated of the admirable art of king gold and silver, and without pity committed them to e flames; apprehensive, as we are assured, lest the opulence the Egyptians should inspire them with confidence to rebel ainst the empire".[54] But, if Diocletian had been convinced the reality of that valuable art, far from extinguishing the emory, he would have converted the operation of it to the nefit of the public revenue. It is much more likely that his od sense discovered to him the folly of such magnificent etensions, and that he was desirous of preserving the reason d fortunes of his subjects from the mischievous pursuit. It y be remarked that these ancient books, so liberally ascribed Pythagoras, to Solomon, or to Hermes, were the pious frauds more recent adepts. The Greeks were inattentive either to e use or to the abuse of chymistry. In that immense register here Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts, and the rors of mankind, there is not the least mention of the trans- utation of metals; and the persecution of Diocletian is the st authentic event in the history of alchymy. The conquest Egypt by the Arabs diffused that vain science over the globe. ngenial to the avarice of the human heart, it was studied China as in Europe, with equal eagerness, and with equal ccess. The darkness of the middle ages ensured a favourable ception to every tale of wonder, and the revival of learning ve new vigour to hope, and suggested more specious arts of ception. Philosophy, with the aid of experience, has at

He suppresses books of alchemy

Novelty and progress of that art

[52] See Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.

[53] He fixed the public allowance of corn for the people of Alexandria, at two llions of *medimni*; about four hundred thousand quarters. Chron. Paschal. p. 5. Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 26.

[54] John Antioch. in Excerp. Valesian. p. 834 [F.H.G. iv. p. 601]. Suidas in ocletian.

length banished the study of alchymy; and the present ag however desirous of riches, is content to seek them by th humbler means of commerce and industry.[55]

The Persian war

The reduction of Egypt was immediately followed by th Persian war. It was reserved for the reign of Diocletian t vanquish that powerful nation, and to extort a confession fro the successors of Artaxerxes, of the superior majesty of th Roman empire.

Tiridates the Armenian

We have observed, under the reign of Valerian, that Armen was subdued by the perfidy and the arms of the Persians, ar that, after the assassination of Chosroes, his son Tiridates, th infant heir of the monarchy, was saved by the fidelity of h friends, and educated under the protection of the emperor Tiridates derived from his exile such advantages as he cou never have attained on the throne of Armenia; the early knov ledge of adversity, of mankind, and of the Roman disciplin He signalized his youth by deeds of valour, and displayed matchless dexterity, as well as strength, in every martial exe cise, and even in the less honourable contests of the Olympia games.[56] Those qualities were more nobly exerted in the defen

A.D 282

of his benefactor Licinius.[57] That officer, in the sedition whic occasioned the death of Probus, was exposed to the most imm nent danger, and the enraged soldiers were forcing their wa into his tent, when they were checked by the single arm of th Armenian prince. The gratitude of Tiridates contributed soo afterwards to his restoration. Licinius was in every station th friend and companion of Galerius, and the merit of Galerius, lon before he was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, had been know and esteemed by Diocletian. In the third year of that emperor reign, Tiridates was invested with the kingdom of Armeni The justice of the measure was not less evident than its exped ency. It was time to rescue from the usurpation of the Persia monarch an important territory, which, since the reign of Ner

[55] See a short history and confutation of Alchymy, in the works of that philos phical compiler, La Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 327-353.

[56] See the education and strength of Tiridates in the Armenian history of Mos of Chorene, l. ii. c. 76. He could seize two wild bulls by the horns, and bre them off with his hands.

[57] If we give credit to the younger Victor [Epit. 41], who supposes that, in t year 323, Licinius was only sixty years of age, he could scarcely be the same pe son as the patron of Tiridates; but we know from much better authority (Euse Hist. Ecclesiast. l. x. c. 8) that Licinius was at that time in the last period of o age: sixteen years before, he is represented with grey hairs, and as the contempo ary of Galerius. See Lactant. c. 32. Licinius was probably born about the ye 250.

been always granted under the protection of the empire to ɔunger branch of the house of Arsaces.[58]

A.D. 286. His restoration to the throne of Armenia

When Tiridates appeared on the frontiers of Armenia, he was eived with an unfeigned transport of joy and loyalty. During nty-six years, the country had experienced the real and ginary hardships of a foreign yoke. The Persian monarchs adorned their new conquest with magnificent buildings; but se monuments had been erected at the expense of the people, were abhorred as badges of slavery. The apprehension of a ɔlt had inspired the most rigorous precautions: oppression been aggravated by insult, and the consciousness of the ɔlic hatred had been productive of every measure that could der it still more implacable. We have already remarked the ɔlerant spirit of the Magian religion. The statues of the ied kings of Armenia, and the sacred images of the sun and ɔn, were broke in pieces by the zeal of the conqueror; and perpetual fire of Ormuzd was kindled and preserved upon an r erected on the summit of Mount Bagavan.[59] It was natural t a people exasperated by so many injuries should arm with l in the cause of their independence, their religion, and their editary sovereign. The torrent bore down every obstacle, the Persian garrison retreated before its fury. The nobles Armenia flew to the standard of Tiridates, all alleging their t merit, offering their future service, and soliciting from the king those honours and rewards from which they had been luded with disdain under the foreign government.[60] The ımand of the army was bestowed on Artavasdes, whose father saved the infancy of Tiridates, and whose family had been ssacred for that generous action. The brother of Artavasdes ained the government of a province. One of the first military nities was conferred on the satrap Otas, a man of singular ıperance and fortitude, who presented to the king his sister[61] a considerable treasure, both of which, in a sequestered

State of the country

Revolt of the people and nobles

[58] See the sixty-second and sixty-third books of Dion Cassius [cp. lxiii. 5].

[59] Moses of Chorene, Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 74. The statues had been erected Valarsaces, who reigned in Armenia about 130 years before Christ, and was first king of the family of Arsaces (see Moses, Hist. Armen. l. ii. 2, 3). The cation of the Arsacides is mentioned by Justin (xli. 5) and by Ammianus cellinus (xxiii. 6).

[60] The Armenian nobility was numerous and powerful. Moses mentions many lies which were distinguished under the reign of Valarsaces (l. ii. 7) and which subsisted in his own time, about the middle of the fifth century. See the pre- of his Editors.

[61] She was named Chosroiduchta, and had not the *os patulum* like other women. t. Armen. l. ii. c. 79.) I do not understand the expression.

Story of Mamgo

fortress, Otas had preserved from violation. Among the Armeni nobles appeared an ally, whose fortunes are too remarkable pass unnoticed. His name was Mamgo, his origin was Scythia and the horde which acknowledged his authority had encamp a very few years before on the skirts of the Chinese empire which at that time extended as far as the neighbourhood Sogdiana.[63] Having incurred the displeasure of his mast Mamgo, with his followers, retired to the banks of the Oxus, a implored the protection of Sapor. The emperor of China claim the fugitive, and alleged the rights of sovereignty. The Persi monarch pleaded the laws of hospitality, and with some difficul avoided a war, by the promise that he would banish Mamgo the uttermost parts of the West; a punishment, as he describ it, not less dreadful than death itself. Armenia was chosen the place of exile, and a large district was assigned to t Scythian horde, on which they might feed their flocks and her and remove their encampment from one place to another cording to the different seasons of the year. They were employ to repel the invasion of Tiridates; but their leader, after weig ing the obligations and injuries which he had received from t Persian monarch, resolved to abandon his party. The Armeni prince, who was well acquainted with the merit as well power of Mamgo, treated him with distinguished respect; a by admitting him into his confidence, acquired a brave a faithful servant, who contributed very effectually to his resto tion.[64]

The Persians recover Armenia

For a while, fortune appeared to favour the enterprising valo of Tiridates. He not only expelled the enemies of his fam and country from the whole extent of Armenia, but in the p secution of his revenge he carried his arms, or at least incursions, into the heart of Assyria. The historian who h preserved the name of Tiridates from oblivion celebrates, with degree of national enthusiasm, his personal prowess; and, in t

[62] In the Armenian history (l. ii. 78) as well as in the Geography (p. 367) Ch is called Zenia, or Zenastan. It is characterized by the production of silk, by opulence of the natives, and by their love of peace, above all the other nations the earth.

[63] Vou-ti, the first emperor of the seventh dynasty, who then reigned in Chi had political transactions with Fergana, a province of Sogdiana, and is said to h received a Roman embassy. (Histoire des Huns, tom. i. p. 38.) In those a the Chinese kept a garrison at Kashgar, and one of their generals, about the t of Trajan, marched as far as the Caspian Sea. With regard to the intercou between China and the Western countries, a curious memoir of M. de Guignes m be consulted in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. p. 355.

[64] See Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 81.

e spirit of eastern romance, describes the giants and the phants that fell beneath his invincible arm. It is from other ormation that we discover the distracted state of the Persian narchy, to which the king of Armenia was indebted for some rt of his advantages. The throne was disputed by the ambi- n of contending brothers; and Hormuz, after exerting with- t success the strength of his own party, had recourse to the ngerous assistance of the barbarians who inhabited the banks the Caspian Sea.[65] The civil war was, however, soon termi- ted, either by a victory or by a reconciliation; and Narses, o was universally acknowledged as King of Persia, directed whole force against the foreign enemy. The contest then came too unequal; nor was the valour of the hero able to thstand the power of the monarch. Tiridates, a second time pelled from the throne of Armenia, once more took refuge in e court of the emperors. Narses soon re-established his thority over the revolted province; and, loudly complaining the protection afforded by the Romans to rebels and fugitives, pired to the conquest of the East.[66]

War between the Persians and the Romans, A.D 296

Neither prudence nor honour could permit the emperors to sake the cause of the Armenian king, and it was resolved to ert the force of the empire in the Persian war. Diocletian, th the calm dignity which he constantly assumed, fixed his n station in the city of Antioch, from whence he prepared d directed the military operations.[67] The conduct of the ions was intrusted to the intrepid valour of Galerius, who, for at important purpose, was removed from the banks of the nube to those of the Euphrates. The armies soon encountered ch other in the plains of Mesopotamia, and two battles were ught with various and doubtful success: but the third engage- nt was of a more decisive nature; and the Roman army

Defeat of Galerius

[65] Ipsos Persas ipsumque Regem ascitis Sacis, et Rufiis, et Gellis, petit frater nies. P anegyric. Vet. iii. 1 [*leg.* 17; Genethl. Max. p. 114, ed. Bährens]. The Sacæ e a nation of wandering Scythians, who encamped towards the sources of the us and the Jaxartes. The Gelli were the inhabitants of Ghilan along the Caspian ., and who so long, under the name of Dilemites, infested the Persian Monarchy. d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale.

[66] Moses of Chorene takes no notice of this second revolution, which I have been iged to collect from a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii. 5). Lactantius aks of the ambition of Narses: "Concitatus domesticis exemplis avi sui Saporis occupandum orientem magnis copiis inhiabat". De Mort. Persecut. c. 9. arses, son of Varahrân II., succeeded after Sept. 13, 293; Nöldeke, 416.]

[67] We may readily believe that Lactantius ascribes to cowardice the conduct of ocletian. Julian, in his oration, says that he remained with all the forces of the pire; a very hyperbolical expression. [In the early part of the year, at least till ril, Diocletian was in Egypt.]

received a total overthrow, which is attributed to the rashn of Galerius, who, with an inconsiderable body of troops, attac the innumerable host of the Persians.[68] But the considerat of the country that was the scene of action may suggest anot reason for his defeat. The same ground, on which Galerius vanquished, had been rendered memorable by the death Crassus and the slaughter of ten legions. It was a plain more than sixty miles, which extended from the hills of Carrha the Euphrates; a smooth and barren surface of sandy des without a hillock, without a tree, and without a spring of fr water.[69] The steady infantry of the Romans, fainting with h and thirst, could neither hope for victory, if they preserved th ranks, nor break their ranks without exposing themselves to most imminent danger. In this situation, they were gradua encompassed by the superior numbers, harassed by the ra evolutions, and destroyed by the arrows, of the barbarian cava The king of Armenia had signalized his valour in the battle, a acquired personal glory by the public misfortune. He pursued as far as the Euphrates; his horse was wounded, and appeared impossible for him to escape the victorious enemy. this extremity, Tiridates embraced the only refuge which he s before him: he dismounted and plunged into the stream. armour was heavy, the river very deep, and in those parts least half a mile in breadth;[70] yet such was his strength a dexterity that he reached in safety the opposite bank.[71] W regard to the Roman general, we are ignorant of the circu stances of his escape; but, when he returned to Antio Diocletian received him, not with the tenderness of a friend a colleague, but with the indignation of an offended soverei The haughtiest of men, clothed in his purple, but humbled the sense of his fault and misfortune, was obliged to follow emperor's chariot above a mile on foot, and to exhibit bef the whole court the spectacle of his disgrace.[72]

His reception by Diocletian

[68] Our five abbreviators, Eutropius, Festus, the two Victors, and Orosius, relate the last and great battle; but Orosius [vii. 25] is the only one who speak the two former.

[69] The nature of the country is finely described by Plutarch, in the life of Cras and by Xenophon, in the first book of the Anabasis. [The mistake of Galerius similar to that of Crassus.]

[70] See Foster's Dissertation, in the second volume of the translation of the A basis by Spelman; which I will venture to recommend as one of the best versi extant.

[71] Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 76. I have transferred this exploit of Tiridates from imaginary defeat to the real one of Galerius.

[72] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. [11]. The mile, in the hands of Eutropius 24), of Festus (c. 25), and of Orosius (vii. 25), easily increased to *several* miles.

As soon as Diocletian had indulged his private resentment, asserted the majesty of supreme power, he yielded to the missive entreaties of the Cæsar, and permitted him to retrieve own honour as well as that of the Roman arms. In the n of the unwarlike troops of Asia, which had most probably ved in the first expedition, a second army was drawn from veterans and new levies of the Illyrian frontier, and a consider- e body of Gothic auxiliaries were taken into the Imperial .[73] At the head of a chosen army of twenty-five thousand n, Galerius again passed the Euphrates; but, instead of ex- ing his legions in the open plains of Mesopotamia, he advanced ough the mountains of Armenia, where he found the inhabi- ts devoted to his cause, and the country as favourable to the rations of infantry as it was inconvenient for the motions cavalry.[74] Adversity had confirmed the Roman discipline, lst the barbarians, elated by success, were become so negligent remiss, that, in the moment when they least expected it, y were surprised by the active conduct of Galerius, who, nded only by two horsemen, had, with his own eyes, secretly mined the state and position of their camp. A surprise, ecially in the night-time, was for the most part fatal to a sian army. "Their horses were tied, and generally shackled, prevent their running away; and, if an alarm happened, a sian had his housing to fix, his horse to bridle, and his cors- to put on, before he could mount."[75] On this occasion, the etuous attack of Galerius spread disorder and dismay over camp of the barbarians. A slight resistance was followed a dreadful carnage, and, in the general confusion, the wounded narch (for Narses commanded his armies in person) fled to- ds the deserts of Media. His sumptuous tents, and those of satraps, afforded an immense booty to the conqueror; and an dent is mentioned, which proves the rustic but martial ignor- e of the legions in the elegant superfluities of life. A bag shining leather, filled with pearls, fell into the hands of a ate soldier; he carefully preserved the bag, but he threw y its contents, judging that whatever was of no use could possibly be of any value.[76] The principal loss of Narses was

Second campaign of Galerius, A.D. 297

His victory

and behaviour to his royal captives

Aurelius Victor. Jornandes de rebus Geticis, c. 21.

Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39] says, "Per Armeniam in hostes contendit, quæ e sola, seu facilior vincendi via est". He followed the conduct of Trajan, and dea of Julius Cæsar.

Xenophon's Anabasis, l. iii. [c. 4]. For that reason, the Persian cavalry en- ped sixty stadia from the enemy.

The story is told by Ammianus, l. xxii. [4, 8]. Instead of *saccum* some read *um* [*sacculum* is the true reading, the Mss. having *saccutum* and *saeculum*].

of a much more affecting nature. Several of his wives, l sisters, and children, who had attended the army, were ma captives in the defeat. But, though the character of Galeri had in general very little affinity with that of Alexander, imitated, after his victory, the amiable behaviour of the Mac donian towards the family of Darius. The wives and childr of Narses were protected from violence and rapine, conveyed a place of safety, and treated with every mark of respect a tenderness that was due, from a generous enemy, to their ag their sex, and their royal dignity.[77]

Negotiation for peace

While the East anxiously expected the decision of this gre contest, the emperor Diocletian, having assembled in Syria strong army of observation, displayed from a distance the sources of the Roman power, and reserved himself for any futu emergency of the war. On the intelligence of the victory, condescended to advance towards the frontier, with a view moderating, by his presence and counsels, the pride of Galeri The interview of the Roman princes at Nisibis was accompani with every expression of respect on one side, and of esteem the other. It was in that city that they soon afterwards ga audience to the ambassador of the Great King.[78] The pow or at least the spirit, of Narses, had been broken by his l defeat; and he considered an immediate peace as the or means that could stop the progress of the Roman arms. dispatched Apharban, a servant who possessed his favour a confidence, with a commission to negotiate a treaty, or rather

Speech of the Persian ambassador

receive whatever conditions the conqueror should impose. Aph ban opened the conference by expressing his master's gratitu for the generous treatment of his family, and by soliciting t liberty of those illustrious captives. He celebrated the valo of Galerius, without degrading the reputation of Narses, a thought it no dishonour to confess the superiority of the victo ous Cæsar over a monarch who had surpassed in glory all t princes of his race. Notwithstanding the justice of the Persi cause, he was empowered to submit the present differences the decision of the emperors themselves; convinced as he w

[77] The Persians confessed the Roman superiority in morals as well as arms. Eutrop. ix. 24. But this respect and gratitude of enemies is very seld to be found in their own accounts.

[78] The account of the negotiation is taken from the fragments of Peter the trician, in the Excerpta Legationum, published in the Byzantine Collection [also vol. iv. of Müller's Fragm. Hist. Græc.]. Peter lived under Justinian; but very evident, by the nature of his materials, that they are drawn from the n authentic and respectable writers.

, in the midst of prosperity, they would not be unmindful he vicissitudes of fortune. Apharban concluded his discourse he style of Eastern allegory, by observing that the Roman Persian monarchies were the two eyes of the world, which ld remain imperfect and mutilated, if either of them should ut out.

Answer of Galerius

It well becomes the Persians," replied Galerius, with a sport of fury, which seemed to convulse his whole frame, "it becomes the Persians to expatiate on the vicissitudes of une and calmly to read us lectures on the virtues of modera-. Let them remember their own *moderation* towards the appy Valerian. They vanquished him by fraud, they treated with indignity. They detained him till the last moment of life in shameful captivity, and, after his death, they exposed body to perpetual ignominy." Softening, however, his tone, erius insinuated to the ambassador that it had never been practice of the Romans to trample on a prostrate enemy; that on this occasion they should consult their own dignity ier than the Persian merit. He dismissed Apharban with a e that Narses would soon be informed on what conditions he ht obtain, from the clemency of the emperors, a lasting ce, and the restoration of his wives and children. In this ference we may discover the fierce passions of Galerius, as l as his deference to the superior wisdom and authority of cletian. The ambition of the former grasped at the conquest he East and had proposed to reduce Persia into the state of rovince. The prudence of the latter, who adhered to the derate policy of Augustus and the Antonines, embraced the urable opportunity of terminating a successful war by an ourable and advantageous peace.[79]

Moderation of Diocletian

n pursuance of their promise, the emperors soon afterwards ointed Sicorius Probus, one of their secretaries, to acquaint Persian court with their final resolution. As the minister of ce, he was received with every mark of politeness and friend-; but, under the pretence of allowing him the necessary se after so long a journey, the audience of Probus was de-ed from day to day; and he attended the slow motions of king, till at length he was admitted to his presence, near the r Asprudus in Media. The secret motive of Narses, in this y, had been to collect such a military force as might enable

Conclusion

Adeo Victor (says Aurelius) ut ni Valerius, cujus nutu omnia gerebantur, isset, Romani fasces in provinciam novam ferrentur. Verum pars terrarum n nobis utilior quæsita.

him, though sincerely desirous of peace, to negotiate with
greater weight and dignity. Three persons only assisted at
important conference; the minister Apharban, the præfect of
guards, and an officer who had commanded on the Armen
frontier.[80] The first condition, proposed by the ambassador
not at present of a very intelligible nature; that the city
Nisibis might be established for the place of mutual exchan
or, as we should formerly have termed it, for the staple of tr
between the two empires. There is no difficulty in conceiv
the intention of the Roman princes to improve their revenue
some restraints upon commerce; but, as Nisibis was situa
within their own dominions, and as they were masters both
the imports and exports, it should seem that such restra
were the objects of an internal law rather than of a fore
treaty. To render them more effectual, some stipulations w
probably required on the side of the king of Persia, which
peared so very repugnant either to his interest or to his dign
that Narses could not be persuaded to subscribe them. As
was the only article to which he refused his consent, it was
longer insisted on; and the emperors either suffered the tr
to flow in its natural channels, or contented themselves with s
restrictions as it depended on their own authority to establis

and articles of the treaty

As soon as this difficulty was removed, a solemn peace
concluded and ratified between the two nations. The condit
of a treaty so glorious to the empire, and so necessary to Pe
may deserve a more peculiar attention, as the history of R
presents very few transactions of a similar nature; most of
wars having either been terminated by absolute conquest
waged against barbarians ignorant of the use of letters. I.

The Aboras fixed as the limit between the empires

Aboras, or, as it is called by Xenophon, the Araxes, was fixe
the boundary between the two monarchies.[81] That river which
near the Tigris, was increased, a few miles below Nisibis, by
little stream of the Mygdonius, passed under the walls of Sing
and fell into the Euphrates at Circesium, a frontier town, wh
by the care of Diocletian, was very strongly fortified.[82] M

[80] He had been governor of Sumium. (Pet. Patricius in Excerpt. Legat.
[F.H.G. iv. p. 189].) This province seems to be mentioned by Moses of Ch
(Geograph. p. 360), and lay to the east of Mount Ararat.

[81] By an error of the geographer Ptolemy, the position of Singara is removed
the Aboras to the Tigris, which may have produced the mistake of Peter in assi
the latter river for the boundary, instead of the former. The line of the R
frontier traversed, but never followed, the course of the Tigris. [The Aboras
a long way to the west of the Tigris; and Nisibis is situated on the Mygdoni

[82] Procopius de Ædificiis, l. ii. c.

ɔtamia, the object of so many wars, was ceded to the empire; ıd the Persians, by this treaty, renounced all pretensions to ıat great province. II. They relinquished to the Romans five ·ovinces beyond the Tigris.[83] Their situation formed a very ;eful barrier, and their natural strength was soon improved by ·t and military skill. Four of these, to the north of the river, ere districts of obscure fame and inconsiderable extent: Intiline, abdicene, Arzanene, and Moxoene; but, on the east of the igris, the empire acquired the large and mountainous territory Carduene, the ancient seat of the Carduchians, who preserved r many ages their manly freedom in the heart of the despotic ıonarchies of Asia. The ten thousand Greeks traversed their ɔuntry, after a painful march, or rather engagement, of seven ays; and it is confessed by their leader, in his incomparable lation of the retreat, that they suffered more from the arrows the Carduchians than from the power of the Great King.[84] heir posterity, the Curds, with very little alteration either of ame or manners, acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the urkish sultan. III. It is almost needless to observe that Tiri- ates, the faithful ally of Rome, was restored to the throne of is fathers, and that the rights of the Imperial supremacy were lly asserted and secured. The limits of Armenia were extended ; far as the fortress of Sintha in Media, and this increase of ɔminion was not so much an act of liberality as of justice. Of ıe provinces already mentioned beyond the Tigris, the four first ad been dismembered by the Parthians from the crown of Ar- ıenia;[85] and, when the Romans acquired the possession of them, ıey stipulated, at the expense of the usurpers, an ample com- ensation, which invested their ally with the extensive and

Cession of five provinces beyond the Tigris

Armenia

[83] Three of the provinces, Zabdicene, Arzanene, and Carduene [Corduene], are lowed on all sides. But instead of the other two, Peter (in Excerpt. Leg. p. 30 ɔ.]) inserts Rehimene and Sophene. I have preferred Ammianus (l. xxv. 7), be- use it might be proved, that Sophene was never in the hand of the Persians, her before the reign of Diocletian, or after that of Jovian. For want of correct maps, e those of M. d'Anville, almost all the moderns, with Tillemont and Valesius at eir head, have imagined that it was in respect to Persia, and not to Rome, that e five provinces were situate beyond the Tigris. [Intilene and Moxoene are e same. Gibbon's statements are not correct. Peter gives Intêlene and Sophene; nmianus, Moxoene and Rehimene. Thus the question is between Rehimene d Sophene.]

[84] Xenophon's Anabasis, l. iv. [3]. Their bows were three cubits in length, their rows two; they rolled down stones that were each a waggon load. The Greeks ınd a great many villages in that rude country.

[85] According to Eutropius (vi. 9, as the text is represented by the best Mss.) the y of Tigranocerta was in Arzanene. The names and situation of the other three ıy be faintly traced.

fertile country of Atropatene. Its principal city, in the san situation perhaps as the modern Tauris, was frequently honoure with the residence of Tiridates; and, as it sometimes bore th name of Ecbatana, he imitated, in the buildings and fortification Iberia the splendid capital of the Medes.[86] IV. The country of Iber was barren, its inhabitants rude and savage. But they we accustomed to the use of arms, and they separated from th empire barbarians much fiercer and more formidable than ther selves. The narrow defiles of Mount Caucasus were in the hands, and it was in their choice either to admit or to exclu the wandering tribes of Sarmatia, whenever a rapacious spi urged them to penetrate into the richer climates of the South The nomination of the kings of Iberia, which was resigned by th Persian monarch to the emperors, contributed to the streng and security of the Roman power in Asia.[88] The East enjoyed profound tranquillity during forty years; and the treaty betwe the rival monarchies was strictly observed till the death of Ti dates; when a new generation, animated with different views a different passions, succeeded to the government of the world; a the grandson of Narses undertook a long and memorable w against the princes of the house of Constantine.

Triumph of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 303, Nov. 20. [Triumph 302, Vicennalia 303, Nov. 20]

The arduous work of rescuing the distressed empire fro tyrants and barbarians had now been completely achieved by succession of Illyrian peasants. As soon as Diocletian enter into the twentieth year of his reign, he celebrated that memo able æra, as well as the success of his arms, by the pomp o Roman triumph.[89] Maximian, the equal partner of his pow was his only companion in the glory of that day. The tw Cæsars had fought and conquered, but the merit of their e ploits was ascribed, according to the rigour of ancient maxims, the auspicious influence of their fathers and emperors.[90] T triumph of Diocletian and Maximian was less magnifice perhaps, than those of Aurelian and Probus, but it was dignifi

[86] Compare Herodotus, l. i. c. 97, with Moses Chorenens. Hist. Armen. l. ii. 84, and the map of Armenia given by his editors.

[87] Hiberi, locorum potentes, Caspiâ viâ Sarmatum in Armenios raptim effu dunt. Tacit. Annal. vi. 33. See Strabon. Geograph. l. xi. p. 764 [500].

[88] Peter Patricius (in Excerpt. Leg. p. 30 [F.H.G. iv. p. 189]) is the only wri who mentions the Iberian article of the treaty.

[89] Eusebius in Chron. Pagi ad annum. Till the discovery of the treatise Mortibus Persecutorum, it was not certain that the triumph and the Vicenna were celebrated at the same time. [Date still uncertain. The triumph, acc. Clinton, was in the year before the Vicennalia, but Preuss agrees with Gibbon.]

[90] At the time of the Vicennalia, Galerius seems to have kept his station on Danube. See Lactant. de M. P. c. 38.

y several circumstances of superior fame and good fortune. frica and Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Nile, rnished their respective trophies; but the most distinguished rnament was of a more singular nature, a Persian victory llowed by an important conquest.[91] The representations of vers, mountains, and provinces were carried before the Im- erial car. The images of the captive wives, the sisters, and ie children of the Great King afforded a new and grateful pectacle to the vanity of the people.[92] In the eyes of posterity is triumph is remarkable by a distinction of a less honourable nd. It was the last that Rome ever beheld. Soon after this eriod, the emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be ie capital of the empire.

Long absence of the em perors from Rome

The spot on which Rome was founded had been consecrated y ancient ceremonies and imaginary miracles. The presence of ome god, or the memory of some hero, seemed to animate very part of the city, and the empire of the world had been romised to the Capitol.[93] The native Romans felt and con- ssed the power of this agreeable illusion. It was derived from ieir ancestors, had grown up with their earliest habits of life, id was protected, in some measure, by the opinion of political cility. The form and the seat of government were intimately lended together, nor was it esteemed possible to transport the ie without destroying the other.[94] But the sovereignty of the apital was gradually annihilated in the extent of conquest; the rovinces rose to the same level, and the vanquished nations cquired the name and privileges, without imbibing the partial ffections, of Romans. During a long period, however, the emains of the ancient constitution, and the influence of custom, reserved the dignity of Rome. The emperors, though perhaps f African or Illyrian extraction, respected their adopted country,

[91] [The remarkable edict of 301 A.D., in which Diocletian attempted to fix maximum prices (see Append. 23), records the number of victories of which each emperor ould boast. Diocletian counted six German, four Sarmatian victories; Maximian, ve German and four Sarmatian; both Cæsars, two German and two Sarmatian. o all four fell equally, two Persian, one Britannic, one Caspian, one Armenian, ie Median, and one Adiabenic victory.]

[92] Eutropius (ix. 27) mentions them as a part of the triumph. As the *persons* id been restored to Narses, nothing more than their *images* could be exhibited.

[93] Livy gives us a speech of Camillus on that subject (v. 51-55 [54]), full of oquence and sensibility, in opposition to a design of removing the seat of govern- ent from Rome to the neighbouring city of Veii.

[94] Julius Cæsar was reproached with the intention of removing the empire to ium or Alexandria. See Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 79. According to the ingenious onjecture of Le Fèvre and Dacier, the third ode of the third book of Horace was tended to divert Augustus from the execution of a similar design.

as the seat of their power, and the centre of their extensi dominions. The emergencies of war very frequently requir their presence on the frontiers; but Diocletian and Maximi were the first Roman princes who fixed, in time of peace, the ordinary residence in the provinces; and their conduct, howev it might be suggested by private motives, was justified by ve specious considerations of policy. The court of the Emperor

Their residence at Milan

the West was, for the most part, established at Milan, who situation, at the foot of the Alps, appeared far more convenie than that of Rome, for the important purpose of watching t motions of the barbarians of Germany. Milan soon assumed t splendour of an Imperial city. The houses are described numerous and well built; the manners of the people as polish and liberal. A circus, a theatre, a mint, a palace, baths, whi bore the name of their founder Maximian; porticoes adorn with statues, and a double circumference of walls, contribut to the beauty of the new capital; nor did it seem oppress

and Nicomedia

even by the proximity of Rome.[95] To rival the majesty of Ro was the ambition likewise of Diocletian, who employed leisure, and the wealth of the East, in the embellishment Nicomedia, a city placed on the verge of Europe and As almost at an equal distance between the Danube and t Euphrates. By the taste of the monarch, and at the expen of the people, Nicomedia acquired, in the space of a few years degree of magnificence which might appear to have required t labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandr and Antioch, in extent or populousness.[96] The life of Diocleti and Maximian was a life of action, and a considerable portion it was spent in camps, or in their long and frequent marche but, whenever the public business allowed them any relaxatio they seem to have retired with pleasure to their favouri

[95] See Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 39], who likewise mentions the buildings erected Maximian at Carthage, probably during the Moorish war. We shall insert so verses of Ausonius de Clar. urb. v.

Et Mediolani mira omnia: copia rerum:
Innumeræ cultæque domus; fecunda virorum
Ingenia, et mores læti; tum duplice muro
Amplificata loci species; populique voluptas
Circus; et inclusi moles cuneata Theatri;
Templa, Palatinæque arces, opulensque Moneta,
Et regio *Herculei* celebris sub honore lavacri.
Cunctaque marmoreis ornata Peristyla signis;
Mœniaque in valli formam circumdata labro,
Omnia quæ magnis operum velut æmula formis
Excellunt: nec juncta premit vicinia Romæ.

[96] Lactant. de M. P. c. 7. Libanius Orat. viii. p. 203.

sidences of Nicomedia and Milan. Till Diocletian, in the ventieth year of his reign, celebrated his Roman triumph, it is xtremely doubtful whether he ever visited the ancient capital f the empire. Even on that memorable occasion his stay did ot exceed two months. Disgusted with the licentious famili rity of the people, he quitted Rome with precipitation thirteen ays before it was expected that he should have appeared in the enate, invested with the ensigns of the consular dignity.[97]

Debasement of Rome and of the senate

The dislike expressed by Diocletian towards Rome and Roman reedom was not the effect of momentary caprice, but the result f the most artful policy. That crafty prince had framed a new ystem of Imperial government, which was afterwards completed y the family of Constantine, and, as the image of the old con- itution was religiously preserved in the senate, he resolved to eprive that order of its small remains of power and considera- on. We may recollect, about eight years before the elevation f Diocletian, the transient greatness, and the ambitious hopes, f the Roman senate. As long as that enthusiasm prevailed, nany of the nobles imprudently displayed their zeal in the cause f freedom; and, after the successors of Probus had withdrawn heir countenance from the republican party, the senators were nable to disguise their impotent resentment. As the sovereign f Italy, Maximian was intrusted with the care of extinguishing his troublesome, rather than dangerous, spirit, and the task was erfectly suited to his cruel temper. The most illustrious nembers of the senate, whom Diocletian always affected to steem, were involved, by his colleague, in the accusation of naginary plots; and the possession of an elegant villa, or a well- ultivated estate, was interpreted as a convincing evidence of uilt.[98] The camp of the Prætorians, which had so long op- ressed, began to protect, the majesty of Rome; and as those aughty troops were conscious of the decline of their power, hey were naturally disposed to unite their strength with the uthority of the senate. By the prudent measures of Diocletian, he numbers of the Prætorians were insensibly reduced, their rivileges abolished,[99] and their place supplied by two faithful

New bodies of guards, Jovians and Herculians

[97] Lactant. de M. P. c. 17. On a similar occasion Ammianus mentions the *icacitas plebis*, as not very agreeable to an Imperial ear. (See l. xvi. c. 10) [*dica- itate plebis oblectabatur* are the words of Ammian.].

[98] Lactantius accuses Maximian of destroying fictis criminationibus lumina enatûs (De M. P. c. 8). Aurelius Victor speaks very doubtfully of the faith of Diocletian towards his friends.

[99] Truncatæ vires urbis, imminuto prætoriarum cohortium atque in armis vulgi umero. Aurelius Victor [ib.]. Lactantius attributes to Galerius the prosecution f the same plan (c. 26).

legions of Illyricum, who, under the new titles of Jovians ar Herculians, were appointed to perform the service of the In perial guards.[100] But the most fatal though secret wound, whic the senate received from the hands of Diocletian and Maximia was inflicted by the inevitable operation of their absence. A long as the emperors resided at Rome, that assembly might h oppressed, but it could scarcely be neglected. The successo of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws the wisdom or caprice might suggest; but those laws were ratifie by the sanction of the senate. The model of ancient freedo was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise prince who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were some measure obliged to assume the language and behavio suitable to the general and first magistrate of the republic. the armies and in the provinces, they displayed the dignity monarchs; and, when they fixed their residence at a distan from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation whic Augustus had recommended to his successors. In the exerci of the legislative as well as of the executive power, the sovereig advised with his ministers, instead of consulting the gre council of the nation. The name of the senate was mentione with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of i members was still flattered with honorary distinctions;[101] but th assembly, which had so long been the source, and so long th instrument, of power, was respectfully suffered to sink in oblivion. The senate of Rome, losing all connexion with th Imperial court and the actual constitution, was left a venerab but useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill.

Civil magistracies laid aside

When the Roman princes had lost sight of the senate and their ancient capital, they easily forgot the origin and nature their legal power. The civil offices of consul, of proconsul, censor, and of tribune, by the union of which it had bee formed, betrayed to the people its republican extractio Those modest titles were laid aside;[102] and, if they still di tinguished their high station by the appellation of Emperc

[100] They were old corps stationed in Illyricum; and, according to the ancie establishment, they each consisted of six thousand men. They had acquired mu reputation by the use of the *plumbatæ*, or darts loaded with lead. Each soldi carried five of these, which he darted from a considerable distance, with gre strength and dexterity. See Vegetius, i. 17.

[101] See the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. ii. with Godefroy's commentary.

[102] See the 12th dissertation in Spanheim's excellent work De Usu Numismatu From medals, inscriptions, and historians, he examines every title separately, a traces it from Augustus to the moment of its disappearing.

Imperator, that word was understood in a new and more gnified sense, and no longer denoted the general of the oman armies, but the sovereign of the Roman world. The ame of Emperor, which was at first of a military nature, was ssociated with another of a more servile kind. The epithet f Dominus, or Lord, in its primitive signification, was expressive, ot of the authority of a prince over his subjects, or of a com- ander over his soldiers, but of the despotic power of a master ver his domestic slaves.[103] Viewing it in that odious light, it ad been rejected with abhorrence by the first Cæsars. Their esistance insensibly became more feeble, and the name less lious; till at length the style of *our Lord and Emperor* was not nly bestowed by flattery, but was regularly admitted into the ws and public monuments. Such lofty epithets were sufficient o elate and satisfy the most excessive vanity; and, if the ccessors of Diocletian still declined the title of King, it seems o have been the effect not so much of their moderation as of eir delicacy. Wherever the Latin tongue was in use (and it as the language of government throughout the empire), the mperial title, as it was peculiar to themselves, conveyed a more espectable idea than the name of king, which they must have ared with an hundred barbarian chieftains; or which, at the est, they could derive only from Romulus or from Tarquin. ut the sentiments of the East were very different from those f the West. From the earliest period of history, the sovereigns f Asia had been celebrated in the Greek language by the title f Basileus, or King; and since it was considered as the first istinction among men, it was soon employed by the servile rovincials of the East in their humble addresses to the Roman hrone.[104] Even the attributes, or at least the titles, of the Divinity, were usurped by Diocletian and Maximian, who trans- itted them to a succession of Christian emperors.[105] Such

Imperial dignity and titles

[103] Pliny (in Panegyr. c. 3, 55, &c.) speaks of *Dominus* with execration, as synony- ous to Tyrant, and opposite to Prince. And the same Pliny regularly gives that tle (in the tenth book of his epistles) to his friend rather than master, the virtuous rajan. This strange expression puzzles the commentators who think, and the anslators who can write.

[104] Synesius de Regno, Edit. Petav. p. 15. I am indebted for this quotation to he Abbé de la Bléterie.

[105] See Van Dale de Consecratione, p. 534, &c. It was customary for the mperors to mention (in the preamble of laws) their *numen*, *sacred majesty*, *divine racles*, *&c.* According to Tillemont, Gregory of Nazianzen complains most tterly of the profanation, especially when it was practised by an Arian emperor. "Gregory of Nazianzen" is as incorrect an expression as "Thomas of Aquinate" ould be. The name of Gregory's birthplace is Nazianzus, so that he may be istinguished from his na mesake of Nyssa, either as *Gregory of Nazianzus*, or s *Gregory Nazianzene.*

extravagant compliments, however, soon lose their impiety b losing their meaning; and when the ear is once accustome to the sound, they are heard with indifference as vague thoug excessive professions of respect.

Diocletian assumes the diadem, and introduces the Persian ceremonial

From the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian, the Roma princes, conversing in a familiar manner among their fellov citizens, were saluted only with the same respect that wa usually paid to senators and magistrates. Their principal dis tinction was the Imperial or military robe of purple; whilst th senatorial garment was marked by a broad, and the equestria by a narrow, band or stripe of the same honourable colour. Th pride, or rather the policy, of Diocletian engaged that artfu prince to introduce the stately magnificence of the court Persia.[106] He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament de tested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and th use of which had been considered as the most desperate act the madness of Caligula.[107] It was no more than a broad whit fillet set with pearls, which encircled the emperor's head. Th sumptuous robes of Diocletian and his successors were of sil and gold; and it is remarked, with indignation, that even the shoes were studded with the most precious gems. The acce to their sacred person was every day rendered more difficult, b the institution of new forms and ceremonies. The avenues the palace were strictly guarded by the various *schools*, as the began to be called, of domestic officers. The interior apartmen were intrusted to the jealous vigilance of the eunuchs; the in crease of whose numbers and influence was the most infallib symptom of the progress of despotism. When a subject wa at length admitted to the Imperial presence, he was oblige whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, an to adore, according to the eastern fashion, the divinity of h lord and master.[108] Diocletian was a man of sense, who, in th course of private as well as public life, had formed a just estima both of himself and of mankind: nor is it easy to conceive tha in substituting the manners of Persia to those of Rome, he w seriously actuated by so mean a principle as that of vanity. H

[106] See Spanheim de Usu Numismat. Dissert. xii.

[107] [Aurelian wore the diadem (Aurel. Victor, Epit. 35, 5), and is styled *dom et deo* on coins. The senate was rigidly excluded from all share in the governmen and the mark S.C. no longer appears on the copper coinage. He was popula called "the schoolmaster of the senators". Thus Aurelian may be said to ha begun the "absolutism," which Diocletian elaborated.]

[108] Aurelius Victor. Eutropius, ix. 26. It appears by the Panegyrists that t Romans were soon reconciled to the name and ceremony of adoration.

ttered himself that an ostentation of splendour and luxury
ould subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the
onarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of the people
d the soldiers, as his person was secluded from the public
ew; and that habits of submission would insensibly be produc-
e of sentiments of veneration. Like the modesty affected by
ugustus, the state maintained by Diocletian was a theatrical
presentation; but it must be confessed that, of the two
medies, the former was of a much more liberal and manly
aracter than the latter. It was the aim of the one to disguise,
d the object of the other to display, the unbounded power
hich the emperors possessed over the Roman world.

New form of administration, two Augusti, and two Cæsars

Ostentation was the first principle of the new system instituted
Diocletian. The second was division. He divided the em-
re, the provinces, and every branch of the civil as well as mili-
ry administration. He multiplied the wheels of the machine
government, and rendered its operations less rapid but more
cure. Whatever advantages, and whatever defects, might
tend these innovations, they must be ascribed in a very great
gree to the first inventor; but, as the new frame of policy
as gradually improved and completed by succeeding princes,
will be more satisfactory to delay the consideration of it till
e season of its full maturity and perfection.[109] Reserving,
erefore, for the reign of Constantine a more exact picture of
e new empire, we shall content ourselves with describing the
incipal and decisive outline, as it was traced by the hand of
iocletian. He had associated three colleagues in the exercise
the supreme power; and, as he was convinced that the abilities
a single man were inadequate to the public defence, he con-
dered the joint administration of four princes not as a tempo-
ry expedient, but as a fundamental law of the constitution.
was his intention that the two elder princes should be dis-
nguished by the use of the diadem, and the title of *Augusti*:
at, as affection or esteem might direct their choice, they should
gularly call to their assistance two subordinate colleagues;
d that the *Cæsars*, rising in their turn to the first rank, should

[109] The innovations introduced by Diocletian are chiefly deduced,—1st, from
ne very strong passages in Lactantius; and 2dly, from the new and various
ces, which, in the Theodosian code, appear *already* established in the beginning
the reign of Constantine. [It is only in some cases that we can distinguish with
obability, and only in a few with certainty, between the work of Diocletian and
t of Constantine in organizing the new constitution of the Empire. An editor
st follow the author's judicious example and reserve his supplementary remarks
the fuller picture in chap. xvii.]

supply an uninterrupted succession of emperors. The empir was divided into four parts. The East and Italy were the mos honourable, the Danube and the Rhine the most laboriou stations. The former claimed the presence of the *Augusti*, th latter were intrusted to the administration of the *Cæsars*. Th strength of the legions was in the hands of the four partners o sovereignty, and the despair of successively vanquishing fou formidable rivals might intimidate the ambition of an aspirin general. In their civil government, the emperors were suppose to exercise the undivided power of the monarch, and their edicts inscribed with their joint names, were received in all the pro vinces, as promulgated by their mutual councils and authority.[1] Notwithstanding these precautions, the political union of th Roman world was gradually dissolved, and a principle of divisio was introduced, which, in the course of a few years, occasione the perpetual separation of the eastern and western empires.

Increase of taxes

The system of Diocletian was accompanied with another ver material disadvantage, which cannot even at present be totall overlooked; a more expensive establishment, and consequentl an increase of taxes, and the oppression of the people. Instea of a modest family of slaves and freedmen, such as had contente the simple greatness of Augustus and Trajan, three or fou magnificent courts were established in the various parts of th empire, and as many Roman *kings* contended with each othe and with the Persian monarch for the vain superiority of pom and luxury. The number of ministers, of magistrates, of officer and of servants, who filled the different departments of th state, was multiplied beyond the example of former times; an (if we may borrow the warm expression of a contemporary) "when the proportion of those who received exceeded the pr portion of those who contributed, the provinces were oppresse by the weight of tributes".[111] From this period to the extinctio of the empire, it would be easy to deduce an uninterrupted seri of clamours and complaints. According to his religion and situatio each writer chooses either Diocletian, or Constantine, or Valen or Theodosius, for the object of his invectives; but they unan mously agree in representing the burden of the public imposition and particularly the land-tax and capitation, as the intolerab

[110] [The consulate was in the fourth and fifth centuries the chief symbol of t theoretical unity of the Empire. Before the end of the fourth century the custo was established that one consul was appointed by the Eastern, the other by t Western, Augustus.]

[111] Lactant. de. M. P. c. 7.

increasing grievance of their own times. From such a con-
ence, an impartial historian, who is obliged to extract truth
n satire as well as from panegyric, will be inclined to divide
blame among the princes whom they accuse, and to ascribe
r exactions much less to their personal vices than to the
orm system of their administration. The emperor Diocletian
indeed, the author of that system; but during his reign
growing evil was confined within the bounds of modesty
discretion, and he deserves the reproach of establishing
icious precedents, rather than of exercising actual oppres-
.[112] It may be added, that his revenues were managed with
lent economy; and that, after all the current expenses were
harged, there still remained in the Imperial treasury an
le position either for judicious liberality or for any emergency
ne state.

Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian

was in the twenty-first year of his reign that Diocletian
cuted his memorable resolution of abdicating the empire; an
on more naturally to have been expected from the elder
he younger Antoninus, than from a prince who had never
tised the lessons of philosophy either in the attainment or
ne use of supreme power. Diocletian acquired the glory of
ng to the world the first example of a resignation,[113] which
not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs.

Resemblance to Charles the Fifth

parallel of Charles the Fifth, however, will naturally offer
f to our mind, not only since the eloquence of a modern
orian has rendered that name so familiar to an English
ler, but from the very striking resemblance between the
racters of the two emperors, whose political abilities were
erior to their military genius, and whose specious virtues
e much less the effect of nature than of art. The abdication
Charles appears to have been hastened by the vicissitude of
une; and the disappointment of his favourite schemes urged
to relinquish a power which he found inadequate to his
ition. But the reign of Diocletian had flowed with a tide
ninterrupted success; nor was it till after he had vanquished
is enemies, and accomplished all his designs, that he seems

Indicta lex nova quæ sane illorum temporum modestiâ tolerabilis, in perni-
processit. Aurel. Victor [Cæs. 39], who has treated the character of Diocletian
good sense, though in bad Latin.

Solus omnium post conditum Romanum Imperium, qui ex tanto fastigio
e ad privatæ vitæ statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. ix. 28. [The ex-
ion of Eutropius is more accurate than that of Gibbon. We have an instance
earlier resignation in the case of Ptolemy Sôtêr (abdicated 285, died 283,
]

to have entertained any serious thoughts of resigning t
empire. Neither Charles nor Diocletian were arrived at a ve
advanced period of life; since the one was only fifty-five, a
the other was no more than fifty-nine, years of age; but t
active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares
royalty, and their application to business, had already impai
their constitution, and brought on the infirmities of a premat
old age.[114]

A.D. 304. Long illness of Diocletian

Notwithstanding the severity of a very cold and rai
winter, Diocletian left Italy soon after the ceremony of
triumph, and began his progress towards the East round t
circuit of the Illyrian provinces. From the inclemency of t
weather, and the fatigue of the journey, he soon contracted
slow illness; and, though he made easy marches, and v
generally carried in a close litter, his disorder, before he arriv
at Nicomedia, about the end of the summer, was become ve
serious and alarming. During the whole winter he was co
fined to his palace; his danger inspired a general and unaffect
concern; but the people could only judge of the various alte
tions of his health from the joy or consternation which th
discovered in the countenances and behaviour of his attendan
The rumour of his death was for some time universally believ
and it was supposed to be concealed with a view to preve
the troubles that might have happened during the absence
the Cæsar Galerius. At length, however, on the first of Mar
Diocletian once more appeared in public, but so pale a
emaciated that he could scarcely have been recognized by th

His prudence

to whom his person was the most familiar. It was time to p
an end to the painful struggle, which he had sustained duri
more than a year, between the care of his health and that of
dignity. The former required indulgence and relaxation, t
latter compelled him to direct, from the bed of sickness, t
administration of a great empire. He resolved to pass t
remainder of his days in honourable repose, to place his gl
beyond the reach of fortune, and to relinquish the theatre
the world to his younger and more active associates.[115]

[114] The particulars of the journey and illness are taken from Lactantius (c.
who may *sometimes* be admitted as an evidence of public facts, though very selc
of private anecdotes.

[115] Aurelius Victor [ib.] ascribes the abdication, which had been so vario
accounted for, to two causes: 1st, Diocletian's contempt of ambition; and 2
His apprehension of impending troubles. One of the panegyrists (vi. 9) menti
the age and infirmities of Diocletian as a very natural reason for his retirem
[His illness was doubtless the chief cause of his abdication.]

The ceremony of his abdication was performed in a spacious
n, about three miles from Nicomedia. The emperor
ended a lofty throne, and in a speech, full of reason and
nity, declared his intention, both to the people and to the
iers who were assembled on this extraordinary occasion.
soon as he had divested himself of the purple, he withdrew A.D. 305. May 1
n the gazing multitude, and, traversing the city in a covered
riot, proceeded, without delay, to the favourite retirement
ch he had chosen in his native country of Dalmatia. On
same day, which was the first of May,[116] Maximian, as it had
n previously concerted, made his resignation of the Imperial
nity at Milan. Even in the splendour of the Roman triumph, Compliance of Maximian
cletian had meditated his design of abdicating the government.
he wished to secure the obedience of Maximian, he exacted
n him either a general assurance that he would submit his
ons to the authority of his benefactor, or a particular promise
t he would descend from the throne, whenever he should
ive the advice and the example. This engagement, though
as confirmed by the solemnity of an oath before the altar of
Capitoline Jupiter,[117] would have proved a feeble restraint
the fierce temper of Maximian, whose passion was the love
ower, and who neither desired present tranquillity nor future
itation. But he yielded, however reluctantly, to the
ndant which his wiser colleague had acquired over him, and
red, immediately after his abdication, to a villa in Lucania,
re it was almost impossible that such an impatient spirit
d find any lasting tranquillity.

Diocletian, who, from a servile origin, had raised himself to Retirement of Diocletian at Salona
throne, passed the nine last years of his life in a private
dition. Reason had dictated, and content seems to have
mpanied, his retreat, in which he enjoyed for a long time
respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the
session of the world.[118] It is seldom that minds long
rcised in business have formed any habits of conversing with
nselves, and in the loss of power they principally regret the

The difficulties as well as mistakes attending the dates both of the year and
e day of Diocletian's abdication are perfectly cleared up by Tillemont, Hist.
Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 525, Note 19, and by Pagi ad annum.

See Panegyr. Veter. vi. 9 [8]. The oration was pronounced after Maximian
reassumed the purple.

Eumenius pays him a very fine compliment, "At enim divinum illum virum,
primus imperium et participavit et posuit, consilii et facti sui non pœnitet;
misisse se putat quod sponte transcripsit. Felix beatusque vere quem vestra,
rum principum, colunt obsequia privatum." Panegyr. Vet. vii. 15.

want of occupation. The amusements of letters and of devoti
which afford so many resources in solitude, were incapable
fixing the attention of Diocletian; but he had preserved, or
least he soon recovered, a taste for the most innocent as well
natural pleasures; and his leisure hours were sufficiently employ
His philosophy
in building, planting, and gardening. His answer to Maximi
is deservedly celebrated. He was solicited by that restless
man to reassume the reins of government and the Imper
purple. He rejected the temptation with a smile of pi
calmly observing that, if he could show Maximian the cabbag
which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he shou
no longer be urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happine
for the pursuit of power.[119] In his conversations with his frien
he frequently acknowledged that, of all arts, the most diffic
was the art of reigning; and he expressed himself on th
favourite topic with a degree of warmth which could be t
result only of experience. "How often," was he accustom
to say, "is it the interest of four or five ministers to combi
together to deceive their sovereign! Secluded from manki
by his exalted dignity, the truth is concealed from his kno
ledge; he can see only with their eyes, he hears nothing b
their misrepresentations. He confers the most importa
offices upon vice and weakness, and disgraces the most virtuo
and deserving among his subjects. By such infamous arts
added Diocletian, "the best and wisest princes are sold to t
venal corruption of their courtiers."[120] A just estimate
greatness, and the assurance of immortal fame, improve o
relish for the pleasures of retirement; but the Roman emper
had filled too important a character in the world to enjoy wit
out allay the comforts and security of a private condition.
was impossible that he could remain ignorant of the troubl
which afflicted the empire after his abdication. It was i
possible that he could be indifferent to their consequence
Fear, sorrow and discontent sometimes pursued him into th
solitude of Salona. His tenderness, or at least his pride, w
deeply wounded by the misfortunes of his wife and daughte
and the last moments of Diocletian were embittered by son
affronts, which Licinius and Constantine might have spared th
father of so many emperors, and the first author of their ov

[119] We are obliged to the younger Victor [Epit. 39] for this celebrated bon m
Eutropius [ix. 28] mentions the thing in a more general manner.

[120] Hist. August. p. 223, 224 [xxvi. 43]. Vopiscus had learned this conversati
from his father.

tune. A report, though of a very doubtful nature, has reached times, that he prudently withdrew himself from their power a voluntary death.[121] and death, A.D. 313 [? A.D. 316]

Before we dismiss the consideration of the life and character Diocletian, we may, for a moment, direct our view to the ce of his retirement. Salona, a principal city of his native vince of Dalmatia, was near two hundred Roman miles (according to the measurement of the public highways) from Aquileia the confines of Italy, and about two hundred and seventy n Sirmium, the usual residence of the emperors whenever y visited the Illyrian frontier.[122] A miserable village still serves the name of Salona, but so late as the sixteenth century, the remains of a theatre, and a confused prospect of broken nes and marble columns, continued to attest its ancient endour.[123] About six or seven miles from the city, Diocletian structed a magnificent palace, and we may infer from the atness of the work, how long he had meditated his design of icating the empire. The choice of a spot which united all t could contribute either to health or to luxury did not require partiality of a native. "The soil was dry and fertile, the air pure and wholesome, and, though extremely hot during the mmer months, this country seldom feels those sultry and ious winds to which the coast of Istria and some parts of y are exposed. The views from the palace are no less beau- l than the soil and climate were inviting. Towards the west the fertile shore that stretches along the Hadriatic, in which umber of small islands are scattered in such a manner as to e this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the th side lies the bay, which led to the ancient city of Salona, the country beyond it, appearing in sight, forms a proper trast to that more extensive prospect of water, which the driatic presents both to the south and to the east. Towards north, the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and, in many places, covered n villages, woods and vineyards." [124] Description of Salona and the adjacent country

[1] The younger Victor [ib.] slightly mentions the report. But, as Diocletian had obliged a powerful and successful party, his memory has been loaded with every re and misfortune. It has been affirmed that he died raving mad, that he was demned as a criminal by the Roman senate, &c.

[2] See the Itiner. p. 269, 272, edit. Wessel.

[3] The Abate Fortis, in his Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 43 (printed at Venice, in year 1774, in two small volumes in quarto), quotes a Ms. account of the antiques of Salona, composed by Giambattista Giustiniani about the middle of the century. [See Mr. Jackson's work on Dalmatia (cp. above, p. 22); and Freeman' essay in Historical Essays, 2nd series.]

[4] Adam's Antiquities of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, p. 6. We may add a

Of Diocletian's palace

Though Constantine, from a very obvious prejudice, affects t mention the palace of Diocletian with contempt,[125] yet one c their successors, who could only see it in a neglected and muti lated state, celebrates its magnificence in terms of the highes admiration.[126] It covered an extent of ground consisting c between nine and ten English acres. The form was quadran gular, flanked with sixteen towers. Two of the sides were nea six hundred, and the other two near seven hundred, feet i length. The whole was constructed of a beautiful freestone extracted from the neighbouring quarries of Trau or Tragutium,[1 and very little inferior to marble itself. Four streets, intersectin each other at right angles, divided the several parts of this grea edifice, and the approach to the principal apartment was from very stately entrance, which is still denominated the Golden Gate The approach was terminated by a *peristylium* of granite columns on one side of which we discover the square temple of Æsculapius on the other the octagon temple of Jupiter. The latter of thos deities Diocletian revered as the patron of his fortunes, th former as the protector of his health. By comparing the presen remains with the precepts of Vitruvius, the several parts of th building, the baths, bedchamber, the *atrium*, the *basilica*, and th Cyzicene, Corinthian, and Egyptian halls have been describe with some degree of precision, or at least of probability. Thei forms were various, their proportions just, but they were al attended with two imperfections, very repugnant to our moder notions of taste and conveniency. These stately rooms ha neither windows nor chimneys. They were lighted from th top (for the building seems to have consisted of no more tha one storey), and they received their heat by the help of pipe that were conveyed along the walls. The range of principa apartments was protected towards the south-west by a portic five hundred and seventeen feet long, which must have forme a very noble and delightful walk, when the beauties of paintin and sculpture were added to those of the prospect.

circumstance or two from the Abate Fortis; the little stream of the Hyader, mer tioned by Lucan, produces most exquisite trout, which a sagacious writer, perhap a monk, supposes to have been one of the principal reasons that determine Diocletian in the choice of his retirement. Fortis, p. 45. The same author (p 38) observes that a taste for agriculture is reviving at Spalatro; and that a experimental farm has lately been established near the city, by a society of gentle men.

[125] Constantin. Orat. ad Cœtum Sanct. c. 25. In this sermon, the emperor, o the bishop who composed it for him, affects to relate the miserable end of all the persecutors of the church.

[126] Constantin. Porphyr. de Statu Imper. p. 86 [iii. p. 125, ed. Bonn].

[127] [Tragurium is the name; now Traü.]

Had this magnificent edifice remained in a solitary country, it uld have been exposed to the ravages of time ; but it might, rhaps, have escaped the rapacious industry of man. The age of Aspalathus,[128] and, long afterwards, the provincial vn of Spalatro, have grown out of its ruins. The Golden Gate w opens into the market place. St. John the Baptist has irped the honours of Æsculapius ; and the temple of Jupiter, der the protection of the Virgin, is converted into the cathe- l church. For this account of Diocletian's palace we are ncipally indebted to an ingenious artist of our own time and intry, whom a very liberal curiosity carried into the heart of lmatia.[129] But there is room to suspect that the elegance of designs and engraving has somewhat flattered the objects ich it was their purpose to represent. We are informed by a re recent and very judicious traveller that the awful ruins of alatro are not less expressive of the decline of the arts than the greatness of the Roman empire in the time of Diocletian.[130] such was indeed the state of architecture, we must naturally ieve that painting and sculpture had experienced a still more isible decay. The practice of architecture is directed by a r general and even mechanical rules. But sculpture, and, ove all, painting, propose to themselves the imitation not only the forms of nature, but of the characters and passions of the man soul. In those sublime arts, the dexterity of the hand of little avail, unless it is animated by fancy and guided by e most correct taste and observation.

Decline of the arts

It is almost unnecessary to remark that the civil distractions the empire, the licence of the soldiers, the inroads of the barians, and the progress of despotism had proved very unfourable to genius, and even to learning. The succession of yrian princes restored the empire, without restoring the ences. Their military education was not calculated to inspire em with the love of letters ; and even the mind of Diocletian, wever active and capacious in business, was totally uninformed study or speculation. The professions of law and physic are

Of letters

[128] D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 162.

[129] Messieurs Adam and Clerisseau, attended by two draughtsmen, visited Spao in the month of July, 1757. The magnificent work which their journey proed was published in London seven years afterwards.

[130] I shall quote the words of the Abate Fortis. "E'bastevolmente nota agli atori dell' Architettura, e dell' Antichità, l'opera del Signor ADAMS, che a donato to a que' superbi vestigi coll'abituale eleganza del suo toccalapis e del bulino. generale la rozzezza del scalpello, e'l cattivo gusto del secolo vi gareggiano colla gnificenza del fabricato." See Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 40.

of such common use and certain profit that they will alway secure a sufficient number of practitioners endowed with reasonable degree of abilities and knowledge; but it does no appear that the students in those two faculties appeal to an celebrated masters who have flourished within that period. Th voice of poetry was silent. History was reduced to dry an confused abridgments, alike destitute of amusement and instruc tion. A languid and affected eloquence was still retained in th pay and service of the emperors, who encouraged not any ar except those which contributed to the gratification of their prid or the defence of their power.[131]

The new Platonists

The declining age of learning and of mankind is marke however, by the rise and rapid progress of the new Platonists The school of Alexandria silenced those of Athens; and th ancient sects enrolled themselves under the banners of th more fashionable teachers, who recommended their system b the novelty of their method and the austerity of their manners Several of these masters, Ammonius, Plotinus, Amelius, an Porphyry,[132] were men of profound thought and intens application; but, by mistaking the true object of philosophy their labours contributed much less to improve than to corrup the human understanding. The knowledge that is suited t our situation and powers, the whole compass of moral, natura and mathematical science, was neglected by the new Platonist whilst they exhausted their strength in the verbal disputes o metaphysics, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisibl world, and studied to reconcile Aristotle with Plato, on subject of which both these philosophers were as ignorant as the re of mankind. Consuming their reason in these deep but un substantial meditations, their minds were exposed to illusions o fancy. They flattered themselves that they possessed th secret of disengaging the soul from its corporeal prison; claime a familiar intercourse with dæmons and spirits; and, by a ver singular revolution, converted the study of philosophy into tha

[131] The orator Eumenius was secretary to the emperors Maximian and Consta tius, and Professor of Rhetoric in the College of Autun. His salary was six hundr thousand sesterces, which, according to the lowest computation of that age, mu have exceeded three thousand pounds a year. He generously requested the pe mission of employing it in rebuilding the college. See his Oration De restaurand scholis; which, though not exempt from vanity, may atone for his panegyrics.

[132] Porphyry died about the time of Diocletian's abdication. The life of h master Plotinus, which he composed, will give us the most complete idea of th genius of the sect, and the manners of its professors. This very curious piece inserted in Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca. tom. iv. p. 88-148 [and is included the volume of Didot's library, which contains Diogenes Laertius].

nagic. The ancient sages had derided the popular super-
on ; after disguising its extravagance by the thin pretence
llegory, the disciplines of Plotinus and Porphyry became its
t zealous defenders. As they agreed with the Christians in
w mysterious points of faith, they attacked the remainder of
r theological system with all the fury of civil war The new
tonists would scarcely deserve a place in the history of
nce, but in that of the church the mention of them will
y frequently occur.

CHAPTER XIV

Troubles after the abdication of Diocletian—Death of Constantius—Elevation of Constantine and Maxentius—Six Emperors at the same time—Death of Maximian and Galerius—Victories of Constantine over Maxentius and Licinius—Reunion of the Empire under the authority of Constantine

Period of civil wars and confusion, A.D. 305-323

THE balance of power established by Diocletian subsisted no longer than while it was sustained by the firm and dexterous hand of the founder. It required such a fortunate mixture of different tempers and abilities as could scarcely be found, or even expected, a second time; two emperors without jealousy, two Cæsars without ambition, and the same general interest invariably pursued by four independent princes. The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian was succeeded by eighteen years of discord and confusion. The empire was afflicted by five civil wars; and the remainder of the time was not so much a state of tranquillity as a suspension of arms between several hostile monarchs, who, viewing each other with an eye of fear and hatred, strove to increase their respective forces at the expense of their subjects.

Character and situation of Constantius

As soon as Diocletian and Maximian had resigned the purple their station, according to the rules of the new constitution, were filled by the two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, who immediately assumed the title of Augustus.[1] The honours of seniority and precedence were allowed to the former of those princes, and he continued, under a new appellation, to administer his ancient department of Gaul, Spain,[2] and Britain. The government of those ample provinces was sufficient to exercise his talents, and to satisfy his ambition. Clemency, temperance, and moderation distinguished the amiable character of Constantius, and he

[1] M. De Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 17) supposes, on the authority of Orosius and Eusebius, that, on this occasion, the empire, for the first time, was *really* divided into two parts. It is difficult, however, to discover in what respect the plan of Galerius differed from that of Diocletian.

[2] [See below, note 19.]

tunate subjects had frequently occasion to compare the virtues their sovereign with the passions of Maximian, and even with e arts of Diocletian.[3] Instead of imitating their eastern pride d magnificence, Constantius preserved the modesty of a Roman nce. He declared, with unaffected sincerity, that his most ued treasure was in the hearts of his people, and that, when- er the dignity of the throne or the danger of the state required y extraordinary supply, he could depend with confidence on eir gratitude and liberality.[4] The provincials of Gaul, Spain, d Britain, sensible of his worth and of their own happiness, lected with anxiety on the declining health of the emperor nstantius, and the tender age of his numerous family, the ıe of his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian.

Of Galerius

The stern temper of Galerius was cast in a very different ould; and, while he commanded the esteem of his subjects, he dom condescended to solicit their affections. His fame in ns, and, above all, the success of the Persian war, had elated haughty mind, which was naturally impatient of a superior, even of an equal. If it were possible to rely on the partial timony of an injudicious writer, we might ascribe the abdica- n of Diocletian to the menaces of Galerius, and relate the rticulars of a *private* conversation between the two princes, which the former discovered as much pusillanimity as the ter displayed ingratitude and arrogance.[5] But these obscure ecdotes are sufficiently refuted by an impartial view of the aracter and conduct of Diocletian. Whatever might otherwise ve been his intentions, if he had apprehended any danger m the violence of Galerius, his good sense would have in- ucted him to prevent the ignominious contest; and, as he had ld the sceptre with glory, he would have resigned it without grace.

The two Cæsars, Severus and Maximin

After the elevation of Constantius and Galerius to the rank

[3] Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit; præcipue quòd ocletiani suspectam prudentiam, et Maximiani sanguinariam violentiam imperio s evaserant. Eutrop. Breviar. x. i.

[4] Divitiis Provincialium (mel. *provinciarum*) ac privatorum studens, fisci com- da non admodum affectans; ducensque melius publicas opes a privatis haberi, m intra unum claustrum reservari. Id. ibid. He carried this maxim so far, that enever he gave an entertainment he was obliged to borrow a service of plate.

[5] Lactantius de Mort. Persecutor. c. 18. Were the particulars of this conference re consistent with truth and decency, we might still ask, how they came to the owledge of an obscure rhetorician? But there are many historians who put us mind of the admirable saying of the great Condé to Cardinal de Retz; "Ces uins nous font parler et agir, comme ils auroient fait eux-mêmes à notre ce".

of *Augusti*, two new *Cæsars* were required to supply their place and to complete the system of the Imperial government. Diocletian was sincerely desirous of withdrawing himself from the world; he considered Galerius, who had married his daughter as the firmest support of his family and of the empire; and he consented, without reluctance, that his successor should assume the merit as well as the envy of the important nomination. It was fixed without consulting the interest or inclination of the princes of the West. Each of them had a son who was arrived at the age of manhood, and who might have been deemed the most natural candidates for the vacant honour. But the impotent resentment of Maximian was no longer to be dreaded and the moderate Constantius, though he might despise the dangers, was humanely apprehensive of the calamities, of civil war. The two persons whom Galerius promoted to the rank of Cæsar were much better suited to serve the views of his ambition and their principal recommendation seems to have consisted in the want of merit or personal consequence. The first of these was Daza, or, as he was afterwards called, Maximin,[6] whose mother was the sister of Galerius. The unexperienced youth still betrayed by his manners and language his rustic education when, to his own astonishment as well as that of the world, he was invested by Diocletian with the purple, exalted to the dignity of Cæsar, and intrusted with the sovereign command of Egypt and Syria.[7] At the same time, Severus, a faithful servant addicted to pleasure, but not incapable of business, was sent to Milan, to receive from the reluctant hands of Maximian the Cæsarean ornaments, and the possession of Italy and Africa. According to the forms of the constitution, Severus acknowledged the supremacy of the western emperor; but he was absolutely devoted to the commands of his benefactor Galerius, who, reserving to himself the intermediate countries from the confines of Italy to those of Syria, firmly established his power over three-fourths of the monarchy. In the full confidence that the approaching death of Constantius would leave him sole master of the Roman world, we are assured that he had arranged in his mind a long succession of future princes, and that he

[6] [Galerius Valerius Maximinus.]

[7] Sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silvis (says Lactantius, de M. P. c. 19) statim Scutarius, continuo Protector, mox Tribunus, postridie Cæsar, accepit Orientem. Aurelius Victor is too liberal in giving him the whole portion of Diocletian.

[8] His diligence and fidelity are acknowledged even by Lactantius, de M. P. c. 18. [Name: Flavius Valerius Severus.]

editated his own retreat from public life after he should have ecomplished a glorious reign of about twenty years.[9]

But, within less than eighteen months, two unexpected evolutions overturned the ambitious schemes of Galerius. he hopes of uniting the western provinces to his empire were sappointed by the elevation of Constantine; whilst Italy and frica were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

Ambition of Galerius disappointed by two revolutions

I. The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive o the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The ace of his birth, as well as the condition of his mother Helena, ave been the subject not only of literary but of national sputes. Notwithstanding the recent tradition, which assigns r her father a British king, we are obliged to confess that lelena was the daughter of an innkeeper;[10] but at the same me we may defend the legality of her marriage against those ho have represented her as the concubine of Constantius.[11] he great Constantine was most probably born at Naissus, in acia,[12] and it is not surprising that, in a family and province

Birth, education and escape of Constantine, A.D. 274

[9] These schemes, however, rest only on the very doubtful authority of Lactantius, M. P. c. 20.

[10] This tradition, unknown to the contemporaries of Constantine, was invented the darkness of monasteries, was embellished by Jeffrey of Monmouth and the iters of the xiith century, has been defended by our antiquarians of the last age, d is seriously related in the ponderous history of England, compiled by Mr. rte (vol. i. p. 147). He transports, however, the kingdom of Coil, the imaginary ther of Helena, from Essex to the wall of Antoninus.

[11] Eutropius (x. 2) expresses, in a few words, the real truth, and the occasion of e error, "*ex obscuriori matrimonio* ejus filius". Zosimus (l. ii. p. 78 [8]) eagerly ized the most unfavourable report, and is followed by Orosius (vii. 25), whose thority is oddly enough overlooked by the indefatigable but partial Tillemont. y insisting on the divorce of Helena, Diocletian acknowledged her marriage.

[12] There are three opinions with regard to the place of Constantine's birth. Our English antiquarians were used to dwell with rapture on the words of his negyrist; "Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti". But this celebrated passage ay be referred with as much propriety to the accession as to the nativity of Conantine. 2. Some of the modern Greeks have ascribed the honour of his birth to repanum, a town on the gulf of Nicomedia (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 174) which onstantine dignified with the name of Helenopolis, and Justinian adorned with any splendid buildings (Procop. de Edificiis, v. 2). It is indeed probable enough at Helena's father kept an inn at Drepanum; and that Constantius might lodge ere when he returned from a Persian embassy in the reign of Aurelian. But in e wandering life of a soldier, the place of his marriage, and the place where his ildren are born, have very little connexion with each other. 3. The claim of aissus is supported by the anonymous writer, published at the end of Ammianus, 710 [Anonymous Valesii, 2], and who in general copied very good materials; d it is confirmed by Julius Firmicus (de Astrologiâ, l. i. c. 4), who flourished der the reign of Constantine himself. [Mathesis was the name which the author mself, Julius Firmicus Maternus junior Siculus, gave to this work in eight Books.] me objections have been raised against the integrity of the text, and the applicaon, of the passage of Firmicus; but the former is established by the best Mss., d the latter is very ably defended by Lipsius de Magnitudine Romanâ, l. iv. c. , et Supplement.

distinguished only by the profession of arms, the youth shoul
discover very little inclination to improve his mind by th
A.D. 292 [293?] acquisition of knowledge.[13] He was about eighteen years o
age when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar; bu
that fortunate event was attended with his mother's divorce
and the splendour of an Imperial alliance reduced the son o
Helena to a state of disgrace and humiliation. Instead o
following Constantius in the West, he remained in the servic
of Diocletian, signalized his valour in the wars of Egypt an
Persia, and gradually rose to the honourable station of a tribun
of the first order. The figure of Constantine was tall an
majestic; he was dexterous in all his exercises, intrepid in wa
affable in peace; in his whole conduct the active spirit o
youth was tempered by habitual prudence; and, while his min
was engrossed by ambition, he appeared cold and insensibl
to the allurements of pleasure. The favour of the people an
soldiers, who had named him as a worthy candidate for th
rank of Cæsar, served only to exasperate the jealousy o
Galerius; and, though prudence might restrain him fron
exercising any open violence, an absolute monarch is seldom a
a loss how to execute a sure and secret revenge.[14] Every hou
increased the danger of Constantine and the anxiety of hi
father, who, by repeated letters, expressed the warmes
desire of embracing his son. For some time the policy o
Galerius supplied him with delays and excuses, but it was im
possible long to refuse so natural a request of his associate
without maintaining his refusal by arms. The permission for th
journey was reluctantly granted, and, whatever precautions th
emperor might have taken to intercept a return, the conse
quences of which he, with so much reason, apprehended, they
were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence o
Constantine.[15] Leaving the palace of Nicomedia in the night

[13] Literis minus instructus. Anonym. ad Ammian. p. 710 [2, 2 (edited by Gardt
hausen with Ammianus, ii. p. 280 *sqq.*)].

[14] Galerius, or perhaps his own courage, exposed him to single combat with a
Sarmatian (Anonym. p. 710 [2, 3]) and with a monstrous lion. See Praxagora
apud Photium, p. 63 [F.H.G. iv. p. 2]. Praxagoras, an Athenian philosopher
had written a life of Constantine, in two books, which are now lost. He was a
contemporary.

[15] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 78, 79 [8]. Lactantius de M. P. c. 24. The former tells a
very foolish story, that Constantine caused all the post horses, which he had used
to be hamstrung. Such a bloody execution, without preventing a pursuit, would
have scattered suspicions and might have stopped his journey. [The ques
tion arises why Constantine remained so long in the East as he did. Schille
thinks that it was Diocletian's purpose, one day to invest him with the purple.
There is even numismatic evidence that he was recognized in Alexandria as Cæsa
before the nomination of Severus. Schiller, ii. 167.

traveled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, ly, and Gaul, and, amidst the joyful acclamations of the ople, reached the port of Boulogne in the very moment when father was preparing to embark for Britain.[16]

The British expedition, and an easy victory over the barbarians of Caledonia, were the last exploits of the reign of Constantius. e ended his life in the Imperial palace of York, fifteen months er he had assumed the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen ars and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of esar.[17] His death was immediately succeeded by the eleva- n of Constantine. The ideas of inheritance and succession e so very familiar that the generality of mankind consider em as founded, not only in reason, but in nature itself. Our agination readily transfers the same principles from private operty to public dominion: and, whenever a virtuous father ives behind him a son whose merit seems to justify the teem, or even the hopes, of the people, the joint influence of ejudice and of affection operates with irresistible weight. he flower of the western armies had followed Constantius into itain, and the national troops were reinforced by a numerous dy of Alemanni, who obeyed the orders of Crocus, one of eir hereditary chieftains.[18] The opinion of their own im- rtance, and the assurance that Britain, Gaul, and Spain[19] would quiesce in their nomination, were diligently inculcated to the ions by the adherents of Constantine. The soldiers were ked, Whether they could hesitate a moment between the nour of placing at their head the worthy son of their beloved nperor and the ignominy of tamely expecting the arrival of ne obscure stranger, on whom it might please the sovereign Asia to bestow the armies and provinces of the West. It s insinuated to them that gratitude and liberality held a tinguished place among the virtues of Constantine; nor did

Death of Constantius, and elevation of Constantine, A.D. 306, July 25

[16] Anonym. p. 710 [2, 4]. Panegyr. Veter. vii. 4. But Zosimus, l. ii. p. 79 [9], sebius de Vit. Constan. l. i. c. 21, and Lactantius de M. P. c. 24 suppose, with accuracy, that he found his father on his death-bed [cp. Aurel. Victor, Cæs.

[17] [A metrical epitaph (which Rossi supposed to be on Constans), found in two s., has been vindicated for Constantius by Mommsen in Hermes, vol. xxviii.]

[18] Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus, sed præcipue Croco (*alii Eroco*) Alaman- um Rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, imperium capit. Victor ior, [epit.] c. 41. This is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king who sted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The ctice grew familiar, and at last became fatal.

[19] [Spain was hardly in the dominion of Constantius, or of Constantine before victory over Maxentius. It went at this time with Africa and Italy.]

that artful prince show himself to the troops, till they wer prepared to salute him with the names of Augustus and Em peror. The throne was the object of his desires; and, had h been less actuated by ambition, it was his only means safety. He was well acquainted with the character and sent ments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprized that, if he wishe to live, he must determine to reign. The decent and eve obstinate resistance which he chose to affect [20] was contrive to justify his usurpation; nor did he yield to the acclamatio of the army, till he had provided the proper materials for letter, which he immediately despatched to the emperor of th East. Constantine informed him of the melancholy event his father's death, modestly asserted his natural claim to th succession, and respectfully lamented that the affectiona violence of his troops had not permitted him to solicit th Imperial purple in the regular and constitutional manne The first emotions of Galerius were those of surprise, disappoin ment, and rage; and, as he could seldom restrain his passion he loudly threatened that he would commit to the flames bot the letter and the messenger. But his resentment insensibl subsided; and, when he recollected the doubtful chance of wa when he had weighed the character and strength of h adversary, he consented to embrace the honourable accommod tion which the prudence of Constantine had left open to hin Without either condemning or ratifying the choice of th British army, Galerius accepted the son of his deceased colleagu as the sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps; but he gav him only the title of Cæsar, and the fourth rank among th Roman princes, whilst he conferred the vacant place of Augustu on his favourite Severus. The apparent harmony of the empi was still preserved, and Constantine, who already possesse the substance, expected, without impatience, an opportunity obtaining the honours, of supreme power.[21]

He is acknowledged by Galerius, who gives him only the title of Cæsar, and that of Augustus to Severus

The children of Constantius by his second marriage were si in number, three of either sex, and whose Imperial descen might have solicited a preference over the meaner extraction the son of Helena. But Constantine was in the thirty-secon year of his age, in the full vigour both of mind and body, at th

The brothers and sisters of Constantine

[20] His panegyrist Eumenius (vii. 8) ventures to affirm, in the presence of Co stantine, that he put spurs to his horse, and tried, but in vain, to escape from t hands of his soldiers.

[21] Lactantius de M. P. c. 25. Eumenius (vii. 8) gives a rhetorical turn to t whole transaction.

e when the eldest of his brothers could not possibly be more n thirteen years old. His claim of superior merit had been wed and ratified by the dying emperor.[22] In his last mo- nts Constantius bequeathed to his eldest son the care of the ety, as well as greatness, of the family; conjuring him to me both the authority and the sentiments of a father with ard to the children of Theodora. Their liberal education, antageous marriages, the secure dignity of their lives, and first honours of the state with which they were invested, est the fraternal affection of Constantine; and, as those princes sessed a mild and grateful disposition, they submitted with- reluctance to the superiority of his genius and fortune.[23]

Discontent of the Romans at the apprehension of taxes

II. The ambitious spirit of Galerius was scarcely reconciled the disappointment of his views upon the Gallic provinces, fore the unexpected loss of Italy wounded his pride as well as wer in a still more sensible part. The long absence of the perors had filled Rome with discontent and indignation; and e people gradually discovered that the preference given to comedia and Milan was not to be ascribed to the particular lination of Diocletian, but to the permanent form of govern- nt which he had instituted. It was in vain that, a few nths after his abdication, his successors dedicated, under his me, those magnificent baths, whose ruins still supply the und as well as the materials for so many churches and con- nts.[24] The tranquillity of those elegant recesses of ease and ury was disturbed by the impatient murmurs of the Romans; d a report was insensibly circulated that the sums expended erecting those buildings would soon be required at their nds. About that time the avarice of Galerius, or perhaps e exigencies of the state, had induced him to make a very

[22] The choice of Constantine by his dying father, which is warranted by reason, insinuated by Eumenius, seems to be confirmed by the most unexceptionable hority, the concurring evidence of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 24) and of Libanius ation i.), of Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin, l. i. c. 18, 21) and of Julian (Oration . 7]).

[23] Of the three sisters of Constantine, Constantia married the Emperor Licinius, astasia the Cæsar Bassianus, and Eutropia the consul Nepotianus. The three thers were, Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, Annibalianus, of whom we shall e occasion to speak hereafter.

[24] See Gruter Inscrip. p. 178 [C. I. L. vi. 1130]. The six princes are all men- ed, Diocletian and Maximian as the senior Augusti and fathers of the emperors. ey jointly dedicate, for the use of *their own* Romans, this magnificent edifice. e architects have delineated the ruins of these *Thermae;* and the antiquarians, ticularly Donatus and Nardini, have ascertained the ground which they covered. e of the great rooms is now the Carthusian church; and even one of the porter's ges is sufficient to form another church, which belongs to the Feuillans.

strict and rigorous inquisition into the property of his subjec for the purpose of a general taxation, both on their lands a on their persons. A very minute survey appears to have be taken of their real estates; and, wherever there was the sligh est suspicion of concealment, torture was very freely employ to obtain a sincere declaration of their personal wealth.[25] T privileges which had exalted Italy above the rank of the pr vinces were no longer regarded: and the officers of the reven already began to number the Roman people, and to settle t proportion of the new taxes. Even when the spirit of freedo had been utterly extinguished, the tamest subjects have som times ventured to resist an unprecedented invasion of the property; but on this occasion the injury was aggravated the insult, and the sense of private interest was quickened that of national honour. The conquest of Macedonia, as have already observed, had delivered the Roman people fro the weight of personal taxes. Though they had experienc every form of despotism, they had now enjoyed that exempti near five hundred years; nor could they patiently brook t insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who, from his distant residen in Asia, presumed to number Rome among the tributary citi of his empire. The rising fury of the people was encourag by the authority, or at least the connivance, of the senat and the feeble remains of the Prætorian guards, who h reason to apprehend their own dissolution, embraced so honou able a pretence, and declared their readiness to draw the swords in the service of their oppressed country. It was t wish, and it soon became the hope, of every citizen, that, aft expelling from Italy their foreign tyrants, they should elect prince who, by the place of his residence, and by his maxi of government, might once more deserve the title of Rom emperor. The name as well as the situation of Maxenti determined in his favour the popular enthusiasm.

Maxentius declared emperor at Rome, A.D. 306, 28th [27th] Oct.

Maxentius was the son of the emperor Maximian, and had married the daughter of Galerius. His birth and allian seemed to offer him the fairest promise of succeeding to t empire; but his vices and incapacity procured him the san exclusion from the dignity of Cæsar which Constantine h deserved by a dangerous superiority of merit. The policy Galerius preferred such associates as would never disgrace t choice, nor dispute the commands, of their benefactors. An o

[25] See Lactantius de M. P. c. 26, 31.

re stranger was therefore raised to the throne of Italy, and the of the late emperor of the West was left to enjoy the luxury private fortune in a villa a few miles distant from the capital. e gloomy passions of his soul, shame, vexation, and rage, were amed by envy on the news of Constantine's success; but the es of Maxentius revived with the public discontent, and he s easily persuaded to unite his personal injury and pretensions h the cause of the Roman people. Two Prætorian tribunes l a commissary of provisions undertook the management of the spiracy; and, as every order of men was actuated by the e spirit, the immediate event was neither doubtful or difficult. e præfect of the city and a few magistrates, who maintained ir fidelity to Severus, were massacred by the guards; and xentius, invested with the Imperial ornaments, was acknowged by the applauding senate and people as the protector of Roman freedom and dignity.[26] It is uncertain whether ximian was previously acquainted with the conspiracy; but, soon as the standard of rebellion was erected at Rome, the emperor broke from the retirement where the authority of ocletian had condemned him to pass a life of melancholy soli-le, and concealed his returning ambition under the disguise paternal tenderness. At the request of his son and of the ate, he condescended to reassume the purple. His ancient nity, his experience, and his fame in arms added strength as ll as reputation to the party of Maxentius.[27]

Maximian re assumes the purple

According to the advice, or rather the orders, of his colleague, e emperor Severus immediately hastened to Rome, in the full nfidence that, by his unexpected celerity, he should easily press the tumult of an unwarlike populace, commanded by a entious youth. But he found on his arrival the gates of the y shut against him, the walls filled with men and arms, an perienced general at the head of the rebels, and his own ops without spirit or affection. A large body of Moors de-ted to the enemy, allured by the promise of a large donative; d, if it be true that they had been levied by Maximian in his rican war, preferring the natural feelings of gratitude to the ificial ties of allegiance. Anulinus, the Prætorian præfect, clared himself in favour of Maxentius, and drew after him the

Defeat and death of Severus

[26] [But as Cæsar, not as Augustus.]

[27] The vith Panegyric represents the conduct of Maximian in the most favourable nt, and the ambiguous expression of Aurelius Victor, "retractante diu," may nify, either that he contrived, or that he opposed, the conspiracy. See Zosimus, . p. 79 [9] and Lactantius de M. P. c. 26.

most considerable part of the troops, accustomed to obey hi commands. Rome, according to the expression of an orator recalled her armies, and the unfortunate Severus, destitute o force and of counsel, retired, or rather fled, with precipitation t Ravenna. Here he might for some time have been safe. Th fortifications of Ravenna were able to resist the attempts, and the morasses that surrounded the town were sufficient to preven the approach, of the Italian army. The sea, which Severu commanded with a powerful fleet, secured him an inexhaustible supply of provisions, and gave a free entrance to the legion which, on the return of spring, would advance to his assistance from Illyricum and the East. Maximian, who conducted the siege in person, was soon convinced that he might waste hi time and his army in the fruitless enterprise, and that he had nothing to hope either from force or famine. With an art more suitable to the character of Diocletian than to his own, he directed his attack, not so much against the walls of Ravenna as against the mind of Severus. The treachery which he had experienced disposed that unhappy prince to distrust the most sincere of his friends and adherents. The emissaries of Maximian easily persuaded his credulity that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town, and prevailed upon his fears not to expose himself to the discretion of an irritated conqueror, but to accept the faith of an honourable capitulation. He was at first received with humanity, and treated with respect. Maximian conducted the captive emperor to Rome, and gave him the most solemn assurances that he had secured his life by the resignation of the purple. But Severus could obtain only an easy death and an Imperial funeral. When the sentence was signified to him, the manner of executing it was left to his own choice; he preferred the favourite mode of the ancients, that of opening his veins and, as soon as he expired, his body was carried to the sepulchre which had been constructed for the family of Gallienus.[28]

A.D. 307, February

Though the characters of Constantine and Maxentius had very little affinity with each other, their situation and interest were the same; and prudence seemed to require that they should unite their forces against the common enemy. Notwithstanding the superiority of his age and dignity, the indefatigable

Maximian gives his daughter Fausta, and the title of Augustus, to Constantine

A.D. 307, 31st March [?]

[28] The circumstances of this war, and the death of Severus, are very doubtfully and variously told in our ancient fragments (see Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part . p. 555). I have endeavoured to extract from them a consistent and probable narration. [It is probable that the death of Severus was due to the orders of Maxentius, not of Maximian. As to the mode of his death Gibbon follows Ldactantius, e M. P. 26. Otherwise Zosimus, ii. 10. Date doubtful.]

ximian passed the Alps, and, courting a personal interview
h the sovereign of Gaul, carried with him his daughter Fausta
he pledge of the new alliance. The marriage was celebrated
Arles with every circumstance of magnificence; and the
ient colleague of Diocletian, who again asserted his claim to
western empire, conferred on his son-in-law and ally the
e of Augustus. By consenting to receive that honour from
ximian, Constantine seemed to embrace the cause of Rome
of the senate; but his professions were ambiguous, and his
stance slow and ineffectual. He considered with attention
approaching contest between the masters of Italy and the
peror of the East, and was prepared to consult his own safety
ambition in the event of the war.[29]

Galerius invades Italy

The importance of the occasion called for the presence and
lities of Galerius. At the head of a powerful army, collected
m Illyricum and the East, he entered Italy, resolved to
enge the death of Severus, and to chastise the rebellious
mans; or, as he expressed his intentions, in the furious
guage of a barbarian, to extirpate the senate, and to destroy
people by the sword. But the skill of Maximian had con-
ted a prudent system of defence. The invader found every
ce hostile, fortified, and inaccessible; and, though he forced
way as far as Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, his dominion
Italy was confined to the narrow limits of his camp. Sensible
the increasing difficulties of his enterprise, the haughty
lerius made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and
patched two of his most considerable officers to tempt the
man princes by the offer of a conference and the declaration
his paternal regard for Maxentius, who might obtain much
re from his liberality than he could hope from the doubtful

[29] The vith Panegyric was pronounced to celebrate the elevation of Constantine; the prudent orator avoids the mention either of Galerius or of Maxentius. He oduces only one slight allusion to the actual troubles, and to the majesty, of ne. [The narrative in the text must be corrected in two respects. Following tantius the author has placed the first visit of Maximian to Gaul out of its proper er, and he has wholly omitted to mention the Congress of Carnuntum. ximian was in Italy during the invasion of Galerius. The latter, when he red, appealed to Diocletian, who consented to be present at a conclave at nuntum and exert his influence over Maximian Herculius, in order to maintain system which he had himself instituted. The congress met in November, ; Maximian and Galerius were present. Diocletian for the second time induced ximian to abdicate, and the vacant throne of the Augustus was filled by Licinius o had probably been made Cæsar shortly before this). Maxentius was rely excluded from the succession. Maximian then (before the end of the r) paid his first visit to Constantine, who had probably already assumed the of Augustus, which his father-in-law now confirmed. See Eutropius, x. 3. rates, Hist. Ecc. i. 2. Schiller, ii. 177.]

chance of war.[30] The offers of Galerius were rejected wit firmness, his perfidious friendship refused with contempt, and was not long before he discovered that, unless he provided f his safety by a timely retreat, he had some reason to apprehen the fate of Severus. The wealth, which the Romans defende against his rapacious tyranny, they freely contributed for h destruction. The name of Maximian, the popular arts of h son, the secret distribution of large sums, and the promise still more liberal rewards, checked the ardour and corrupted th fidelity of the Illyrian legions; and, when Galerius at lengt gave the signal of the retreat, it was with some difficulty tha he could prevail on his veterans not to desert a banner whic had so often conducted them to victory and honour. A cot temporary writer assigns two other causes for the failure of th expedition; but they are both of such a nature that a cautiou historian will scarcely venture to adopt them. We are tol that Galerius, who had formed a very imperfect notion of th greatness of Rome by the cities of the East with which he wa acquainted, found his forces inadequate to the siege of tha immense capital. But the extent of a city serves only to rend it more accessible to the enemy; Rome had long since bee accustomed to submit on the approach of a conqueror; no could the temporary enthusiasm of the people have long con tended against the discipline and valour of the legions. W are likewise informed that the legions themselves were struc with horror and remorse, and that those pious sons of the re public refused to violate the sanctity of their venerable parent. But, when we recollect with how much ease in the more ancien civil wars, the zeal of party and the habits of military obedienc had converted the native citizens of Rome into her most im placable enemies, we shall be inclined to distrust this extren delicacy of strangers and barbarians, who had never beheld Ital till they entered it in a hostile manner. Had they not bee restrained by motives of a more interested nature, they woul probably have answered Galerius in the words of Cæsar veterans: "If our general wishes to lead us to the banks of th Tiber, we are prepared to trace out his camp. Whatsoev

[30] With regard to this negotiation, see the fragments of an anonymous Historia published by Valesius at the end of his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 7 [3, 7]. These fragments have furnished us with several curious, and as it shou seem authentic, anecdotes.

[31] Lactantius de M. P. c. 28 [*leg.* 27]. The former of these reasons is probab taken from Virgil's Shepherd; "Illam . . . ego huic nostræ similem Melibo putavi, &c.". Lactantius delights in these poetical allusions.

alls he has determined to level with the ground, our hands e ready to work the engines: nor shall we hesitate, should e name of the devoted city be Rome itself." These are indeed e expressions of a poet; but of a poet who has been dis-nguished, and even censured, for his strict adherence to the uth of history.[32]

His retreat

The legions of Galerius exhibited a very melancholy proof of eir disposition by the ravages which they committed in their treat. They murdered, they ravished, they plundered, they ove away the flocks and herds of the Italians; they burnt the llages through which they passed, and they endeavoured to estroy the country, which it had not been in their power to bdue. During the whole march Maxentius hung on their ar; but he very prudently declined a general engagement th those brave and desperate veterans. His father had ndertaken a second journey into Gaul, with the hope of per-ading Constantine, who had assembled an army on the frontier, join the pursuit and to complete the victory. But the tions of Constantine were guided by reason, and not by resent-ent. He persisted in the wise resolution of maintaining a lance of power in the divided empire, and he no longer hated alerius when that aspiring prince had ceased to be an object terror.[33]

Elevation of Licinius to the rank of Augustus, A.D. 307, Nov. 11

The mind of Galerius was the most susceptible of the sterner ssions, but it was not however incapable of a sincere and last-g friendship. Licinius,[34] whose manners as well as character ere not unlike his own, seems to have engaged both his affec-on and esteem. Their intimacy had commenced in the happier riod, perhaps, of their youth and obscurity. It had been mented by the freedom and dangers of a military life; they d advanced, almost by equal steps, through the successive nours of the service; and, as soon as Galerius was invested th the Imperial dignity, he seems to have conceived the design raising his companion to the same rank with himself. During e short period of his prosperity, he considered the rank of

[32] Castra super Tusci si ponere Tybridis undas (*jubeas*),
Hesperios audax veniam metator in agros.
Tu quoscunque voles in planum effundere muros,
His aries actus disperget saxa lacertis;
Illa licet penitus tolli quam jusseris urbem
Roma sit. Lucan. Pharsal. i. 381.

[33] Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82 [10]. The latter insinuates t Constantine, in his interview with Maximian, had promised to declare war ainst Galerius.

[34] [Valerius Licinianus Licinius.]

Cæsar as unworthy of the age and merit of Licinius, and rathe chose to reserve for him the place of Constantius, and th empire of the West. While the emperor was employed in th Italian war, he intrusted his friend with the defence of th Danube; and immediately after his return from that unfortunat expedition he invested Licinius with the vacant purple o Severus, resigning to his immediate command the province of Illyricum.[35] The news of his promotion was no sooner carrie into the East, than Maximin, who governed, or rather oppressed the countries of Egypt and Syria, betrayed his envy and discon tent, disdained the inferior name of Cæsar, and, notwithstandin the prayers as well as arguments of Galerius, exacted, almos by violence, the equal title of Augustus.[36] For the first, an indeed for the last, time, the Roman world was administered b six emperors. In the West, Constantine and Maxentius affecte to reverence their father Maximian. In the East, Licinius an Maximin honoured with more real consideration their benefacto Galerius. The opposition of interest, and the memory of recent war, divided the empire into two great hostile powers but their mutual fears produced an apparent tranquillity, an even a feigned reconciliation, till the deaths of the elder prince of Maximian, and more particularly of Galerius, gave a ne direction to the views and passions of their surviving associate

and of Maximin

Six emperors, A.D. 308

When Maximian had reluctantly abdicated the empire, th venal orators of the times applauded his philosophic moderatio When his ambition excited, or at least encouraged, a civil wa they returned thanks to his generous patriotism, and gentl censured that love of ease and retirement which had withdraw him from the public service.[37] But it was impossible that mind like those of Maximian and his son could long possess in harmon an undivided power. Maxentius considered himself as the lega

Misfortunes of Maximian

[35] M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part i. p. 559) has prove that Licinius, without passing through the intermediate rank of Cæsar, was d clared Augustus, the 11th of November, A.D. 307, after the return of Galeri from Italy. [It is however possible and probable that Licinius was made Cæs after the death of Severus.]

[36] Lactantius de M. P. c. 32. When Galerius declared Licinius Augustus wi himself, he tried to satisfy his younger associates, by inventing for Constantine a *Maximin* (not *Maxentius*, see Baluze, p. 81) the new title of sons of the Augus But, when Maximin acquainted him that he had been saluted Augustus by the arm Galerius was obliged to acknowledge him, as well as Constantine, as equal asso ates in the Imperial dignity. [Date uncertain.]

[37] See Panegyr. Vet. vi. 9. Audi doloris nostri liberam vocem, &c. The who passage is imagined with artful flattery, and expressed with an easy flow eloquence.

ereign of Italy, elected by the Roman senate and people; r would he endure the control of his father, who arrogantly clared that by *his* name and abilities the rash youth had been ablished on the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded fore the Prætorian guards, and those troops, who dreaded the erity of the old emperor, espoused the party of Maxentius.[38] e life and freedom of Maximian were however respected, and retired from Italy into Illyricum, affecting to lament his past nduct, and secretly contriving new mischiefs. But Galerius, o was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to ve his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed aximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine.[39] He s received with respect by that artful prince, and with the pearance of filial tenderness by the empress Fausta. That he ght remove every suspicion, he resigned the Imperial purple econd time,[40] professing himself at length convinced of the nity of greatness and ambition. Had he persevered in this solution, he might have ended his life with less dignity indeed an in his first retirement, yet, however, with comfort and re-tation. But the near prospect of a throne brought back to remembrance the state from whence he was fallen, and he solved, by a desperate effort, either to reign or to perish. An cursion of the Franks had summoned Constantine, with a part his army, to the banks of the Rhine; the remainder of the oops were stationed in the southern provinces of Gaul, which exposed to the enterprises of the Italian emperor, and a nsiderable treasure was deposited in the city of Arles. Max-ian either craftily invented, or hastily credited, a vain report the death of Constantine. Without hesitation he ascended e throne, seized the treasure, and, scattering it with his accus-med profusion among the soldiers, endeavoured to awake in eir minds the memory of his ancient dignity and exploits. fore he could establish his authority, or finish the negotiation

[38] Lactantius de M. P. c. 28. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82 [11]. A report was spread, t Maxentius was the son of some obscure Syrian, and had been substituted by wife of Maximian as her own child. See Aurelius Victor, Anonym. Valesian 6], and Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3, 4. [Maxentius declared himself sole Augustus in ril, 308. See Chronogr. of 354, ed. Mommsen in Abh. of the Saxon Ges. der issensch. 1850, p. 628.] [See below, Appendix 1, p. 447.]

[39] Ab urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum, tuis provinciis, s copiis, tuo palatio recepisti. Eumen. in Panegyr. Vet. vii. 14.

[40] Lactantius de M. P. c. 29. Yet, after the resignation of the purple, Constantine still continued to Maximian the pomp and honours of the Imperial rnity; and on the public occasions gave the right-hand place to his father-in-law. negyr. Vet. vii. 15.

which he appears to have entered into with his son Maxentiu
the celerity of Constantine defeated all his hopes. On the fir
news of his perfidy and ingratitude, that prince returned h
rapid marches from the Rhine to the Saone, embarked on th
last mentioned river at Chalons, and, at Lyons trusting himse
to the rapidity of the Rhone, arrived at the gates of Arles, wi
a military force which it was impossible for Maximian to resis
and which scarcely permitted him to take refuge in the neig
bouring city of Marseilles. The narrow neck of land whic
joined that place to the continent was fortified against the b
siegers, whilst the sea was open, either for the escape of Maxi
ian, or for the succours of Maxentius, if the latter should choo
to disguise his invasion of Gaul under the honourable preten
of defending a distressed, or, as he might allege, an injure
father. Apprehensive of the fatal consequences of delay, Co
stantine gave orders for an immediate assault; but the scalin
ladders were found too short for the height of the walls, an
Marseilles might have sustained as long a siege as it former
[A.D. 308 did against the arms of Cæsar, if the garrison, conscious either
their fault or of their danger, had not purchased their pardon b
delivering up the city and the person of Maximian. A secr
His death, A.D. 310, February but irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against th
usurper; he obtained only the same favour which he had i
dulged to Severus, and it was published to the world that, o
pressed by the remorse of his repeated crimes, he strangle
himself with his own hands. After he had lost the assistanc
and disdained the moderate counsels, of Diocletian, the secon
period of his active life was a series of public calamities an
personal mortifications, which were terminated, in about thr
years, by an ignominious death. He deserved his fate; but w
should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantin
if he had spared an old man, the benefactor of his father, an
the father of his wife. During the whole of this melancho
transaction, it appears that Fausta sacrificed the sentiments
nature to her conjugal duties.[41]

Death of Galerius, A.D. 311, May The last years of Galerius were less shameful and unfortunate
and, though he had filled with more glory the subordinate stati
of Cæsar than the superior rank of Augustus, he preserved, t

[41] Zosim. l. ii. p. 82 [11]. Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. vii. 16-21. The latter
these has undoubtedly represented the whole affair in the most favourable lig
for his sovereign. Yet even from this partial narrative we may conclude that t
repeated clemency of Constantine, and the reiterated treasons of Maximian,
they are described by Lactantius (de M. P. c. 29, 30) and copied by the modern
are destitute of any historical foundation. [A hazardous conclusion.]

e moment of his death, the first place among the princes the Roman world. He survived his retreat from Italy about ır years; and, wisely relinquishing his views of universal ıpire, he devoted the remainder of his life to the enjoyment pleasure, and to the execution of some works of public lity; among which we may distinguish the discharging into e Danube the superfluous waters of the lake Pelso, and the tting down the immense forests that encompassed it; an eration worthy of a monarch, since it gave an extensive ıntry to the agriculture of his Pannonian subjects.[42] His ath was occasioned by a very painful and lingering disorder. s body, swelled by an intemperate course of life to an unıeldy corpulence, was covered with ulcers, and devoured by ıumerable swarms of those insects who have given their me to a most loathsome disease;[43] but, as Galerius had ended a very zealous and powerful party among his subjects, ; sufferings, instead of exciting their compassion, have been lebrated as the visible effects of divine justice.[44] He had no ɔner expired in his palace of Nicomedia,[45] than the two emrors who were indebted for their purple to his favour began collect their forces, with the intention either of disputing, or dividing, the dominions which he had left without a master. ıey were persuaded however to desist from the former design, d to agree in the latter. The provinces of Asia fell to the are of Maximin, and those of Europe augmented the portion Licinius. The Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus rmed their mutual boundary, and the banks of those narrow as, which flowed in the midst of the Roman world, were vered with soldiers, with arms, and with fortifications. The aths of Maximian and of Galerius reduced the number of

His dominion shared between Maximin and Licinius

[42] Aurelius Victor, [Cæs.] c. 40. But that lake was situated on the Upper nnonia, near the borders of Noricum; and the province of Valeria (a name ich the wife of Galerius gave to the drained country) undoubtedly lay between e Drave and the Danube (Sextus Rufus, c. 9). I should therefore suspect that ctor has confounded the lake Pelso, with the Volocean marshes, or, as they are w called, the lake Sabaton. It is placed in the heart of Valeria, and its present tent is not less than 12 Hungarian miles (about 70 English) in length, and two breadth. See Severini Pannonia, l. i. c. 9.

[43] Lactantius (de M. P. c. 33) and Eusebius ([Hist. Ecc.] l. viii. c. 16) describe e symptoms and progress of his disorder with singular accuracy and apparent easure.

[44] If any (like the late Dr. Jortin, Remarks of Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 7-356) still delight in recording the wonderful deaths of the persecutors, I would commend to their perusal an admirable passage of Grotius (Hist. l. vii. p. 332) ncerning the last illness of Philip II. of Spain.

[45] [He died at Sardica. Anon. Val. 3, 8. (Salona, Chron. Pasch.)]

emperors to four.[46] The sense of their true interest so connected Licinius and Constantine; a secret alliance v concluded between Maximin and Maxentius, and their unhap subjects expected with terror the bloody consequences of th inevitable dissensions, which were no longer restrained by t fear or the respect which they had entertained for Galeriu

Administration of Constantine in Gaul, A.D. 306-312

Among so many crimes and misfortunes occasioned by t passions of the Roman princes, there is some pleasure in c covering a single action which may be ascribed to their virt In the sixth year of his reign, Constantine visited the city Autun, and generously remitted the arrears of tribute, reduc at the same time the proportion of their assessment, fr twenty-five to eighteen thousand heads, subject to the r and personal capitation.[48] Yet even this indulgence affords t most unquestionable proof of the public misery. This tax v so extremely oppressive, either in itself or in the mode collecting it, that, whilst the revenue was increased by extorti it was diminished by despair: a considerable part of t territory of Autun was left uncultivated; and great numb of the provincials rather chose to live as exiles and outla than to support the weight of civil society. It is but probable that the bountiful emperor relieved, by a partial act liberality, one among the many evils which he had caused his general maxims of administration. But even those maxi were less the effect of choice than of necessity. And, if except the death of Maximian, the reign of Constantine Gaul seems to have been the most innocent and even virtuo period of his life. The provinces were protected by his presen from the inroads of the barbarians, who either dreaded experienced his active valour. After a signal victory over t Franks and Alemanni, several of their princes were exposed his order to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre of Treves, a the people seem to have enjoyed the spectacle, without c covering, in such a treatment of royal captives, anything th was repugnant to the laws of nations or of humanity.[49]

Tyranny of Maxentius in Italy and Africa, A.D. 306-312

The virtues of Constantine were rendered more illustrious the vices of Maxentius. Whilst the Gallic provinces enjoyed

[46] [But Maxentius was not recognized by the other three Augusti.]

[47] See Eusebius, l. ix. 6, 10. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. Zosimus is less ex and evidently confounds Maximian with Maximin.

[48] See the viiith Panegyr. in which Eumenius displays, in the presence Constantine, the misery and the gratitude of the city of Autun.

[49] Eutropius, x. 2. Panegyr. Veter. vii. 10, 11, 12. A great number of the Fre youth were likewise exposed to the same cruel and ignominious death.

ch happiness as the condition of the times was capable of eiving, Italy and Africa[50] groaned under the dominion of a ant as contemptible as he was odious. The zeal of flattery l faction has indeed too frequently sacrificed the reputation the vanquished to the glory of their successful rivals; but n those writers who have revealed, with the most freedom l pleasure, the faults of Constantine, unanimously confess that xentius was cruel, rapacious, and profligate.[51] He had the od fortune to suppress a slight rebellion in Africa. The vernor and a few adherents had been guilty; the province fered for their crime. The flourishing cities of Cirtha and rthage, and the whole extent of that fertile country, were sted by fire and sword. The abuse of victory was followed the abuse of law and justice. A formidable army of syco- ants and delators invaded Africa; the rich and the noble re easily convicted of a connexion with the rebels; and those ong them who experienced the emperor's clemency were ly punished by the confiscation of their estates.[52] So signal ictory was celebrated by a magnificent triumph, and Maxen- s exposed to the eyes of the people the spoils and captives a Roman province. The state of the capital was no less serving of compassion than that of Africa. The wealth of me supplied an inexhaustible fund for his vain and prodigal penses, and the ministers of his revenue were skilled in the s of rapine. It was under his reign that the method of acting a *free gift* from the senators was first invented; and, the sum was insensibly increased, the pretences of levying it, victory, a birth, a marriage, or an Imperial consulship, were oportionably multiplied.[53] Maxentius had imbibed the same placable aversion to the senate, which had characterized most the former tyrants of Rome; nor was it possible for his un- ateful temper to forgive the generous fidelity which had raised n to the throne and supported him against all his enemies. he lives of the senators were exposed to his jealous suspicions,

[50] [Spain was also in the dominion of Maxentius. This is proved by the copper ns struck for him at Tarraco (and for his son Romulus). No coins were struck him in Gaul and Britain.]

[51] Julian excludes Maxentius from the banquet of the Cæsars with abhorrence l contempt; and Zosimus (l. ii. p. 85 [14]) accuses him of every kind of cruelty l profligacy.

[52] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 83-85. Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 40].

[53] The passage of Aurelius Victor [ib.] should be read in the following manner. mus instituto pessimo, *munerum* specie, Patres *Oratoresque* pecuniam conferre digenti sibi cogeret.

the dishonour of their wives and daughters heightened t gratification of his sensual passions.[54] It may be presumed th an Imperial lover was seldom reduced to sigh in vain; bu whenever persuasion proved ineffectual, he had recourse violence; and there remains *one* memorable example of a nob matron, who preserved her chastity by a voluntary death. T soldiers were the only order of men whom he appeared respect, or studied to please. He filled Rome and Italy wi armed troops, connived at their tumults, suffered them wi impunity to plunder, and even to massacre, the defencele people;[55] and, indulging them in the same licentiousness whi their emperor enjoyed, Maxentius often bestowed on his milita favourites the splendid villa, or the beautiful wife, of a senat A prince of such a character, alike incapable of governing eith in peace or in war, might purchase the support, but he cou never obtain the esteem, of the army. Yet his pride was equ to his other vices. Whilst he passed his indolent life, eith within the walls of his palace, or in the neighbouring garde of Sallust, he was repeatedly heard to declare, that *he alone* w emperor, and that the other princes were no more than l lieutenants, on whom he had devolved the defence of t frontier provinces, that he might enjoy without interruption t elegant luxury of the capital. Rome, which had so long r gretted the absence, lamented, during the six years of his reig the presence, of her sovereign.[56]

Civil war between Constantine and Maxentius, A.D. 312

Though Constantine might view the conduct of Maxenti with abhorrence, and the situation of the Romans with compa sion, we have no reason to presume that he would have tak up arms to punish the one or to relieve the other. But t tyrant of Italy rashly ventured to provoke a formidable enem whose ambition had been hitherto restrained by considerati

[54] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. viii. 14, et in Vit. Constant 33, 34. Rufinus, c. 17. The virtuous matron, who stabbed herself to escape violence of Maxentius, was a Christian, wife to the præfect of the city, and name was Sophronia. It still remains a question among the casuists, whether, such occasions, suicide is justifiable.

[55] Prætorianis cædem vulgi quondam annueret, is the vague expression Aurelius Victor [ib.]. See more particular, though somewhat different, accou of a tumult and massacre which happened at Rome, in Eusebius (l. viii. c. and in Zosimus (l. ii. p. 84 [13]).

[56] See in the Panegyrics (ix. 14) a lively description of the indolence and v pride of Maxentius. In another place [ix. 3], the orator observes that the ric which Rome had accumulated in a period of 1060 years were lavished by tyrant on his mercenary bands; redemptis ad civile latrocinium mani ingesserat.

prudence, rather than by principles of justice.[57] After the
ıth of Maximian, his titles, according to the established
:tom, had been erased, and his statues thrown down with
ıominy. His son, who had persecuted and deserted him when
ve, affected to display the most pious regard for his memory,
l gave orders that a similar treatment should be immediately
licted on all the statues that had been erected in Italy and
rica to the honour of Constantine. That wise prince, who
cerely wished to decline a war, with the difficulty and
portance of which he was sufficiently acquainted, at first
sembled the insult, and sought for redress by the milder
)edients of negotiation, till he was convinced that the hostile
l ambitious designs of the Italian emperor made it necessary
him to arm in his own defence. Maxentius, who openly
)wed his pretensions to the whole monarchy of the West,
l already prepared a very considerable force to invade the
llic provinces on the side of Rhætia, and, though he could
: expect any assistance from Licinius, he was flattered with
: hope that the legions of Illyricum, allured by his presents
l promises, would desert the standard of that prince, and
ınimously declare themselves his soldiers and subjects.[58]
nstantine no longer hesitated. He had deliberated with
ıtion, he acted with vigour. He gave a private audience to
: ambassadors, who, in the name of the senate and people,
ıjured him to deliver Rome from a detested tyrant; and,
:hout regarding the timid remonstrances of his council, he
olved to prevent the enemy, and to carry the war into the
art of Italy.[59]

Preparations

The enterprise was as full of danger as of glory; and the un-
:cessful event of two former invasions was sufficient to inspire
: most serious apprehensions. The veteran troops, who
'ered the name of Maximian, had embraced in both those wars
: party of his son, and were now restrained by a sense of

[57] After the victory of Constantine, it was universally allowed that the motive o
vering the republic from a detested tyrant would, at any time, have justified his
edition into Italy. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 26. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 2.
[58] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 84, 85 [14]. Nazarius in Panegyr. x. 7-13.
[59] See Panegyr. Vet. ix. 2. Omnibus fere tuis Comitibus et Ducibus non solum
te mussantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus; contra consilia hominum, contra
ruspicum monita, ipse per temet liberandæ urbis tempus venisse sentires. The
)assy of the Romans is mentioned only by Zonaras (l. xiii. [1]) and by Cedrenus
Compend. Hist. p. 270 [i. p. 474, ed. Bonn]): but those modern Greeks had
opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost, among
ch we may reckon the life of Constantine by Praxagoras. Photius (p. 63) has
le a short extract from that historical work.

honour, as well as of interest, from entertaining an idea of
second desertion. Maxentius, who considered the Prætoria
guards as the firmest defence of his throne, had increased the
to their ancient establishment; and they composed, includin
the rest of the Italians who were inlisted into his service,
formidable body of fourscore thousand men. Forty thousan
Moors and Carthaginians had been raised since the reduction
Africa. Even Sicily furnished its proportion of troops; an
the army of Maxentius amounted to one hundred an
seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. Th
wealth of Italy supplied the expenses of the war; and th
adjacent provinces were exhausted to form immense magazin
of corn and every other kind of provisions. The whole force
Constantine consisted of ninety thousand foot and eight thousan
horse;[60] and, as the defence of the Rhine required an extr
ordinary attention during the absence of the emperor, it wa
not in his power to employ above half his troops in the Italia
expedition, unless he sacrificed the public safety to his priva
quarrel.[61] At the head of about forty thousand soldiers, h
marched to encounter an enemy whose numbers were at lea
four times superior to his own.[62] But the armies of Rom
placed at a secure distance from danger, were enervated by i
dulgence and luxury. Habituated to the baths and theatres
Rome, they took the field with reluctance, and were chief
composed of veterans who had almost forgotten, or of new levi
who had never acquired, the use of arms and the practice of wa
The hardy legions of Gaul had long defended the frontiers
the empire against the barbarians of the North; and in th
performance of that laborious service their valour was exercise
and their discipline confirmed. There appeared the sam
difference between the leaders as between the armies. Capric
or flattery had tempted Maxentius with the hopes of conques
but these aspiring hopes soon gave way to the habits of pleasu
and the consciousness of his inexperience. The intrepid mi

[60] Zosimus (l. ii. p. 86 [15]) has given us this curious account of the forces
both sides. He makes no mention of any naval armaments, though we are assur
(Panegyr. Vet. ix. 25) that the war was carried on by sea as well as by land; a
that the fleet of Constantine took possession of Sardinia, Corsica, and the ports
Italy.

[61] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3. It is not surprising that the orator should diminish t
numbers with which his sovereign achieved the conquest of Italy; but it appea
somewhat singular, that he should esteem the tyrant's army at no more th
100,000 men.

[62] [*Twice superior* would probably be nearer the truth.]

Constantine had been trained from his earliest youth to war, action, and to military command.

When Hannibal marched from Gaul into Italy, he was obliged, Constantine passes the Alps [Sept.]
st to discover, and then to open, a way over mountains, and rough savage nations, that had never yielded a passage to a gular army.[63] The Alps were then guarded by nature, they e now fortified by art. Citadels, constructed with no less ill than labour and expense, command every avenue into the ain, and on that side render Italy almost inaccessible to the emies of the King of Sardinia.[64] But in the course of the termediate period, the generals who have attempted the ssage have seldom experienced any difficulty or resistance. the age of Constantine, the peasants of the mountains were vilized and obedient subjects; the country was plentifully ocked with provisions, and the stupendous highways which e Romans had carried over the Alps opened several communications between Gaul and Italy.[65] Constantine preferred e road of the Cottian Alps, or, as it is now called, of Mount nis,[66] and led his troops with such active diligence that he deended into the plain of Piedmont before the court of Maxentius d received any certain intelligence of his departure from the nks of the Rhine. The city of Susa, however, which is situed at the foot of Mount Cenis, was surrounded with walls, and ovided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to check the ogress of an invader; but the impatience of Constantine's oops disdained the tedious forms of a siege. The same day at they appeared before Susa, they applied fire to the gates d ladders to the walls; and, mounting to the assault amidst shower of stones and arrows, they entered the place sword in nd, and cut in pieces the greatest part of the garrison. The mes were extinguished by the care of Constantine, and the mains of Susa preserved from total destruction. About forty les from thence, a more severe contest awaited him. A Battle of Turin

[63] The three principal passages of the Alps between Gaul and Italy are those of unt St. Bernard, Mount Cenis, and Mount Genevre. Tradition, and a resemnce of names (*Alpes Penninæ*), had assigned the first of these for the march of nnibal (see Simler de Alpibus). The Chevalier de Folard (Polybe, tom. iv.) and d'Anville have led him over Mount Genevre. But, notwithstanding the authorof an experienced officer and a learned geographer, the pretensions of Mount nis are supported in a specious, not to say a convincing manner, by M. Grosley, servations sur l'Italie, tom. i. p. 40, &c.

[64] La Brunette near Suse, Demont, Exiles, Fenestrelles, Coni, &c.

[65] See Ammian. Marcellin. xv. 10. His description of the roads over the Alps clear, lively, and accurate.

[66] [This is not certain; some think, Mount Génèvre.]

numerous army of Italians was assembled, under the lieutena
of Maxentius, in the plains of Turin. Its principal streng
consisted in a species of heavy cavalry, which the Romans, si
the decline of their discipline, had borrowed from the nations
the East. The horses, as well as the men, were clothed
complete armour, the joints of which were artfully adapted
the motions of their bodies. The aspect of this cavalry
formidable, their weight almost irresistible; and, as, on t
occasion, their generals had drawn them up in a compact colu
or wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks, th
flattered themselves that they should easily break and tram
down the army of Constantine. They might, perhaps, h
succeeded in their design, had not their experienced advers
embraced the same method of defence which in similar circu
stances had been practised by Aurelian. The skilful evoluti
of Constantine divided and baffled this massy column of cava
The troops of Maxentius fled in confusion towards Turin; a
as the gates of the city were shut against them, very few escap
the sword of the victorious pursuers. By this important serv
Turin deserved to experience the clemency and even favou
the conqueror. He made his entry into the Imperial palace
Milan, and almost all the cities of Italy between the Alps
the Po not only acknowledged the power, but embraced w
zeal the party, of Constantine.[67]

Siege and battle of Verona [Oct]

From Milan to Rome, the Æmilian and Flaminian highw
offered an easy march of about four hundred miles; but, thou
Constantine was impatient to encounter the tyrant, he prudent
directed his operations against another army of Italians, w
by their strength and position, might either oppose his progr
or, in case of a misfortune, might intercept his retreat. Ruri
Pompeianus, a general distinguished by his valour and abil
had under his command the city of Verona, and all the tro
that were stationed in the province of Venetia. As soon
he was informed that Constantine was advancing towards h
he detached a large body of cavalry, which was defeated in
engagement near Brescia, and pursued by the Gallic legions
far as the gates of Verona. The necessity, the importance,
the difficulties of the siege of Verona immediately presen
themselves to the sagacious mind of Constantine.[68] The

[67] Zosimus as well as Eusebius hasten from the passage of the Alps to th
cisive action near Rome. We must apply to the two Panegyrics for the i
mediate actions of Constantine.

[68] The Marquis Maffei has examined the siege and battle of Verona with

vas accessible only by a narrow peninsula towards the west, as he other three sides were surrounded by the Adige, a rapid iver which covered the province of Venetia, from whence the esieged derived an inexhaustible supply of men and provisions. t was not without great difficulty, and after several fruitless ttempts, that Constantine found means to pass the river, at ome distance above the city, and in a place where the torrent vas less violent. He then encompassed Verona with strong nes, pushed his attacks with prudent vigour, and repelled a esperate sally of Pompeianus. That intrepid general, when he ad used every means of defence that the strength of the place r that of the garrison could afford, secretly escaped from 'erona, anxious not for his own but for the public safety. With ndefatigable diligence he soon collected an army sufficient ither to meet Constantine in the field, or to attack him if he bstinately remained within his lines. The emperor, attentive o the motions, and informed of the approach, of so formidable n enemy, left a part of his legions to continue the operations f the siege, whilst, at the head of those troops on whose valour nd fidelity he more particularly depended, he advanced in erson to engage the general of Maxentius. The army of Gaul as drawn up in two lines, according to the usual practice of ar; but their experienced leader, perceiving that the numbers f the Italians far exceeded his own, suddenly changed his dis- osition, and, reducing the second, extended the front of his st, line to a just proportion with that of the enemy. Such volutions, which only veteran troops can execute without con- sion in a moment of danger, commonly prove decisive: but, as is engagement began towards the close of the day, and was ntested with great obstinacy during the whole night, there as less room for the conduct of the generals than for the courage f the soldiers. The return of light displayed the victory of onstantine, and a field of carnage, covered with many thousands f the vanquished Italians. Their general, Pompeianus, was und among the slain; Verona immediately surrendered at scretion, and the garrison was made prisoners of war.[69] When

gree of attention and accuracy which was due to a memorable action that pened in his native country. The fortifications of that city, constructed by Illienus, were less extensive than the modern walls, and the Amphitheatre was t included within their circumference. See Verona Illustrata, Part i. p. 142,).

[69] They wanted chains for so great a multitude of captives; and the whole ncil was at a loss; but the sagacious conqueror imagined the happy expedient converting into fetters the swords of the vanquished. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 11.

the officers of the victorious army congratulated their master c this important success, they ventured to add some respectf complaints, of such a nature, however, as the most jealo monarchs will listen to without displeasure. They represente to Constantine that, not contented with performing all th duties of a commander, he had exposed his own person with a excess of valour which almost degenerated into rashness; an they conjured him for the future to pay more regard to th preservation of a life in which the safety of Rome and of th empire was involved.[70]

Indolence and fears of Maxentius

While Constantine signalized his conduct and valour in th field, the sovereign of Italy appeared insensible of the calamiti and danger of a civil war which raged in the heart of his domi ions. Pleasure was still the only business of Maxentius. Co cealing, or at least attempting to conceal, from the publ knowledge the misfortunes of his arms,[71] he indulged himself i vain confidence which deferred the remedies of the approachin evil, without deferring the evil itself.[72] The rapid progress Constantine [73] was scarcely sufficient to awaken him from th fatal security; he flattered himself that his well-known liberalit and the majesty of the Roman name, which had already delivere him from two invasions, would dissipate with the same facilit the rebellious army of Gaul. The officers of experience an ability who had served under the banners of Maximian wer at length compelled to inform his effeminate son of the immine danger to which he was reduced; and, with a freedom that once surprised and convinced him, to urge the necessity preventing his ruin by a vigorous exertion of his remainin power. The resources of Maxentius, both of men and mone were still considerable. The Prætorian guards felt how strong their own interest and safety were connected with his cause and a third army was soon collected, more numerous than thos which had been lost in the battles of Turin and Verona. was far from the intention of the emperor to lead his troops i person. A stranger to the exercises of war, he trembled at th apprehension of so dangerous a contest; and, as fear is common

[70] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 10.

[71] Literas calamitatum suarum indices supprimebat. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 15.

[72] Remedia malorum potius quam mala differebat, is the fine censure whi Tacitus passes on the supine indolence of Vitellius.

[73] The Marquis Maffei has made it extremely probable that Constantine w still at Verona, the 1st of September, A.D. 312, and that the memorable æra the Indictions was dated from his conquest of the Cisalpine Gaul.

perstitious, he listened with melancholy attention to the mours of omens and presages which seemed to menace his e and empire. Shame at length supplied the place of courage, d forced him to take the field. He was unable to sustain e contempt of the Roman people. The circus resounded with eir indignant clamours, and they tumultuously besieged the tes of the palace, reproaching the pusillanimity of their in- lent sovereign, and celebrating the heroic spirit of Constan- ıe.[74] Before Maxentius left Rome, he consulted the Sibylline oks. The guardians of these ancient oracles were as well rsed in the arts of this world, as they were ignorant of the crets of fate; and they returned him a very prudent answer, ıich might adapt itself to the event, and secure their reputa- ın whatever should be the chance of arms.[75]

Victory of Constantine near Rome, A.D. 312, 28th [27th] Oct.

The celerity of Constantine's march has been compared to e rapid conquest of Italy by the first of the Cæsars; nor is e flattering parallel repugnant to the truth of history, since more than fifty-eight days elapsed between the surrender of erona and the final decision of the war. Constantine had ways apprehended that the tyrant would obey the dictates of ar, and perhaps of prudence; and that, instead of risking his it hopes in a general engagement, he would shut himself up thin the walls of Rome. His ample magazines secured him ainst the danger of famine; and, as the situation of Constan- ıe admitted not of delay, he might have been reduced to the l necessity of destroying with fire and sword the Imperial y, the noblest reward of his victory, and the deliverance of ıich had been the motive, or rather indeed the pretence, of e civil war.[76] It was with equal surprise and pleasure that, his arrival at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles ɔm Rome,[77] he discovered the army of Maxentius prepared to ve him battle.[78] Their long front filled a very spacious ain, and their deep array reached to the banks of the Tiber,

[74] See Panegyr. Vet. xi. 16 [*leg.* ix. 16]. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44.

[75] Illo die hostem Romanorum esse periturum. The vanquished prince became course the enemy of Rome.

[76] See Panegyr. Vet. ix. 16, x. 27. The former of these orators magnifies the ards of corn, which Maxentius had collected from Africa and the islands. And , if there is any truth in the scarcity mentioned by Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. . c. 36), the Imperial granaries must have been open only to the soldiers.

[77] Maxentius . . . tandem urbe in *Saxa Rubra*, millia ferme novem ægerrime ɔgressus. Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 40]. See Cellarius Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. 463. Saxa Rubra was in the neighbourhood of the Cremera, a trifling rivulet, ıstrated by the valour and glorious death of the three hundred Fabii.

[78] The post which Maxentius had taken, with the Tiber in his rear, is very arly described by the two Panegyrists, ix. 16, x. 28.

which covered their rear, and forbade their retreat. We a informed, and we may believe, that Constantine disposed h troops with consummate skill, and that he chose for himself th post of honour and danger. Distinguished by the splendour his arms, he charged in person the cavalry of his rival; and h irresistible attack determined the fortune of the day. Th cavalry of Maxentius was principally composed either of u wieldy cuirassiers or of light Moors and Numidians. The yielded to the vigour of the Gallic horse, which possessed mo activity than the one, more firmness than the other. The defe of the two wings left the infantry without any protection on flanks, and the undisciplined Italians fled without reluctan from the standard of a tyrant whom they had always hated, an whom they no longer feared. The Prætorians, conscious th their offences were beyond the reach of mercy, were animate by revenge and despair. Notwithstanding their repeate efforts, those brave veterans were unable to recover the victor they obtained, however, an honourable death; and it w observed that their bodies covered the same ground which h been occupied by their ranks.[79] The confusion then becam general, and the dismayed troops of Maxentius, pursued by implacable enemy, rushed by thousands into the deep an rapid stream of the Tiber. The emperor himself attempted escape back into the city over the Milvian bridge, but th crowds which pressed together through that narrow passag forced him into the river, where he was immediately drown by the weight of his armour.[80] His body, which had sunk ve deep into the mud, was found with some difficulty the ne day. The sight of his head, when it was exposed to the eyes the people, convinced them of their deliverance, and admonish them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude th fortunate Constantine, who thus achieved by his valour an ability the most splendid enterprise of his life.[81]

[79] Exceptis latrocinii illius primis auctoribus, qui, desperatâ veniâ, locum qu pugnæ sumpserant texere corporibus. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 17.

[80] A very idle rumour soon prevailed, that Maxentius, who had not taken a precaution for his own retreat, had contrived a very artful snare to destroy the ar of the pursuers; but that the wooden bridge, which was to have been loosened the approach of Constantine, unluckily broke down under the weight of the fly Italians. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part i. p. 576) v seriously examines whether, in contradiction to common sense, the testimony Eusebius and Zosimus ought to prevail over the silence of Lactantius, Nazari and the anonymous, but contemporary orator, who composed the ninth Panegy

[81] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 86-88 [15-17], and the two Panegyrics, the former of wh was pronounced a few months afterwards, afford the clearest notion of this gr battle. Lactantius, Eusebius, and even the Epitomes, supply several useful hi

In the use of victory, Constantine neither deserved the praise clemency, nor incurred the censure of immoderate rigour.[82] e inflicted the same treatment to which a defeat would have posed his own person and family, put to death the two sons of e tyrant, and carefully extirpated his whole race. The most stinguished adherents of Maxentius must have expected to are his fate, as they had shared his prosperity and his crimes: it, when the Roman people loudly demanded a greater number victims, the conqueror resisted, with firmness and humanity, ose servile clamours which were dictated by flattery as well as resentment. Informers were punished and discouraged; the nocent who had suffered under the late tyranny were recalled om exile, and restored to their estates. A general act of ob-vion quieted the minds and settled the property of the people, oth in Italy and in Africa.[83] The first time that Constantine onoured the senate with his presence, he recapitulated his own rvices and exploits in a modest oration, assured that illustrious der of his sincere regard, and promised to re-establish its ncient dignity and privileges. The grateful senate repaid these meaning professions by the empty titles of honour, which it as yet in their power to bestow; and, without presuming to tify the authority of Constantine, they passed a decree to assign im the first rank among the three *Augusti* who governed the oman world.[84] Games and festivals were instituted to preserve ne fame of his victory, and several edifices, raised at the expense of Iaxentius, were dedicated to the honour of his successful rival. he triumphal arch of Constantine still remains a melancholy roof of the decline of the arts, and a singular testimony of the eanest vanity. As it was not possible to find in the capital of ne empire a sculptor who was capable of adorning that public onument, the arch of Trajan, without any respect either for his emory or for the rules of propriety, was stripped of its most legant figures. The difference of times and persons, of actions nd characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives

His reception

[82] Zosimus, the enemy of Constantine, allows (l. ii. p. 88 [17]) that only a few the friends of Maxentius were put to death, but we may remark the expressive assage of Nazarius (Panegyr. Vet. x. 6): Omnibus qui labefactare statum ejus pterant cum stirpe deletis. The other orator (Panegyr. Vet. ix. 20, 21) contents mself with observing that Constantine, when he entered Rome, did not imitate e cruel massacres of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla.

[83] See the two Panegyrics, and the laws of this and the ensuing year, in the heodosian Code.

[84] Panegyr. Vet. ix. 20. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44. Maximin, who was con-ssedly the eldest Cæsar, claimed, with some show of reason, the first rank among e Augusti.

appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried hi arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can stil discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine. The new ornaments which it was necessary to introduce between the vacancies of ancient sculpture are executed in the rudest and most unskilful manner.[85]

and conduct at Rome

The final abolition of the Prætorian guards was a measure o prudence as well as of revenge. Those haughty troops, whose numbers and privileges had been restored, and even augmented by Maxentius, were for ever suppressed by Constantine. Their fortified camp was destroyed, and the few Prætorians who had escaped the fury of the sword were dispersed among the legions and banished to the frontiers of the empire, where they might be serviceable without again becoming dangerous.[86] By suppressing the troops which were usually stationed in Rome, Constantine gave the fatal blow to the dignity of the senate and people, and the disarmed capital was exposed without protection to the insults or neglect of its distant master. We may observe that, in this last effort to preserve their expiring freedom, the Romans, from the apprehension of a tribute, had raised Maxentius to the throne. He exacted that tribute from the senate under the name of a free gift. They implored the assistance o Constantine. He vanquished the tyrant, and converted the free gift into a perpetual tax. The senators, according to the declaration which was required of their property, were divided into several classes. The most opulent paid annually eight pounds of gold,[87] the next class paid four, the last two, and those whose poverty might have claimed an exemption were assessed, however, at seven pieces of gold. Besides the regular members of the senate, their sons, their descendants, and even their relations, enjoyed the vain privileges, and supported the heavy burdens, of the senatorial order; nor will it any longer excite our surprise that Constantine should be attentive to in

[85] Adhuc cuncta opera quæ magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum, atque basilicam Flavii meritis patres sacravere. Aurelius Victor [ib.]. With regard to the thef of Trajan's trophies, consult Flaminius Vacca, apud Montfaucon, Diarium Italicum, p. 250, and l'Antiquité Expliquée of the latter, tom. iv. p. 171.

[86] Prætoriæ legiones ac subsidia factionibus aptiora quam urbi Romæ, sublatæ penitus; simul arma atque usus indumenti militaris. Aurelius Victor. Zosimus (l. II, p. 89 [17]) mentions this fact as an historian; and it is very pompously celebrated in the ninth Panegyric.

[87] [This senatorial tax was known as the *follis* (also *gleba*, or *descriptio*). The senator had further to pay an *aurum oblaticium* to the emperor on such festal occasions as the celebration of the Quinquennalia.]

ase the number of persons who were included under so useful escription.[88] After the defeat of Maxentius, the victorious peror passed no more than two or three months in Rome, ich he visited twice during the remainder of his life, to cele- te the solemn festivals of the tenth and of the twentieth rs of his reign. Constantine was almost perpetually in motion, exercise the legions, or to inspect the state of the provinces. ves, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Naissus and Thessalonica were occasional places of his residence, till he founded A NEW ME on the confines of Europe and Asia.[89]

His alliance with Licinius A.D. 313, March

Before Constantine marched into Italy, he had secured the ndship, or at least the neutrality, of Licinius, the Illyrian peror. He had promised his sister Constantia in marriage that prince; but the celebration of the nuptials was deferred after the conclusion of the war; and the interview of the emperors at Milan, which was appointed for that purpose, peared to cement the union of their families and interests.[90] the midst of the public festivity they were suddenly iged to take leave of each other. An inroad of the Franks amoned Constantine to the Rhine, and the hostile approach the sovereign of Asia demanded the immediate presence of inius. Maximin had been the secret ally of Maxentius, and, hout being discouraged by his fate, he resolved to try the tune of a civil war. He moved out of Syria towards the ntiers of Bithynia, in the depth of winter. The season s severe and tempestuous; great numbers of men as well as ses perished in the snow; and, as the roads were broken by incessant rains, he was obliged to leave behind him a siderable part of the heavy baggage, which was unable follow the rapidity of his forced marches. By this extra- linary effort of diligence, he arrived with a harassed but

War between Maximin and Licinius. A.D. 313

[88] Ex omnibus provinciis optimates viros Curiæ tuæ pigneraveris; ut Senatûs nitas . . . ex totius Orbis flore consisteret. Nazarius in Panegyr. Vet. x. 35. word *pigneraveris* might almost seem maliciously chosen. Concerning the atorial tax, see Zosimus, l. ii. p. 115 [38], the second title of the sixth book of Theodosian Code, with Godefroy's Commentary, and Mémoires de l'Académie Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 726.

[89] From the Theodosian Code, we may now begin to trace the motions of the perors; but the dates both of time and place have frequently been altered by carelessness of transcribers.

[90] Zosimus (l. ii. p. 89 [17]) observes that, before the war, the sister of Constan- had been betrothed to Licinius. According to the younger Victor, Diocletian invited to the nuptials; but, having ventured to plead his age and infirmities, received a second letter filled with reproaches for his supposed partiality to the se of Maxentius and Maximin. [Epit. 39.]

formidable army on the banks of the Thracian Bosphor
before the lieutenants of Licinius were apprized of his hosti
intentions. Byzantium surrendered to the power of Maximi
after a siege of eleven days. He was detained some days und
the walls of Heraclea; and he had no sooner taken possession
that city than he was alarmed by the intelligence that Licini
The defeat April 30 had pitched his camp at the distance of only eighteen mile
After a fruitless negotiation, in which the two princes attempt
to seduce the fidelity of each other's adherents, they had r
course to arms. The emperor of the East commanded
disciplined and veteran army of above seventy thousand me
and Licinius, who had collected about thirty thousand Illyrian
was at first oppressed by the superiority of numbers. H
military skill and the firmness of his troops restored the da
and obtained a decisive victory. The incredible speed whi
Maximin exerted in his flight is much more celebrated than h
prowess in the battle. Twenty-four hours afterwards he w
seen pale, trembling, and without his Imperial ornaments,
Nicomedia, one hundred and sixty miles from the place of h
defeat. The wealth of Asia was yet unexhausted; and, thou
the flower of his veterans had fallen in the late action, he ha
still power, if he could obtain time, to draw very numero
and death of the former, August levies from Syria and Egypt. But he survived his misfortu
only three or four months. His death, which happened
Tarsus, was variously ascribed to despair, to poison, and to th
divine justice. As Maximin was alike destitute of abilities an
of virtue, he was lamented neither by the people nor by th
soldiers. The provinces of the East, delivered from the terro
of civil war, cheerfully acknowledged the authority of Licinius
Cruelty of Licinius The vanquished emperor left behind him two children, a bo
of about eight, and a girl of about seven, years old. The
inoffensive age might have excited compassion; but the cor
passion of Licinius was a very feeble resource, nor did it restra
him from *extinguishing* the name and memory of his adversar
The death of Severianus will admit of less excuse, as it w
dictated neither by revenge nor by policy. The conqueror ha
never received any injury from the father of that unhapp
youth, and the short and obscure reign of Severus in a dista
part of the empire was already forgotten. But the executi

[91] Zosimus mentions the defeat and death of Maximin as ordinary events; t
Lactantius expatiates on them (de M. P. c. 45-50), ascribing them to the miracul
interposition of Heaven. Licinius at that time was one of the protectors of
church.

f Candidianus was an act of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude. He was the natural son of Galerius, the friend and benefactor f Licinius. The prudent father had judged him too young to ustain the weight of a diadem; but he hoped that, under the rotection of princes who were indebted to his favour for the mperial purple, Candidianus might pass a secure and honourble life. He was now advancing towards the twentieth year f his age, and the royalty of his birth, though unsupported ither by merit or ambition, was sufficient to exasperate the ealous mind of Licinius.[92] To these innocent and illustrious ictims of his tyranny, we must add the wife and daughter of he emperor Diocletian. When that prince conferred on alerius the title of Cæsar, he had given him in marriage his laughter Valeria, whose melancholy adventures might furnish very singular subject for tragedy. She had fulfilled, and ven surpassed, the duties of a wife. As she had not any hildren herself, she condescended to adopt the illegitimate son f her husband, and invariably displayed towards the unhappy andidianus the tenderness and anxiety of a real mother. fter the death of Galerius, her ample possessions provoked he avarice, and her personal attractions excited the desires, of is successor Maximin.[93] He had a wife still alive; but divorce vas permitted by the Roman law, and the fierce passions of he tyrant demanded an immediate gratification. The answer f Valeria was such as became the daughter and widow of mperors; but it was tempered by the prudence which her lefenceless condition compelled her to observe. She represented o the persons whom Maximin had employed on this occasion 'that, even if honour could permit a woman of her character nd dignity to entertain a thought of second nuptials, decency t least must forbid her to listen to his addresses at a time vhen the ashes of her husband and his benefactor were still varm, and while the sorrows of her mind were still expressed y her mourning garments. She ventured to declare that she ould place very little confidence in the professions of a man,

Unfortunate fate of the empress Valeria and her mother

[92] Lactantius de M. P. c. 50. Aurelius Victor touches on the different conduct f Licinius, and of Constantine, in the use of victory.

[93] The sensual appetites of Maximin were gratified at the expense of his subjects. Is eunuchs, who forced away wives and virgins, examined their naked charms ith anxious curiosity, lest any part of their body should be found unworthy of the oyal embraces. Coyness and disdain were considered as treason, and the bstinate fair one was condemned to be drowned. A custom was gradually ntroduced, that no person should marry a wife without the permission of the mperor, "ut ipse in omnibus nuptiis prægustator esset". Lactantius de M. P. c. 38.

whose cruel inconstancy was capable of repudiating a faithfu and affectionate wife." [94] On this repulse, the love of Maximi was converted into fury; and, as witnesses and judges were always at his disposal, it was easy for him to cover his fury with an appearance of legal proceedings, and to assault the reputation as well as the happiness of Valeria. Her estates were confiscated, her eunuchs and domestics devoted to the most inhuman tortures, and several innocent and respectable matrons who were honoured with her friendship, suffered death on a false accusation of adultery. The empress herself, together with her mother Prisca, was condemned to exile; and, as they were ignominiously hurried from place to place before they were confined to a sequestered village in the deserts of Syria, they exposed their shame and distress to the provinces of the East which, during thirty years, had respected their august dignity. Diocletian made several ineffectual efforts to alleviate the misfortunes of his daughter; and, as the last return that he expected for the Imperial purple, which he had conferred upon Maximin, he entreated that Valeria might be permitted to share his retirement of Salona, and to close the eyes of her afflicted father.[95] He entreated, but, as he could no longer threaten, his prayers were received with coldness and disdain; and the pride of Maximin was gratified in treating Diocletian as a suppliant, and his daughter as a criminal. The death of Maximin seemed to assure the empresses of a favourable alteration in their fortune. The public disorders relaxed the vigilance of their guard, and they easily found means to escape from the place of their exile, and to repair, though with some precaution and in disguise, to the court of Licinius. His behaviour, in the first days of his reign, and the honourable reception which he gave to young Candidianus, inspired Valeria with a secret satisfaction, both on her own account, and on that of her adopted son. But these grateful prospects were soon succeeded by horror and astonishment; and the bloody executions which stained the palace of Nicomedia sufficiently convinced her that the throne of Maximin was filled by a tyrant more inhuman than himself. Valeria consulted her safety by a hasty flight, and, still accompanied by her mother Prisca, they wandered

[94] Lactantius de M. P. c. 39.

[95] Diocletian at last sent cognatum suum, quendam militarem ac potentem virum, to intercede in favour of his daughter (Lactantius de M. P. c. 41). We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of these times, to point out the person who was employed.

ove fifteen months[96] through the provinces, concealed in the sguise of plebeian habits. They were at length discovered at nessalonica; and, as the sentence of their death was already onounced, they were immediately beheaded, and their bodies rown into the sea. The people gazed on the melancholy ectacle; but their grief and indignation were suppressed by ıe terrors of a military guard. Such was the unworthy fate of ıe wife and daughter of Diocletian. We lament their mis-rtunes, we cannot discover their crimes; and, whatever idea e may justly entertain of the cruelty of Licinius, it remains a atter of surprise that he was not contented with some more :cret and decent method of revenge.[97]

The Roman world was now divided between Constantine and icinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the tter of the East. It might perhaps have been expected that ıe conquerors, fatigued with civil war, and connected by a rivate as well as public alliance, would have renounced, or at ast would have suspended, any farther designs of ambition. nd yet a year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Maximin, efore the victorious emperors turned their arms against each ther. The genius, the success, and the aspiring temper of onstantine may seem to mark him out as the aggressor; but ıe perfidious character of Licinius justifies the most unfavourable ıspicions, and by the faint light which history reflects on this ansaction[98] we may discover a conspiracy fomented by his rts against the authority of his colleague. Constantine had ıtely given his sister Anastasia in marriage to Bassianus, a man f a considerable family and fortune, and had elevated his new insman to the rank of Cæsar. According to the system of overnment instituted by Diocletian, Italy, and perhaps Africa, ere designed for his department in the empire. But the per-ormance of the promised favour was either attended with so ıuch delay, or accompanied with so many unequal conditions,

Quarrel between Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 314

[96] Valeria quoque per varias provincias quindecim mensibus plebeio cultû pervaata. Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. There is some doubt whether we should ompute the fifteen months from the moment of her exile, or from that of her scape. The expression of *pervagata* seems to denote the latter; but in that case e must suppose that the treatise of Lactantius was written after the first civil war etween Licinius and Constantine. See Cuper, p. 254.

[97] Ita illis pudicitia et conditio exitio fuit. Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. He reates the misfortunes of the innocent wife and daughter of Diocletian with a very atural mixture of pity and exultation.

[98] The curious reader, who consults the Valesian Fragment, p. 713, will perhaps ccuse me of giving a bold and licentious paraphrase; but, if he considers it with ttention, he will acknowledge that my interpretation is probable and consistent.

that the fidelity of Bassianus was alienated rather than secured by the honourable distinction which he had obtained. His nomination had been ratified by the consent of Licinius, and that artful prince, by the means of his emissaries, soon contrived to enter into a secret and dangerous correspondence with the new Cæsar, to irritate his discontents, and to urge him to the rash enterprise of extorting by violence what he might in vain solicit from the justice of Constantine. But the vigilant emperor discovered the conspiracy before it was ripe for execution; and, after solemnly renouncing the alliance of Bassianus, despoiled him of the purple and inflicted the deserved punishment on his treason and ingratitude. The haughty refusal of Licinius, when he was required to deliver up the criminals who had taken refuge in his dominions, confirmed the suspicions already entertained of his perfidy; and the indignities offered at Æmona, on the frontiers of Italy, to the statues of Constantine, became the signal of discord between the two princes.[99]

First civil war between them. Battle of Cibalis, A.D 315 [314], 8th Octob.

The first battle was fought near Cibalis, a city of Pannonia, situated on the river Save, about fifty miles above Sirmium.[100] From the inconsiderable forces which in this important contest two such powerful monarchs brought into the field, it may be inferred that the one was suddenly provoked, and that the other was unexpectedly surprised. The emperor of the West had only twenty thousand, and the sovereign of the East no more than five and thirty thousand, men. The inferiority of number was, however, compensated by the advantage of the ground. Constantine had taken post in a defile about half a mile in breadth, between a steep hill and a deep morass; and in that situation he steadily expected and repulsed the first attack of the enemy. He pursued his success, and advanced into the plain. But the veteran legions of Illyricum rallied under the standard of a leader who had been trained to arms in the school of Probus and Diocletian. The missile weapons on both sides were soon exhausted; the two armies, with equal valour, rushed to a closer engagement of swords and spears, and

[99] The situation of Æmona, or as it is now called Laybach, in Carniola (d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 187), may suggest a conjecture. As it lay to the north-east of the Julian Alps, that important territory became a natural object of dispute between the sovereigns of Italy and of Illyricum.

[100] Cibalis or Cibalæ [now Vinkovce] (whose name is still preserved in the obscure ruins of Swilei) was situated about fifty miles from Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, and about one hundred from Taurunum, or Belgrade, and the conflux of the Danube and the Save. The Roman garrisons and cities on those rivers are finely illustrated by M. d'Anville, in a memoir inserted in l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.

ıe doubtful contest had already lasted from the dawn of day
› a late hour of the evening when the right wing, which
onstantine led in person, made a vigorous and decisive charge.
he judicious retreat of Licinius saved the remainder of his
oops from a total defeat; but, when he computed his loss,
hich amounted to more than twenty thousand men, he thought
unsafe to pass the night in the presence of an active and
ctorious enemy. Abandoning his camp and magazines, he
ıarched away with secrecy and diligence at the head of the
reatest part of his cavalry, and was soon removed beyond the
anger of a pursuit. His diligence preserved his wife, his son,
ıd his treasures, which he had deposited at Sirmium. Licinius
ıssed through that city, and, breaking down the bridge on the
ave, hastened to collect a new army in Dacia and Thrace. In
is flight he bestowed the precarious title of Cæsar on Valens,
is general of the Illyrian frontier.[101]

Battle of Mardia

The plain of Mardia in Thrace was the theatre of a second battle no less obstinate and bloody than the former. The troops on both sides displayed the same valour and discipline; and the victory was once more decided by the superior abilities of Constantine, who directed a body of five thousand men to gain an advantageous height, from whence, during the heat of the action, they attacked the rear of the enemy, and made a very considerable slaughter. The troops of Licinius, however, presenting a double front, still maintained their ground, till the approach of night put an end to the combat, and secured their retreat towards the mountains of Macedonia.[102] The loss of two battles, and of his bravest veterans, reduced the fierce spirit of Licinius to sue for peace. His ambassador, Mistrianus, was admitted to the audience of Constantine; he expatiated on the common topics of moderation and humanity, which are so familiar to the eloquence of the vanquished; represented, in the most insinuating language, that the event of the war was still doubtful, whilst its inevitable calamities were alike pernicious to both the contending parties; and declared that he was authorized to propose a lasting and honourable peace in the name of the *two* emperors his masters. Constantine received the mention of Valens with indignation and contempt. "It

[101] Zosimus (l. ii. p. 90, 91 [18]) gives a very particular account of this battle; but the descriptions of Zosimus are rhetorical rather than military.

[102] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 92, 93 [19]. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713 [5; 17, 18]. The epitomes furnish some circumstances; but they frequently confound the two wars between Licinius and Constantine.

was not for such a purpose," he sternly replied, "that we have advanced from the shores of the western ocean in an uninterrupted course of combats and victories, that, after rejecting an ungrateful kinsman, we should accept for our colleague a contemptible slave. The abdication of Valens is the first article of the treaty." [103] It was necessary to accept this humiliating condition, and the unhappy Valens, after a reign of a few days, was deprived of the purple and of his life. As soon as the obstacle was removed, the tranquillity of the Roman world was easily restored. The successive defeats of Licinius had ruined his forces, but they had displayed his courage and abilities. His situation was almost desperate, but the efforts of despair are sometimes formidable; and the good sense of Constantine preferred a great and certain advantage to a third trial of the chance of arms. He consented to leave his rival, or, as he again styled Licinius, his friend and brother, in the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; but the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, were yielded to the western empire, and the dominions of Constantine now extended from the confines of Caledonia to the extremity of Peloponnesus. It was stipulated by the same treaty that three royal youths, the sons of the emperors, should be called to the hopes of the succession. Crispus and the younger Constantine were soon afterwards declared Cæsars in the West, while the younger Licinius was invested with the same dignity in the East. In this double proportion of honours, the conqueror asserted the superiority of his arms and power.[104]

Treaty of peace, December

The reconciliation of Constantine and Licinius, though it was embittered by resentment and jealousy, by the remembrance of recent injuries, and by the apprehension of future dangers, maintained, however, above eight years, the tranquillity of the

General peace and laws of Constantine, A.D. 315-323

[103] Petrus Patricius in the Excerpt. Legat. p. 27 [F.G.H. iv. p. 190]. If it should be thought that γάμβρος signifies more properly a son-in-law we might conjecture, that Constantine, assuming the name as well as the duties of a father, had adopted his younger brothers and sisters, the children of Theodora. But in the best authors γάμβρος sometimes signifies a husband, sometimes a father-in-law, and sometimes a kinsman in general See Spanheim Observat. ad Julian. Orat. i. p. 72.

[104] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 93 [20]. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713. Eutropius, x. 5. Aurelius Victor. Euseb. in Chron. Sozomen. l. i. c. 2. Four of these writers affirm that the promotion of the Cæsars was an article of the treaty. It is however certain that the younger Constantine and Licinius were not yet born; and it is highly probable that the promotion was made the 1st of March, A.D. 317. The treaty had probably stipulated that two Cæsars might be created by the western, and one only by the eastern, emperor; but each of them reserved to himself the choice of the persons.

man world. As a very regular series of the Imperial laws mmences about this period, it would not be difficult to nscribe the civil regulations which employed the leisure of nstantine. But the most important of his institutions are timately connected with the new system of policy and religion, hich was not perfectly established till the last and peaceful ars of his reign. There are many of his laws which, as far as ey concern the rights and property of individuals, and the actice of the bar, are more properly referred to the private an to the public jurisprudence of the empire; and he published any edicts of so local and temporary a nature, that they would deserve the notice of a general history. Two laws, however, ay be selected from the crowd; the one, for its importance, e other, for its singularity; the former for its remarkable nevolence, the latter for its excessive severity. 1. The horrid actice, so familiar to the ancients, of exposing or murdering eir new-born infants, was become every day more frequent the provinces, and especially in Italy. It was the effect of stress; and the distress was principally occasioned by the tolerable burden of taxes, and by the vexatious as well as cruel osecutions of the officers of the revenue against their insolvent btors. The less opulent or less industrious part of mankind, stead of rejoicing in an increase of family, deemed it an act of ternal tenderness to release their children from the impending iseries of a life which they themselves were unable to support. he humanity of Constantine, moved, perhaps, by some recent d extraordinary instances of despair, engaged him to address edict to all the cities of Italy, and afterwards of Africa, recting immediate and sufficient relief to be given to those arents who should produce, before the magistrates, the children hom their own poverty would not allow them to educate. But e promise was too liberal, and the provision too vague, to fect any general or permanent benefit.[105] The law, though it ay merit some praise, served rather to display than to alleviate e public distress. It still remains an authentic monument to ntradict and confound those venal orators, who were too well tisfied with their own situation to discover either vice or isery under the government of a generous sovereign.[106] 2.

[105] Codex Theodosian. l. xi. tit. 27. tom. iv. p. 188, with Godefroy's observations. e likewise, l. v. tit. 7-8.

[106] Omnia foris placita, domi prospera, annonæ ubertate, fructuum copiâ, &c. negyr. Vet. x. 38. This oration of Nazarius was pronounced on the day of the uinquennalia of the Cæsars, the 1st of March, A.D. 321.

The laws of Constantine against rapes were dictated with very little indulgence for the most amiable weaknesses of human nature; since the description of that crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but even to the gentle seduction which might persuade, an unmarried woman, under the age of twenty-five, to leave the house of her parents. "The successful ravisher was punished with death; and, as if simple death was inadequate to the enormity of his guilt, he was either burnt alive or torn in pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The virgin's declaration that she had been carried away with her own consent, instead of saving her lover, exposed her to share his fate. The duty of a public prosecution was intrusted to the parents of the guilty or unfortunate maid; and if the sentiments of Nature prevailed on them to dissemble the injury, and to repair by a subsequent marriage the honour of their family, they were themselves punished by exile and confiscation. The slaves, whether male or female, who were convicted of having been accessary to the rape or seduction, were burnt alive, or put to death by the ingenious torture of pouring down their throats a quantity of melted lead. As the crime was of a public kind, the accusation was permitted even to strangers. The commencement of the action was not limited to any term of years, and the consequences of the sentence were extended to the innocent offspring of such an irregular union."[107] But, whenever the offence inspires less horror than the punishment, the rigour of penal law is obliged to give way to the common feelings of mankind. The most odious parts of this edict were softened or repealed in the subsequent reigns;[108] and even Constantine himself very frequently alleviated, by partial acts of mercy, the stern temper of his general institutions. Such, indeed, was the singular humour of that emperor, who showed himself as indulgent, and even remiss, in the execution of his laws, as he was severe, and even cruel, in the enacting of them. It is scarcely possible to observe a more decisive symptom of weakness, either in the character of the prince, or in the constitution of the government.[109]

[107] See the edict of Constantine, addressed to the Roman people in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 24, tom. iii. p. 189. [Date: A.D. 320, April 1, Aquileia.]

[108] His son very fairly assigns the true reason of the repeal: "Ne sub specie atrocioris judicii aliqua in ulciscendo crimine dilatio nasceretur". Cod. Theod. tom. iii. p. 193.

[109] Eusebius (in Vitâ Constant. l. iii. c. 1) chooses to affirm that in the reign of his hero the sword of justice hung idle in the hands of the magistrates. Eusebius himself (l. iv. c. 29, 54) and the Theodosian Code will inform us that this excessive lenity was not owing to the want either of atrocious criminals or of penal laws.

The civil administration was sometimes interrupted by the The Gothic war, A.D. 322
itary defence of the empire. Crispus, a youth of the most
able character, who had received with the title of Cæsar the
mand of the Rhine, distinguished his conduct, as well as
our, in several victories over the Franks and Alemanni; and
ght the barbarians of that frontier to dread the eldest son of
stantine, and the grandson of Constantius.[110] The emperor
self had assumed the more difficult and important province
he Danube. The Goths, who in the time of Claudius and
elian had felt the weight of the Roman arms, respected the
er of the empire, even in the midst of its intestine divisions.
the strength of that warlike nation was now restored by a
ce of near fifty years; a new generation had arisen, who no
er remembered the misfortunes of ancient days: the Sar-
ians of the lake Mæotis followed the Gothic standard, either
subjects or as allies, and their united force was poured upon
countries of Illyricum. Campona, Margus, and Bononia
ear to have been the scenes of several memorable sieges and
les;[111] and, though Constantine encountered a very obstinate
stance, he prevailed at length in the contest, and the Goths
e compelled to purchase an ignominious retreat by restoring
booty and prisoners which they had taken. Nor was this
antage sufficient to satisfy the indignation of the emperor.
resolved to chastise as well as to repulse the insolent bar-
ans who had dared to invade the territories of Rome. At
head of the legions he passed the Danube, after repairing
bridge which had been constructed by Trajan, penetrated
the strongest recesses of Dacia,[112] and, when he had inflicted
vere revenge, condescended to give peace to the suppliant
hs, on condition that, as often as they were required, they
uld supply his armies with a body of forty thousand soldiers.[113]

[109] Nazarius in Panegyr. Vet. x. [36]. The victory of Crispus over the Alemanni pressed on some medals.

[110] See Zosimus, l. ii. p. 93, 94 [21]; though the narrative of that historian is ier clear nor consistent. The Panegyric of Optatianus (c. 23 [in Epigr. Vet. , p. 355]) mentions the alliance of the Sarmatians with the Carpi and Getæ, points out the several fields of battle. It is supposed that the Sarmatian games, rated in the month of November, derived their origin from the success of this and also the ludi Gothici, 9th February: *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i. p. 386].

[111] In the Cæsars of Julian (p. 329. Commentaire de Spanheim, p. 252.) Con- ine boasts that he had recovered the province (Dacia), which Trajan had ued. But it is insinuated by Silenus that the conquests of Constantine were the gardens of Adonis, which fade and wither almost the moment they appear.

[112] Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 21. I know not whether we may entirely de- on his authority. Such an alliance has a very recent air, and scarcely is suited e maxims of the beginning of the fourth century.

Exploits like these were no doubt honourable to Constant and beneficial to the state; but it may surely be questior whether they can justify the exaggerated assertion of Euseb that ALL SCYTHIA, as far as the extremity of the North, divic as it was into so many names and nations of the most various a savage manners, had been added by his victorious arms to Roman empire.[114]

Second civil war between Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 323

In this exalted state of glory it was impossible that Const tine should any longer endure a partner in the empire. C fiding in the superiority of his genius and military power, determined, without any previous injury, to exert them for destruction of Licinius, whose advanced age and unpopular vi seemed to offer a very easy conquest.[115] But the old empe awakened by the approaching danger, deceived the expectati of his friends as well as of his enemies. Calling forth that sp and those abilities by which he had deserved the friendship Galerius and the Imperial purple, he prepared himself for contest, collected the forces of the East, and soon filled plains of Hadrianople with his troops, and the Streights of Hellespont with his fleet. The army consisted of one hund and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; and, as cavalry was drawn, for the most part, from Phrygia and Cap docia, we may conceive a more favourable opinion of the bea of the horses than of the courage and dexterity of their rid The fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty galleys three ranks of oars. An hundred and thirty of these w furnished by Egypt, and the adjacent coast of Africa. hundred and ten sailed from the ports of Phœnicia and the of Cyprus; and the maritime countries of Bithynia, Ionia, a Caria were likewise obliged to provide an hundred and galleys. The troops of Constantine were ordered to rendezv at Thessalonica; they amounted to above an hundred a twenty thousand horse and foot.[116] Their emperor was satisf with their martial appearance, and his army contained m soldiers, though fewer men, than that of his eastern competi The legions of Constantine were levied in the war-like provin

[114] Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 8. This passage, however, is taken f a general declamation on the greatness of Constantine, and not from any partic account of the Gothic war.

[115] Constantinus tamen vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quæ animo præpa set simul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit. Eutropiu 5. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 89 [18]. The reasons which they have assigned for the civil war may, with more propriety, be applied to the second.

[116] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 94, 95 [22].

Europe; action had confirmed their discipline, victory had evated their hopes, and there were among them a great mber of veterans, who, after seventeen glorious campaigns der the same leader, prepared themselves to deserve an nourable dismission by a last effort of their valour.[117] But e naval preparations of Constantine were in every respect ıch inferior to those of Licinius. The maritime cities of reece sent their respective quotas of men and ships to the lebrated harbour of Piræus, and their united forces consisted no more than two hundred small vessels: a very feeble armaent, if it is compared with those formidable fleets which were uipped and maintained by the republic of Athens during the loponnesian war.[118] Since Italy was no longer the seat of vernment, the naval establishments of Misenum and Ravenna d been gradually neglected; and, as the shipping and mariners the empire were supported by commerce rather than by war, was natural that they should the most abound in the industris provinces of Egypt and Asia. It is only surprising that e eastern emperor, who possessed so great a superiority at sea, ould have neglected the opportunity of carrying an offensive ır into the centre of his rival's dominions.

Battle of Hadrianople, A.D. 323, July 3

Instead of embracing such an active resolution, which might ve changed the whole face of the war, the prudent Licinius pected the approach of his rival in a camp near Hadrianople, ıich he had fortified with an anxious care that betrayed his prehension of the event. Constantine directed his march ɔm Thessalonica towards that part of Thrace, till he found mself stopped by the broad and rapid stream of the Hebrus, d discovered the numerous army of Licinius, which filled the ep ascent of the hill, from the river to the city of Hadrianople. any days were spent in doubtful and distant skirmishes; but length the obstacles of the passage and of the attack were moved by the intrepid conduct of Constantine. In this place might relate a wonderful exploit of Constantine, which, ough it can scarce be paralleled either in poetry or romance,

[117] Constantine was very attentive to the privileges and comforts of his fellow-erans (Conveterani), as he now began to style them. See the Theodosian Code, ii. tit 20, tom. ii. p. 419-429.

[118] Whilst the Athenians maintained the empire of the sea, their fleet consisted three, and afterwards of four, hundred galleys of three ranks of oars, all comtely equipped and ready for immediate service. The arsenal in the port of æus had cost the republic a thousand talents, about two hundred and sixteen ɔusand pounds. See Thucydides de Bel. Peloponn. l. ii. c. 13, and Meursius de rtunâ Atticâ, c. 19.

is celebrated, not by a venal orator devoted to his fortu
but by an historian, the partial enemy of his fame. We a
assured that the valiant emperor threw himself into the riv
Hebrus, accompanied only by *twelve* horsemen, and that, by t
effort or terror of his invincible arm, he broke, slaughtered, and p
to flight a host of an hundred and fifty thousand men. T
credulity of Zosimus prevailed so strongly over his passion th
among the events of the memorable battle of Hadrianople,
seems to have selected and embellished, not the most importa
but the most marvellous. The valour and danger of Constanti
are attested by a slight wound which he received in the thig
but it may be discovered even from an imperfect narration, ar
perhaps, a corrupted text, that the victory was obtained no l
by the conduct of the general than by the courage of the her
that a body of five thousand archers marched round to occu
a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whose attention w
diverted by the construction of a bridge; and that Licini
perplexed by so many artful evolutions, was reluctantly dra
from his advantageous post to combat on equal ground in t
plain. The contest was no longer equal. His confus
multitude of new levies was easily vanquished by the experienc
veterans of the West. Thirty-four thousand men are report
to have been slain. The fortified camp of Licinius was tak
by assault the evening of the battle; the greater part of t
fugitives, who had retired to the mountains, surrender
themselves the next day to the discretion of the conquero
and his rival, who could no longer keep the field, confined hi
self within the walls of Byzantium.[119]

Siege of Byzantium and naval victory of Crispus

The siege of Byzantium, which was immediately undertak
by Constantine, was attended with great labour and uncertain
In the late civil wars, the fortifications of that place, so jus
considered as the key of Europe and Asia, had been repair
and strengthened; and, as long as Licinius remained master
the sea, the garrison was much less exposed to the danger
famine than the army of the besiegers. The naval command
of Constantine were summoned to his camp, and received
positive orders to force the passage of the Hellespont, as t
fleet of Licinius, instead of seeking and destroying their feel

[119] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 95, 96 [21 *sqq.*]. This great battle is described in
Valesian fragment (p. 714), in a clear though concise manner. "Licinius v
circum Hadrianopolin maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat: i
toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terrâ marique traheretur, quan
per arduum suis nitentibus, attamen disciplinâ militari et felicitate, Constanti
Licinii confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum; leviter femore sauciat

emy, continued inactive in those narrow streights where its periority of numbers was of little use or advantage. Crispus, e emperor's eldest son, was intrusted with the execution of is daring enterprise, which he performed with so much courage d success, that he deserved the esteem, and most probably cited the jealousy, of his father. The engagement lasted two ys, and, in the evening of the first, the contending fleets, after considerable and mutual loss, retired into their respective rbours of Europe and Asia. The second day about noon a rong south wind[120] sprang up, which carried the vessels of rispus against the enemy; and, as the casual advantage was proved by his skilful intrepidity, he soon obtained a complete ctory. An hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed, five housand men were slain, and Amandus, the admiral of the siatic fleet, escaped with the utmost difficulty to the shores of halcedon. As soon as the Hellespont was open, a plentiful nvoy of provisions flowed into the camp of Constantine, who ad already advanced the operations of the siege. He con-ructed artificial mounds of earth of an equal height with the mparts of Byzantium. The lofty towers which were erected n that foundation galled the besieged with large stones and arts from the military engines, and the battering rams had haken the walls in several places. If Licinius persisted much onger in the defence, he exposed himself to be involved in the uin of the place. Before he was surrounded, he prudently emoved his person and treasures to Chalcedon in Asia; and, as ie was always desirous of associating companions to the hopes nd dangers of his fortune, he now bestowed the title of Cæsar n Martinianus, who exercised one of the most important offices f the empire.[121]

Such were still the resources, and such the abilities, of Licinius, hat, after so many successive defeats, he collected in Bithynia a new army of fifty or sixty thousand men, while the activity of Constantine was employed in the siege of Byzantium. The vigilant emperor did not, however, neglect the last struggles of his antagonist. A considerable part of his victorious army was

Battle of Chrysopolis [Sept. 18 or 20]

[120] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 97, 98 [24]. The current always sets out of the Hellespont; and, when it is assisted by a north wind, no vessel can attempt the passage. A south wind renders the force of the current almost imperceptible. See Tournefort's Voyage au Levant, Let. xi.

[121] Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 41]. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 98 [25]. According to the latter, Martinianus was Magister Officiorum (he uses the Latin appellation in Greek). Some medals [struck at Nicomedia] seem to intimate that during his short reign he received the title of Augustus.

transported over the Bosphorus in small vessels, and the decisive engagement was fought soon after their landing on the heights of Chrysopolis, or, as it is now called, of Scutari. The troops of Licinius, though they were lately raised, ill armed, and worse disciplined, made head against their conquerors with fruitless but desperate valour, till a total defeat and the slaughter of five and twenty thousand men irretrievably determined the fate of their leader.[122] He retired to Nicomedia, rather with the view of gaining some time for negotiation than with the hope of any effectual defence. Constantia, his wife and the sister of Constantine, interceded with her brother in favour of her husband, and obtained from his policy, rather than from his compassion, a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that after the sacrifice of Martinianus, and the resignation of the purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace and affluence. The behaviour of Constantia and her relation to the contending parties, naturally recalls the remembrance of that virtuous matron who was the sister of Augustus and the wife of Antony. But the temper of mankind was altered, and it was no longer esteemed infamous for a Roman to survive his honour and independence. Licinius solicited and accepted the pardon of his offences, laid himself and his purple at the feet of his *lord* and *master*, was raised from the ground with insulting pity, was admitted the same day to the Imperial banquet, and soon afterwards was sent away to Thessalonica, which had been chosen for the place of his confinement.[123] His confinement was soon terminated by death, and it is doubtful whether a tumult of the soldiers, or a decree of the senate, was suggested as the motive for his execution. According to the rules of tyranny, he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the barbarians; but as he was never convicted, either by his own conduct or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed, from his weakness, to presume his innocence.[124] The memory of Licinius was

Submission and death of Licinius

[122] Eusebius (in Vitâ Constantin. l. ii. c. 16, 17) ascribes this decisive victory to the pious prayers of the emperor. The Valesian fragment (p. 714) mentions a body of Gothic auxiliaries, under their chief Aliquaca, who adhered to the party of Licinius.

[123] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 102 [28]. Victor Junior in Epitome [41]. Anonym. Valesian, p. 714.

[124] Contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus est. Eutropius x. 6; and his evidence is confirmed by St. Jerome (in Chronic.) as well as by Zosimus, l. ii. p. 102 [28]. The Valesian writer is the only one who mentions the soldiers, and it is Zonaras alone [xiii. 1] who calls in the assistance of the senate. Eusebius prudently slides over this delicate transaction. But Sozomen, a century afterwards, ventures to assert the treasonable practices of Licinius.

randed with infamy, his statues were thrown down, and by a asty edict, of such mischievous tendency that it was almost mmediately corrected, all his laws, and all the judicial proceedngs of his reign, were at once abolished.[125] By this victory of Constantine, the Roman world was again united under the uthority of one emperor, thirty-seven years after Diocletian ad divided his power and provinces with his associate Maxnian. Re-union of the empire, A.D. 324

The successive steps of the elevation of Constantine, from his rst assuming the purple at York to the resignation of Licinius t Nicomedia, have been related with some minuteness and preision, not only as the events are in themselves both interesting nd important, but still more as they contributed to the decline f the empire by the expense of blood and treasure, and by he perpetual increase, as well of the taxes as of the military stablishment. The foundation of Constantinople, and the stablishment of the Christian religion, were the immediate nd memorable consequences of this revolution.

[125] See the Theodosian Code, l. xv. tit. 15, tom. v. p. 404, 405. These edicts of onstantine betray a degree of passion and precipitancy very unbecoming of the haracter of a lawgiver.

END OF VOL. I.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

CASSIUS DIO COCCEIANUS belonged to a good family of the Bithynian town of Nicæa. His father Apronianus had been intrusted with the governorships of Dalmatia and Cilicia, and he himself achieved a more distinguished career in the civil service. Arriving at Rome in the year in which the Emperor Marcus died (180), he advanced step by step to the prætorship (193), and subsequently held the office of consul twice (see lxxiii. 12; lxxx. 2; Corp. Insc. Lat. iii. 5587). He was prefect (ἐπεστάτησα, lxxix. 7) of Pergamum and Smyrna in the reign of Macrinus; and under Alexander Severus was at first proconsul of Africa, and was afterwards transferred to Dalmatia and thence to Upper Pannonia (lxxx. 1). After the year 229 he retired from public life, owing to an ailment of his feet (lxxx. 5).

A work on dreams and a monograph on the reign of the Emperor Commodus having elicited words of encouragement from Septimius Severus, Dion conceived the idea of writing a Roman history from the earliest time to his own day. During the intervals between his public employments abroad he used to retire to Capua and devote his leisure to this enterprise. He completed it in eighty Books, bringing the history down as far as the year of his second consulship, 229 A.D. Of this work we possess in a complete form only Books xxxvi. to lx., which cover the important period from 68 B.C. to 60 A.D. The earlier books were largely used by Zonaras whose Epitome we possess, and we have also a considerable number of fragments, preserved in the Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis, and the Excerpta de legationibus (compilations made for Constantine VII. in the tenth century).[1] For the last twenty Books we have the abridgment by Xiphilin (eleventh century), but in the case of the lxxviiith and lxxixth a mutilated Ms. of the original text. For the reign of Antoninus Pius, however (bk. lxx.), even Xiphilin deserts us; there seems to have been a lacuna in his copy.

For the history of the early Empire we have few contemporary literary sources, and thus the continuous narrative of Dion is of inestimable value. Living before the Principate had passed away, and having had personal experience of affairs of state, he had a grasp of constitutional matters which was quite impossible for later writers; though in describing the institutions of Augustus he falls into the error of making statements which applied to his own age but not to the beginning of the Principate. He affected to be an Attic stylist and aspired to write like Thucydides. (The text of Dindorf—an important contribution to the study of Dion—is now being admirably re-edited by J. Melber; the first two volumes have already appeared.)

The history of Dion was continued by an ANONYMOUS author, of whose work we have some fragments (collected in vol. iv. of Müller's Fragmenta Hist. Græc. p. 191 *sqq.*), and know something further through the fact that it was a main source of Zonaras when he had no longer Dion to follow. [Compare vol. ii., Appendix 1 ad. init.]

[1] The Excerpta de Sententiis contain not direct extracts from Dion, but passages founded on his work. The Planudean Excerpts (fifteenth century) are spurious. See preface to Melber's edition.

Herodian was of Syrian birth, and, like Dion, was employed in the civi service, but in far humbler grades. If he had ever risen to the higher magistracies if he had ever held the exalted position of a provincial governor, he would certainly have mentioned his success; the general expression which he employs "Imperial and public offices" (i. 2), shows sufficiently that he had no career The title of his work was "Histories of the Empire after Marcus," and embraced in eight Books the reigns from the accession of Commodus to that of Gordian III His own comments on the events which he relates are tedious; and the import ance of his book rests on the circumstance that he was an honest contemporary he has none of the higher qualities of an historian. (Kreutzer's dissertation, De Herodiano rerum Rom. scriptore, 1881, may be referred to).

The Historia Augusta is a composite work, in which six several authors, who lived and wrote in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, had a hand. These authors however were not collaborators and did not write with a view to the production of the work which we possess. The Historia Augusta seems, in the light of recent criticism, to have been an eclectic compilation from a number of different, originally independent histories.

Ælius Spartianus wrote, by the wish of the Emperor Diocletian, whom he often addresses, a series of Imperial biographies (including Cæsars as well a Augusti) from the death of the dictator (post Cæsarem dictatorem; ii. 7, 5). He came down at least as far as Caracalla.

Vulcacius Gallicanus likewise addressed to Diocletian a work on the lives of all the Emperors who bore the full title of Augustus, whether by legitimate right or as tyrants. See vi. 3, 3.

The series of *Trebellius Pollio* was on a more limited scale. It began with the two Philips, and embracing all Emperors, whether renowned or obscure reached as far as Claudius and his brother Quintillus. It was not dedicated to Diocletian but was written in his reign, before Constantius Chlorus had been raised to the dignity of Augustus, that is before 1st May 305 (cp. xxiii. 7, 1 where Claudius is described as the ancestor *Constanti Cæsaris nostri;* cp. too *ib.* 14, 3, where *Constantinus* is an error for *Constantius*, and xxiv. 21, 7, where we get the prior limit of 302). It is probable that the work of Pollio was a continuation of another series of Lives which ended with the accession of Philip; and it is possible that this presumable series may have been actually that of Spartian or Vulcacius, but it is quite uncertain.

Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse professedly continued the work of Pollio, and carried it down as far as the death of Carinus and accession of Diocletian. He wrote, at least, the life of Aurelian between 1st May 305 and 25th July 306, the period in which Constantius was Emperor; et est quidem iam Constantius imperator, xxvi. 44, 5.

Julius Capitolinus wrote another series of Imperial biographies, of which some were composed under, and dedicated to, Diocletian, while others were written at a later period for Constantine. Where he began is uncertain; the earliest Life from his pen which we possess is that of Antoninus Pius, the latest those of Maximus and Balbinus. Of the Lives which are extant under his name, those of Marcus, Lucius Verus, and Macrinus contain the name of Diocletian. Those of Albinus and the Maximins have internal notes of their dedication to Constantine As Albinus comes chronologically between Verus and Macrinus, both dating from the reign of Diocletian, it is impossible, if the ascription of *Macrinus* to Capitolinus is right, to draw the conclusion that all the earlier Lives were written in the earlier period, and all the later Lives in the later. But to this point I shall return.

Aelius Lampridius dedicated his Imperial biographies to Constantine. He began with Commodus, if not earlier, and intended to include Diocletian and Maximian. The latest of his Lives that exists is that of Alexander Severus.

The original Ms. of the Historia Augusta, from which our Mss. are derived contained a complete series of Imperial biographies, from Hadrian to Carinus, put together from the works of these six writers. The work of Pollio, and its con

nuation by Vopiscus, were included in their entirety. The contributions drawn om the various biographers may be conveniently seen in the following table :—

Spartian :	Hadrian	i.	(date : before May 305).
	Aelius Verus	ii.	
	Didius Julianus	ix.	
	Severus	x.	
	Pescennius Niger	xi.	
	Caracallus	xiii.	
Vulcacius :	Avidius Cassius	vi.	(date : before May 305).
Capitolinus :	Antoninus Pius	iii.	(date : before May 305).
	M. Antoninus	iv.	
	Verus	v.	
	Pertinax	viii.	
	Clodius Albinus	xii.	(date : reign of Constantine).
	Maximini duo	xix.	
	Gordiani tres	xx.	
	Maximus et Balbinus	xxi.	
Lampridius :	Commodus	vii.	(date : reign of Constantine).
	Diadumenus	xvi.	
	Heliogabalus	xvii.	
	Alexander Severus	xviii.	
Pollio	Philip to Claudius	—— to xxv.	(date : before May 305).
Vopiscus :	Aurelian to Carinus	xxvi. to xxx.	(date : after May 305, and begun before July 306).

I. The Life of Geta (xiv.) I have not included in this list. The name of the author is not given in the Mss.; the *editio princeps* assigned it to Spartianus. There is, however, a serious objection against attributing it to Spartian in the lack of decisive external evidence. For it is dedicated to Constantine, whereas the Lives written by Spartian are dedicated to Diocletian. The fact that Spartian intended to write a life of Geta (see xiii. 11, 1) proves nothing; for there is nothing to show that separate Lives of Geta were not also included in the collections of Lampridius and Capitolinus, and that the compiler of the Historia Augusta did not prefer one of them to the *Geta* of Spartian.

II. The Life of Opilius Macrinus (xv.) I have also omitted, although the Mss. ascribe it to Capitolinus. But it is highly probable that the Inscriptio is not genuine. For the author of this Life only knows of two Gordians (3, 5, nec inter Antoninos referendi sunt duo Gordiani), herein agreeing with Lampridius (xvi. 32, and xvii. 34, 6); whereas Capitolinus is not only aware of the three Gordians, whose lives he wrote (xx.), but criticizes the ignorant writers who only speak of two (xx. 2, 1, Gordiani non, ut quidam inperiti scriptores locuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt). This flagrant contradiction, which imperatively forbids us to ascribe the *Gordians* and *Macrinus* to the same writer, is borne out by the fact that *Macrinus* is dedicated to Diocletian, whereas *Albinus* is addressed to Constantine. It is natural to suppose that Capitolinus wrote his Lives in chronological order, and completed in the reign of Constantine the biographical series which he had begun in that of Diocletian. If we decide that our *Macrinus* is not really his work, we restore the natural order. We cannot, however, suppose that *Macrinus* was the composition of Lampridius, who wrote under Constantine. We must attribute it either to Spartian or to Vulcacius.

III. The archetype of our Mss. was mutilated, and, unfortunately for the history of a very difficult period, there is a lacuna extending from the end of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* into the *Two Valerians*, of which only a congeries of fragments remains. Thus the Lives of Philip, Decius, and Gallus by Trebellius Pollio are lost. The subscription at the end of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* attributes the *Valerians* to Capitolinus, but this is clearly an insertion made after the lost Lives had fallen out.

IV. In general the Lives are arranged in chronological order. There are three remarkable deviations. (1) Didius Julianus comes after Verus and before Commodus, in the place where we should expect Avidius Cassius, while Avidius comes where we expect Julianus. (2) Albinus comes after Macrinus instead of following Pescennius; and (3) Heliogabalus, Diadumenus, Macrinus takes the place of the proper order Macrinus, Diadumenus, Heliogabalus. In all three cases Peter has corrected the Mss. in his edition. These misplacements cannot be explained by mistakes in the binding of the sheets

(quaternions) of the archetype, though such mistakes certainly occurred and led to minor misplacements notably that in the Life of Alexander, c. 43 (see Peter's ed.).

All these writers have much the same idea of historical biography. They give a great many personal details, and are fond of trivial anecdotes; but they have no notion of perspicuous arrangement, and no apprehension of deeper historical questions. Their chief source for the earlier Lives was Marius Maximus (used by Spartian, Vulcacius, Capitolinus and Lampridius, and criticized by Vopiscus as homo omnium verbosissimus, xxix. 1), who continued the work of Suetonius, from Nerva to Elagabalus. He lived about 170-230 A.D. (See, for a daring attempt to reconstruct the history of Marius, Müller's essay in Büdinger's Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte, vol. iii. The tract of J. Plew, Marius Maximus als directe und indirecte Quelle der Scriptores Hist. Aug., 1878, is of much greater value.) Capitolinus and the author of the Vita Macrini, also used a work of Junius Cordus who devoted himself to the elucidation of the obscurer reigns (xv. 1). But there were other stray sources both Latin and Greek. For example Acholius, master of ceremonies to the Emperor Valerian, described the journeys of Alexander Severus and was consulted by Lampridius (xviii. 64). The same writer wrote Acta, in the ninth Book of which he dealt with the reign of Valerian (xxvi. 12). For other sources see Teuffel, Gesch. der rom. Litt., § 387. The introduction of Vopiscus to his Life of Aurelian is well worth reading. It throws some light on the way in which these lives were written and the sources which the writers commanded. We learn that Aurelian's daily acts were written by his own orders in *libri lintei*, and the historian could obtain them from the numbered cases[1] of the Ulpian Library. The war of Aurelian then was an official account (*charactere historico digesta*).

The citation of original documents (both genuine and spurious) is a feature of the Historia Augusta. Vopiscus, and perhaps the others in some cases, took these directly from the originals in the Ulpian Library, but in the case of the earlier Lives it is highly probable that they were drawn, at second hand, from Marius Maximus, who included such *pièces justicatifs* in his work.

The uncertainty which prevailed in the reign of Diocletian as to leading events which happened as late as the reign of Aurelian is illustrated instructively by the dispute among historical students, recorded by Vopiscus, as to whether Firmus, the tyrant of Egypt, had been invested with the purple, and reigned as an Emperor, or not (xxix. 2).

A special word must be said about the Lives of Trebellius Pollio. It has been shown with tolerable certainty, by the investigations of H. Peter, that all the original documents which he inserts, whether transactions, or letters, or speeches, are forgeries. He has also been convicted of unfairness in his presentation of the personality of Gallienus. When Gibbon says (chap. x. note 156), that the character of that unfortunate prince has been fairly transmitted to us, on the ground that "the historians who wrote before the elevation of the family of Constantine, could not have the most remote interest to misrepresent the character of Gallienus," he overlooks the internal evidence in the Biographies of Pollio (as pointed out above) which proves that this writer was actuated by the wish to glorify Constantius indirectly by a glorification of Claudius. He had thus a distinct motive for disparaging the abilities and actions of Gallienus. For, by pourtraying that monarch as incapable of ruling and utterly incompetent to cope with the dangers which beset the Empire, he was enabled to suggest a contrast between the contemptible prince and his brilliant successor. Through such a contrast the achievements of Claudius seemed more striking. (Recently F. Rothkegel in a treatise on Die Regierung des Gallienus, of which the first part has appeared, 1894, has endeavoured to do justice to Gallienus, and show that he was not so bad or incompetent as he has been made out.)

The best text of the Historia Augusta is that of H. Peter, who is the chief authority on the subject. Out of the large literature, which bears on these

[1] Cp. xxvii. 8, 1, where an "ivory volume in the sixth armarium" is referred to. Decrees of the Senate, relating to the Emperors, used to be written in ivory books, as we learn in the same place.

phies, I may refer to Gemoll's Die Script. Hist. Aug. 1886, which has largely used in this account of the Augustan Biographies. Dessau has ly proved (Hermes, 1889) that the Lives were seriously interpolated in ge of Theodosius. His daring thesis that they are entirely forgeries is ed by Mommsen, who admits the interpolations (*ib.* 1890).

hen the Historia Augusta deserts us, our sources, whether Greek or Latin, ther late or scrappy. We can extract some historical facts from a number ıtemporary PANEGYRICAL ORATIONS, mostly of uncertain authorship, composed ɔecial occasions under Maximian and his successors. These will be best lted in the xii. Panegyrici Latini edited by Bährens. No. 2 in praise of nian is doubtfully ascribed to Claudius Mamertinus; it was composed at in 289 A.D. for 21st April, the birthday of Rome. No. 3, said to be by the author, is a *genethliacus* for Maximian's birthday in 291. No. 4 is the of Eumenius of Augustodunum *pro restaurandis scholis* pronounced in the of 297 before the *praeses provinciae*. No. 5, of uncertain authorship, but bly by Eumenius, is a panegyric on Constantius, delivered in the spring e same year at Trier. No. 6 extols Maximian and Constantine, on the ion of the marriage of Constantine with Fausta, Maximian's daughter, 307. (probably by Eumenius), is a panegyric on Constantine, delivered at Trier, ly after the execution of Maximian, 310. No. 8 (also plausibly ascribed to ɔnius), is a speech of thanksgiving to Constantine for benefits which he wed upon Autun, 311. No. 9 is a eulogy of Constantine pronounced at , early in 313, and contains a brief account of his Italian expedition 0 bears the name of Nazarius, and is likewise a panegyric of Constantine, g from the fifteenth year of his reign, 321. (On Eumenius cp. Brandt, ɔnius von Augustodunum, &c., 1882.)

xtus Aurelius Victor was appointed (Ammianus tells us, xxi. 10, 6) nor of the Second Pannonia by the Emperor Julian in 361; and at a later l became Prefect of the City. Inscriptions confirm both statements (see L. 6, 1186, and Orelli-Henzen, 3715). He was of African birth (see his Cæs.), and a pagan. Some think that the work known as Cæsares was composed present form by Victor himself; but in the two Mss. (Bruxell. and Oxon.) itle is Aurelii Victoris historiæ abbreviatæ, and Th. Opitz (Quæstiones de Aurelio Victore, in the Acta Societ. Philol. Lips. ii. 2) holds that it is an gment of a larger work—an opinion which is shared by Wölfflin and others. nvenient critical edition has been recently brought out by F. Pichlmayer,) The Epitome (*libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum breviatus ex libris Aurelii Victoris a Cæsare Aug. usque ad Theodosium*) seems dependent on Cæsares as far as Domitian, but afterwards differs completely. Marius mus was very probably one of the chief sources.

utropius held the office of *magister memoriae* at the court of Valens (365-.D.), to whom he dedicated his Short Roman History (Breviarium ab urbe ta). He had taken part, as he tells us, in the fatal expedition of Julian, .D. (x. 16, 1). His handbook, which comes down to the death of Jovian, a success, and had the honour of being translated into Greek about 380 A.D. he Syrian Paeanius, a pupil of Libanius (see above, p. 185). It contrasts rably with other books of the kind, both in matter and in style. His chief es were Suetonius, the writers of the Historia Augusta, and the work of the own author who is generally designated as the "CHRONOGRAPHER OF 354". his work, unknown to Gibbon, was published and commented on by Momm- n the Abhandlungen der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. in 1850, and has recently published by the same editor in vol i. of the Chronica Minora in the . G. It contains a number of various lists, including Fasti Consulares up to the praefecti urbis of Rome from 258 to 354, the bishops of Rome up to ius (352). The Mss. contain later additions, especially the so-called nicon Cuspiniani (published by Cuspinianus in 1552 along with the Chronicle ssiodorus), which is a source of value for the reigns of Leo and Zeno and the years of Anastasius.

Another historical epitome dedicated to Valens was that of (Rufus) Fest who seems also to have been a *magister memoriae*. The time at which his b was composed can be precisely fixed to 369 A.D. by his reference to "this gr victory over the Goths" (c. 29) gained by Valens in that year and by the f that he is ignorant of the province of Valentia, which was formed in the sa year. Festus has some valuable notices for the history of the fourth century.

L. Caelius Lactantius Firmianus lived at Nicomedia under Diocletian a Constantine, and taught rhetoric. In the later years of his life he had honour of acting as the tutor of Constantine's son, Crispus. Our chief author for his life is Jerome; cp. esp. De Viris Illust., 80. His works were mainly th logical, and the chief of them is the Divine Institutions in seven Books. But most important for the historian is the treatise De Mortibus Persecutorum, concerning the manners of death which befel the persecutors of Christianity fr Nero to Maximin. It was composed in 314-315 A.D. Its authorship has been matter of dispute, for it does not bear the name Lactantius, but L. Cæcilius. is, however, by no means improbable that L. Cæcilius is Lactantius, and that treatise is that enumerated by Jerome (*loc. cit.*) among his works as de perse tione librum unum. There is a remarkable resemblance in vocabulary a syntax with the undoubted works of Lactantius, and differences in style can explained by the difference of subject. The author of the De Mortibus accurately informed as to the events which took place in Nicomedia, and dedicates his work to Donatus, to whom Lactantius addressed another treati De Ira Dei. Due allowance being made for the tendency of the De Mortibus is a very important contemporary source.

Other authorities which, though referred to in the present volume, are m concerned with the history of subsequent events, such as Ammianus Marcellin the Anonymous known as Anon. Valesianus, Eusebius, Zosimus, will be noti in the Appendix to vol. ii.

Modern Works. For the general history: Schiller's Geschichte der römisch Kaiserzeit (2 vols., from Augustus to Theodosius I.), up to date and very valua for references. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, vol. v. Die Provinzen v Cäsar bis Diocletian (also in Eng. trans. in 2 vols.). Hoeck's Römis Geschichte (reaching as far as Constantine) is now rather antiquated; Duru History of Rome (to Theodosius the Great) may also be mentioned. For t general administration, including the military system of which Gibbon treats chap. i.: Marquardt, Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer (Staatsverwaltu vols. iv.-vi.); and Schiller's summary in Ivan Müller's Handbuch der kla Alterthumswissenschaft. For manners, social life, &c., under the early empi Friedländer's Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit v Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine. For chronology: Clinton's Fasti Roma and Goyau's short Chronologie de l'Empire romain; Klein's Fasti Consulares.

A few special monographs (in addition to those referred to elsewhere) may mentioned here. Hundertmark, de Imperatore Pertinace. Höfner, Untersu ungen zur Gesch. des Kaisers L. Septimius Severus; A. de Ceuleneer, Essai s la vie et la règne de Septime Sevère; Wirth, Quaestiones Severianae. Duncker, Claudius Gothicus. Preuss, Kaiser Diokletian und seine Zeit; Vog Der Kaiser Diokletian.

2. CONQUEST OF BRITAIN—(P. 4, and P. 36)

It may be well to note more exactly how Roman arms progressed in Brit after Claudius. (Our chief authority is the Agricola of Tacitus.) The fi legatus sent by Vespasian was Petillius Cerealis, who fought against t Brigantes and subdued the eastern districts of the island as far north as Linc (Lindum). A line drawn from Chester (Deva) to Lincoln would rightly mark t limits of Roman rule at this time. Cerealis was succeeded by Frontinus (wh treatise on the science of warfare is extant), and he reduced the Silures (in t west). Then came Agricola, whose government lasted from 78 to 85 A.D.

[1] For the De Mortibus Persecutorum compare vol. ii., Appendix I, p. 531-2.

ttempted to extend the Roman frontiers both northward and westward, but ailed to consolidate his conquests. The only lasting fruit of the enterprises of gricola was the acquisition of York (Eburacum),—a fact which Tacitus does not ecord and which we have to infer.

On p. 36, n. 34, Gibbon mentions nine colonies in Britain, on the authority of ichard of Cirencester, which has no value. The only towns, which we know to ave had the rank of *coloniae*, are Camalodunum, Eburacum, Glevum, Lindum. 'erulamium was a municipium.

3. THE CONQUESTS OF TRAJAN, AND POLICY OF HADRIAN—(P. 5)

The first Dacian war of Trajan lasted during 101 and 102 A.D. and Trajan elebrated his triumph at the end of the latter year, taking the title of Dacicus. he second war began two years later, and was concluded in 107 by the dis-ensions of the barbarians and the suicide of Decebalus. Our only contemporary ources for these wars are monumental,—the sculptures on the Pillar of Trajan nd some inscriptions. Unfortunately Trajan's own work on the war has erished. (Arosa and Froehner have published in a splendid form photographic eproductions of the scenes on the column of Trajan, Paris, 1872-1874. For etails of the war, see Jung, Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern; a paper f Xenopol in the Revue Historique, 1886; and an interesting Hungarian ionograph by Király on Sarmizegetusa, Dacia fővárosa, 1891. On the reign of 'rajan, consult Dierauer's paper in Büdinger's Untersuchungen, vol. i., and)e la Berge, Essai sur la règne Trajan. I may also refer to the Student's oman Empire.)

Trajan's Dacia must be carefully distinguished from *Dacia ripensis* south of he Danube, a province formed, as we shall see, at a much later date. The apital of northern Dacia was Sarmizegetusa, a Dacian town, which was founded new after Trajan's conquest under the name of Ulpia Trajana. The traveller n Siebenbürgen may now trace the remains of this historic site at Várhely, as he Hungarians have named it. H. Schiller lays stress on one important result f the Dacian war: "The military centre of gravity of the Empire" was trans-erred from the Rhine to the Danube (Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit, i. 554).

Gibbon omits to mention as a third "exception," besides Britain and Dacia, he acquisition of new territory in the north of Arabia (east of Palestine), and he organization of a province of "Arabia" by Cornelius Palma (106 A.D.). 'his change was accomplished peacefully; the two important towns of Petra nd Bostra had been already Roman for a considerable time. The chief value f the province lay in the fact that the caravans from the East on their way to Egypt passed through it. There are remarkable ruins at Petra which testify to ts importance.

Hadrian, as Gibbon explains, narrowed the boundaries of the Empire in the East (it may be disputed whether he was right in resigning Great Armenia); but e was diligent in making strong the defences of what he retained. The Euphrates was a sufficient protection in itself; but in other quarters Hadrian ound work to do, and did it. He built forts on the northern frontier of Dacia; e completed the rampart which defended the exposed corner between the Danube and Rhine; and it is probable that he built the great wall in Britain, rom the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway. He visited Britain in 122 A.D. (The hronology of his travels given by Merivale must be modified in the light of nore recent research. See J. Dürr, Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian, 1881, nd the Student's Roman Empire.)

It has been said that under no Emperor was the Roman army in better ondition than under Hadrian. Dion Cassius regarded him as the founder of what might be almost called a new military system, and from his time the haracter of the army becomes more and more "cosmopolitan" (Schiller, i. 609).

4. THE ROMAN ARMY—(P. 12)

In his account of the army Gibbon closely followed Vegetius, whose state ments must be received with caution. I may call attention here to a few points

(*a*) The legion contained ten cohorts; and the cohort, which had its own standard (*signum*), six centuries. Each century was commanded by a centurion Under the early Empire, each legion was commanded by a *tribunus militum Augusti* (under the republic, *trib. mil. a populo*), who, however, was subject to the authority of a higher officer, the *legatus legionis*, who was supreme com mander of both the legion and the auxiliary troops associated with it. In late times (as we learn from Vegetius) the sphere of the tribune was reduced to th cohort. The number of soldiers in a legion was elastic, and varied at differen times. It is generally reckoned at six thousand foot, and one hundred an twenty horsemen (four *turmae*).

(*b*) The *auxilia* included all the standing troops, except the legions, th volunteers (*cohortes Italicae civium Romanorum voluntariorum*), and of cours the prætorian guards. They were divided into cohorts, and were under th command of the *legati*. Cavalry and infantry were often combined, and con stituted a *cohors equitata*. Each cohort (like the legionary cohort) had it standard, and consisted of six or ten centuries, according to its size, which migh be five hundred or a thousand men. To be distinguished from the *auxilia* wer a provincial militia, which appear in certain provinces (such as Rætia, Britain Dacia). They were not imperial, and were supported by provincial funds (Mommsen, Die röm. Provinzialmilizen, Hermes, xxii. 4).

(*c*) The use of "artillery" on a large scale was due to Greek influence. I played an important part in the Macedonian army. The fixed number of engine mentioned in the text (ten *onagri* and fifty-five *carroballistae*) was perhap introduced in the time of Vespasian. Vegetius, ii. 25; Josephus, Bell. Jud 5, 6, 3.

(*d*) As for the distribution of the troops, Gibbon arrived at his statemen by combining what Tacitus tells of the reign of Tiberius, and what Dion Cassiu tells of the reign of Alexander Severus; always a doubtful method of procedure and in this case demonstrably leading to erroneous results. Under Tiberius i 23 A.D. there were four legions in Upper Germany, four in Lower Germany, thre in Spain, two in Egypt, four in Syria, two in Pannonia, two in Dalmatia, tw in Moesia, two temporarily removed from Pannonia to Africa. New legion were created by Claudius, Nero, Domitian, &c.; on the other hand, some o the old legions disappeared, or their names were changed. Three new legion (i., ii., and iii. Parthica) were instituted by Septimius Severus. Each legio had a special name. A list of the legions (thirty in number) in the time o Marcus Aurelius will be found in Marquardt, Röm Alterthümer, iii. 2, 35 The history of the Roman legions is a very difficult subject, and the conclusion of Pfitzner (Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen) are extremely doubtful (se Mr. E. G. Hardy in the Journal of Philology, xxiii. 29 *sqq.*).

(*e*) The *cohortes urbanae* had their headquarters in the *Forum Suarium* (Pig-market) at Rome. They were at first four in number, of one thousand me each, until the time of Claudius, who seems to have increased the number to six Vespasian perhaps added another. Some of these regiments were sometime stationed elsewhere; for example, at Lyons, Ostia, Puteoli.

See further article Exercitus in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, new edition

5. THE ROMAN NAVY—(P. 18)

The fleets of Ravenna and Misenum were called the *classes praetoriae*, a fittin name, as they were the naval guards of the Emperor as long as he resided i Old Rome.

The fleet at (1) Forum Julium was discontinued soon after the time o Augustus. The other lesser naval stations under the Empire were (2) Seleuci for the *classis Syriaca*: (3) Alexandria, for the *classis Augusta Alexandrea*

) the Island of Carpathos ; (5) at the beginning of the fifth century, Aquileia, r the *classis Venetum*. Besides these there were (6) the *classis Pontica*, ationed in the Euxine or in the Propontis, and (7) the *classis Britannica*, oth mentioned in the author's text. There were also fleets on the three great vers of the Empire ; (8) the *classis Germanica* on the Rhine ; (9) the *classis annonica* and *Moesica* on the Danube ; and (10) a fleet on the Euphrates nentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3, 9).

6. THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN 180 A.D.—(P. 18)

For a general view of the provinces, the reader must be referred to Mommsen's rilliant volume Die Provinzen von Cäsar bis Diocletian (translated into English two vols.). For the general administration, including the military system, see larquardt, Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer (Staatsverwaltung, vols. iv.-vi.).

1. Sicilia, the first Roman province, 241 B.C. It became a *senatorial* pro nce in 27 B.C.

2. Sardinia and Corsica, 231 B.C. Senatorial in 27 B.C., but became imperial 6 A.D. Again senatorial under Nero ; once more *imperial* under Vespasian, nd governed by a *procurator et praeses*. (Given to senate again by M. Aurelius ut resumed by Commodus.)

3. Hispania citerior, or Tarraconensis, 197 B.C. ; *imperial*. (Divided into 3 ioceses, each under a leg. Augusti.)

4. Baetica, *senatorial*.
5. Lusitania, *imperial*.
} These formed one province under the Republic, Hispania ulterior (197 B.C.), which was divided soon after the foundation of the Empire (27 B.C.).

6. Gallia Narbonensis, after 121 B.C. (At first, imperial, after) 22 B.C. *natorial*.

7. Aquitania, 27 B.C.
8. Lugdunensis, 27 B.C.
9. Belgica, 27 B.C.
} Called collectively *tres Galliae*, at first under one imperial governor ; after 17 A.D. each had its own *imperial* governor.

Novempopuli, a province cut off from Aquitania by Trajan.

10. Germania superior, 17 A.D. (?).
11. Germania inferior, 17 A.D. (?).
} The civil administration of these frontier districts was united with that of Belgica. The military commanders were consular legati.

12. Alpes Maritimæ, 14 B.C. made an *imperial* province, governed by a prefect, afterwards a) procurator.

13. Alpes Cottiæ, under Nero, *imperial* (under a *procurator et praeses*).

14. Alpes Poeninæ (or A. Poeninæ et Graiæ) ; in second century became an *mperial* province (under a procurator).

15. Britannia, 43 A.D., *imperial*.

16. Rætia, 15 B.C., *imperial* (under a procurator) ; but after Marcus Aurelius overned by the legatus pro prætore of the legion *Concordia*.

17. Noricum, 15 B.C., *imperial*, under a procurator. After Marcus, under he general of the legion *Pia*. (Dion Cassius, lv. 24, 4.)

18. Pannonia superior.
19. Pannonia inferior.
20. Dalmatia, or Illyricum.
} After its conquest Pannonia was added to the province of Illyria (44 B.C.), *imperial;* which was broken up into Pannonia and Dalmatia 10-14 A.D. ; Dalmatia under a consular legatus. Pannonia was broken up by Trajan (102-107 A.D.) into the two Pannoniæ, each under a consular legatus (at least under Marcus).

21. Moesia superior.
22. Moesia inferior.
} Moesia, 6 A.D., an *imperial* province, was broken up into the two Moesias by Domitian under consular legati.

23. Dacia Porolissensis.
24. Dacia Apulensis.
25. Dacia Maluensis.
} Dacia, 107 A.D., was at first one province (*imperial*). Hadrian broke it up into two (superior and inferior). Marcus made a new triple division (not later than 168 A.D., not earlier than 158 A.D.), and placed the provinces under consular legati.

26. Thracia, 46 A.D., *imperial* (at first under a procurator, but from Traja forward) under a legatus.

27. Macedonia, 146 B.C.; senatorial in 27 B.C.; from Tiberius to Claudius imperial and united with Achaia; after Claudius, *senatorial*.

28. Achaia.
29. Epirus.

Included in Macedonia, 146 B.C.; together formed a senatorial province, 27 B.C.; after having been united with Macedonia (15 and 44 A.D.), restored to the senate, and declared free by Nero it was made *senatorial* by Vespasian. This Emperor probably separated Epirus (including Acarnamia), *imperial*, under a procurator.

30. Asia, 133 B.C.; *senatorial* 27 B.C. (under a consular).

31. Bithynia and Pontus, 74 and 65 B.C.; senatorial 27 B.C., became under Hadrian *imperial*.

32. Galatia (including Pontus Polemoniacus) 25 B.C. *imperial;* united twice and twice severed from Cappadocia; finally separated by Trajan and placed under praetorian legatus.

33. Cappadocia (including Lesser Armenia) 17 A.D. *imperial;* (procuratorial till Vespasian, 70 A.D., gave it a consular legatus).

34. Lycia and Pamphylia, 43 A.D.; after various changes definitely constituted as imperial by Vespasian, 74 A.D., but transferred to the *senate* by Hadrian.

35. Cilicia, 102 B.C. At one time apparently united with Syria, but independent since Vespasian. From Hadrian (including Trachea) *imperial* under legatus; Severus transferred Isauria and Lycaonia from Galatia to Cilicia.

36. Cyprus, 58 B.C.; at first united with Cilicia; 22 B.C., became an independent *senatorial* province.

37. Syria, 64 B.C.; *imperial* under consular legatus, 27 B.C.

38. Syria Palaestina (= Judæa), separated from Syria 70 A.D., *imperial* under legatus.

39. Arabia, 106 A.D., *imperial*.

40. Aegyptus, 30 B.C., *imperial* domain under *praefectus Aegypti*.

41. Creta and Cyrene, at first one province (67 B.C. and 74 B.C. respectively) united 27 B.C. as a *senatorial* province (under a praetor).

42. Africa, 146 B.C., *senatorial* under a consular proconsul; seems to have included Numidia from 25 B.C.

43. Mauretania Caesariensis.
44. Mauretania Tingitana.

40 A.D., *imperial* (under procurators).

It is important to note some changes that were made between the death of Marcus and the accession of Diocletian. (1) The diocese of Asturia et Gallaecia was cut off as a separate imperial province from Tarraconensis (216 or 217 A.D.); (2) Britannia was divided by Septimius Severus (197 A.D.) into Britannia superior and Brit. inferior (each probably under a *praeses*); (3) Septimius made Numidia a separate province (under a legatus till Aurelian, afterwards under *praeses*); (4) Syria was divided by the same Emperor (198 A.D.) into Syria Cœle (Magna) and Syr. Phœnice; (5) Arabia was divided in the third century into Ar. Bostræa and Arabia Petræa, corresponding to the two chief towns of the province; (6) Mesopotamia (made a province by Trajan, and resigned by Hadrian) was restored by Lucius Verus; (7) For Dacia see p. 294.

7. CHANGES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE SINCE GIBBON WROTE—(Pp. 22, 23)

Gibbon's account of the political geography of the Illyrian lands brings home to us the changes which have taken place within the last century. When he wrote, Servia and Bulgaria were "united in Turkish slavery"; Greece herself was under the same bondage as well as Moldavia, Walachia and Bosnia; the Dalmatian coast was a province of the Venetian State. Since then (1) the Turkish realm in Europe has been happily reduced, and (2) Austria has advanced

the expense of Venice. (1) Now Greece and Servia are each a kingdom, nolly independent of the Turk; Bulgaria is a free principality, only formally pendent on the Sultan. Moldavia and Walachia form the independent king- m of Roumania. Even a portion of Thrace, south of the Balkans, known as stern Roumelia has been annexed to Bulgaria. Macedonia and the greatest rt of Epirus are still Turkish. (2) All the Dalmatian coast, including Ragusa, longs to Austria, but Antivari and Dulcigno belong to the independent Slavonic incipality of Tzernagora or Montenegro (which was founded in the middle of e fifteenth century, preserved its independence against the Turks with varying ccess ever since, and in our own time played a conspicuous part in the events of 76 to 1878, which so effectually checked the power of the Turk). Austria also quired (by the treaty of Berlin, 1878) the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

8. COLONIES AND MUNICIPIA, IUS LATINUM—(P. 36)

The distinction between colonies and municipal towns, and the history of *s Latinum*, are explained briefly in the following passage of the Student's oman Empire, pp. 76, 77.

"It is to be observed that these communities were either *coloniæ* or *muni- pia*. In the course of Italian history the word *municipium* had completely anged its meaning. Originally it was applied to a community possessing *ius atinum*, and also to the *civitas sine suffragio*, and thus it was a term of ntrast to those communities which possessed full Roman citizenship. But nen in the course of time the *civitates sine suffragio* received political rights d the Roman states received full Roman citizenship, and thus the *municipium* oper disappeared from Italy, the word was still applied to those communities Roman citizens which had originally been either Latin *municipia* or independ- t federate states. And it also, of course, continued to be applied to cities tside Italy which possessed *ius Latinum*. It is clear that originally *muni- pium* and *colonia* were not incompatible ideas. For a colony founded with s *Latinum* was both a *municipium* and a *colonia*. But a certain opposition ose between them, and became stronger when *municipium* came to be used in new sense. *Municipium* is only used of communities which existed as inde- ndent states before they received Roman citizenship, whether by the deduction a colony or not. *Colonia* is generally confined to those communities which ere settled for the first time as Roman cities, and were never states before. ius *municipium* involves a reference to previous autonomy.

"Besides Roman cities, there were also Latin cities in the provinces. Origin- ly there were two kinds of *ius Latinum*, one better and the other inferior. he old Latin colonies possessed the better kind. The inferior kind was known the *ius* of Ariminum, and it alone was extended to provincial communities. hen Italy received Roman citizenship after the Social war, the better kind of s *Latinum* vanished for ever, and the lesser kind only existed outside Italy. he most important privilege which distinguished the Latin from peregrine mmunities was that the member of a Latin city had a prospect of obtaining full oman citizenship by holding magistracies in his own community. The Latin mmunities are of course autonomous and are not controlled by the provincial vernor; but like Roman communities they have to pay tribute for their land, hich is the property of the Roman people, unless they possess immunity or s *Italicum* as well as *ius Latinum*."

9. THE MINE OF SOUMELPOUR—(P. 55)

In an appendix to the second volume of his translation of Tavernier's Travels India, Mr. V. Ball has pointed out (p. 457), that the diamond mine of Soumel- ur on the Gouel is not to be identified, as hitherto, with Sambulpur on e Mahánadi, but is the same as "Semah or Semulpur on the Koel, in the ub-Division of Palámau".

In the original, and all subsequent editions of Gibbon the name was spel "Jumelpur". Mr. Ball rightly remarks that this is merely a misprint; and I have corrected it in the text.

10. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—(CHAPTER III.)

The constitutional history of Rome (both Republican and Imperial) has bee set on a new basis since Gibbon. The impulse was given by Niebuhr; and thi branch of history has progressed hand in hand with the study of inscription on stone and metal. No one has done so much for the subject as Mommsen whose Römisches Staatsrecht (3 vols.) occupies the same position for Roma constitutional history as the work of Bishop Stubbs for English. Anothe recent work of importance is E. Herzog's Geschichte und System der römische Staatsverfassung (2 vols.). Madvig's Verfassung und Verwaltung des römische Staates was retrogressive. The works of Mispoulet and Willems may also b mentioned. Of great value for details is O. Hirschfeld's Untersuchungen au dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte. For the imperial procurator see "Procurator" in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, new edition.

It would be endless to enumerate the writers from whom material for th constitutional history is drawn; but attention must be called to the importanc of inscriptions and coins which fill up many gaps in our knowledge. It woul hardly be an exaggeration to say that the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (edite by Mommsen and others) is the keystone of Mommsen's Staatsrecht. The Corpu is not yet complete, and must be supplemented by the collections of Orelli Henzen and Wilmanns.

The most important collections of coins are Eckhel's Doctrina Numorun Veterum (8 vols.), which appeared in 1792—some years too late for Gibbon,—an Cohen's Descriptions des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain communémen appelées Médailles impériales 2nd ed. 1880-92.

For a short account of the Imperial constitution I may refer to Mr. Pelham' article on the Principate in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, and to the Student' Roman Empire, chaps. ii. and iii. Here it will be enough to draw attention t a few important points in which Gibbon's statements need correction or call fo precision.

(1) P. 60.—"Prince of the Senate."

The view that the name *princeps* meant *princeps senatus* held its ground unt a few years ago, when it was exploded by Mr. Pelham. *Princeps*, the general, nor official designation of the emperors, meant "first of the Roman citizens" (*princep civium Romanorum* or *civitatis*), and had nothing to do with the Senate.

Ib.—"He was elected censor."

The censorship of Augustus was only temporary; it was not considered on of the necessary prerogatives of the princeps, for that, as Gibbon says, woul have meant the destruction of the independence of the senate. It must b remembered that in the *theory* of the principate the independence of the senat was carefully guarded, though practically the influence of the princeps wa predominant. Augustus discharged the functions of censor repeatedly; not however, under that name, but as *præfectus morum*. Gibbon is wrong in statin (p. 65) that the censorship was one of the Imperial prerogatives. He was followe in this by Merivale.

(3) P. 63.—"Lieutenants of the Emperor."

The provinces fell into two classes according as consulars or prætorians wer admitted to the post of governor. But this distinction must not be confounde with that of the titles *pro consule* and *pro prætore*, which were borne by th governors of senatorial and Imperial provinces respectively. The representativ of the emperor could not be *pro consule*, as his position depended on the procon sular imperium of the emperor himself. A *vir consularis* might be *pro prætore* The full title of the Imperial lieutenant was *legatus Augusti pro prætore*.

In the dependent kingdoms were placed *procuratores*, of equestrian rank.

(4) P. 64.—"Consular and tribunitian powers."

Gibbon's statements here require correction, though the question of the exact constitution of the power of the princeps is still a matter of debate.

Augustus at first intended to found the principate as a continuation of the proconsular imperium with the consulate, and he held the consulate from 27 to 3 B.C. But then he changed his mind, as this arrangement gave rise to some difficulties, and replaced the consular power by the tribunitian power, which had been conferred on him for life in 36 B.C., after his victory over Sextus Pompeius. Thus the principate depended on the association of the proconsular with the tribunitian power; and Augustus dated the years of his reign from 23, not from 7 B.C. After this he filled the consulship only in those years in which he instituted a census.

(5) P. 65.—"Supreme pontiff."

He became Pontiff in 12 B.C. Besides being Pont. Max. Augustus belonged to the other sacerdotal colleges. He was *augur*, *septemvir*, *quindecimvir*.

11. THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINCIPATE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS—(Pp. 120-125)

The name of Septimius Severus marks an important stage in the development of the Principate of Augustus into the absolute monarchy of Diocletian. If he had been followed by emperors as strong and far-sighted as himself, the goal would have been reached sooner; and, moreover, the tendencies of his policy would have been clearer to us. But the administration of his immediate successors was arbitrary; and the reaction under Alexander threw things back. Severus had no Tiberius or Constantine to follow him; and like Augustus he committed the error of founding a dynasty. His example was a warning to Diocletian.

The records of his reign show that he took little account of the senate, and made much of the army. This has been brought out by Gibbon. But it would be a mistake to call his rule a military despotism. He did not apply military methods to civil affairs. He was more than a mere soldier-emperor; he was a considerable statesman.

His influence on constitutional history concerns three important points. (1) He furthered in a very marked way the tendency, already manifest early in the second century, to remove the line of distinction between Italy and the provinces. (*a*) He recruited the Prætorian guards, hitherto Italians, from the legionaries, and so from the provinces. (*b*) He encroached on the privileges of Italy by quartering one of three new legions, which he created, in a camp on Mount Alba near Rome. (*c*) He assumed the proconsular title in Italy. (*d*) By the bestowal of *ius Italicum* he elevated a great many provincial cities (in Dacia, Africa, and Syria) to a level with Italy. (2) He increased the importance of the Prætorian Prefect. We can now see this post undergoing a curious change from a military into a civil office. Held by Papinian, it seemed to be the summit in the career not of a soldier but of a jurist. (3) The financial policy of Severus in keeping the *res privata* of the princeps distinct from his *fiscus*,—crown property as distinguished from state revenue (cp. p. 99, footnote 52).

There is no doubt that the tendency to give effect to the *maius imperium* of the princeps in controlling the governors of the senatorial provinces and the republican magistrates (consuls) was confirmed and furthered under Severus. For example, governors of senatorial provinces are brought before his court, Hist. Aug. x. 4, 8. The *maius imperium*, used with reserve by the earlier emperors, was one of the chief constitutional instruments by which the princeps ousted the senate from the government and converted the "dyarchy" into a monarchy.

Note.—In regard to the præfecture of the Prætorian guards, the rule that it should be held by two colleagues was generally observed from Augustus to Diocletian. We can quote cases of (1) *two* præfects under Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, Commodus, Julianus, Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Macrinus, Alexander,

TEN EYCK Seminary
DEC 11 1902

Gordian; (2) of *one* præfect under Augustus (Seius Strabo), Tiberius (Sejanus Macro), Claudius and Nero (Burrus), Galba, Vespasian (Clemens, Titus), Pius, Alexander (Ulpian), Probus; (3) of *three* præfects under Commodus, Julianus, Alexander (Ulpian as superior colleague and two others).

12. CHRONOLOGY OF 238 A.D.—(P. 179)

The chronological difficulties of the year 238, which exercised Tillemont, Clinton, Eckhel (vii. 293 *sqq.*) and Borghesi, have been recently discussed with care by O. Seeck in a paper in the Rheinisches Museum, xli. (p. 161 *sqq.*) 1886, and by J. Löhrer in his monograph de Julio Vero Maximino.

The Chronicler of 354 gives as the length of the reign of Maximin three years, four months, two days, which would give 17th March 235 to 18th July 238 (Hist. Aug. xxi. i.). The latter date cannot be right (for Alexandrian coins show that the seventh trib. year of Gordian III. ran from 30th August 243 to 29th August 244, proving that Gordian was elected before 29th August 238; the latest possible date for the dethronement of Maximus and Balbinus would therefore be 1st August, and in the thirteen days between 18th July and that day, there is not room for the arrival of the news of Maximin's death at Rome, for the journey of Maximus to Aquileia and his stay there); hence Seeck emends menses iii. (for menses iiii.), which gives 17th June for Maximin's death. He calculates that the siege of Aquileia began in the beginning or middle of May.

The Chronicler of 354 gives ninety-nine days for the reign of Maximus and Balbinus; and twenty days for that of the two Gordians, but Seeck shows from Zonaras (622 D.), and Glycas (243 c.) that this number should be twenty-two. Allowing roughly 130 days from the elevation of the Gordians to the fall of Maximus and Balbinus, we get 24th March, as the *latest possible* date for the elevation of the Gordians. This calculation would suit Cod. Just. vii. 26, 5 (Imp. Gordianus A. Marino), which is subscribed xii. Kal. April Pio et Pontiano Coss., and would prove that the reign of Gordianus began before 21st March. But we should have to emend Impp. Gordiani.

It must be remembered that this plausible reconstruction of Seeck depends on the emendation of a text.

13. AUTHORITIES FOR ORIENTAL AFFAIRS—(CHAPTER VIII.)

The Armenian writers: Moses of Chorene, History of Armenia; Agathangelus, History of the Reign of Tiridates and the Preaching of Gregory Illuminator (Müller, F. H. G. v. 2; transl. by V. Langlois); Faustus of Byzantium, Historical Library (*ib.*). The credibility of Moses of Chorene is examined in an important article by Gutschmid in the Berichte der kön. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch, 1876. A. Carrière has recently attempted to show (Nouvelles Sources de Moïse de Khoren, 1893) that the work of Moses belongs not to the latter half of the fifth, but to the beginning of the eighth century.

Agathias, the Greek historian, who wrote at the end of the sixth century, made a special study of Sassanid history, and, through a friend, derived information from Persian documents. His digression on the origin of the new Persian kingdom (bk. ii. 26, 27) is important.

Rawlinson's Sixth and Seventh Oriental Monarchies treat of the Parthian and new Persian periods respectively. Gutschmid, Geschichte Irans von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden, 1888. Justi, Geschichte Persiens. Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, 1879. Schneiderwirth, Die Parther, 1874. Drexler, Caracallas Zug nach dem Orient.

14. THE ZEND AVESTA—(P. 197 *sqq.*)

The first European translation of the Avesta was made by Anquetil du Perron, and appeared (in 3 vols.) in 1771, just in time for Gibbon to make use of. The appearance of this work aroused a storm of controversy, chiefly in England, and it is interesting to observe that Gibbon was among those who

ccepted the Avesta as genuine documents of the Zoroastrian religion. It is nnecessary to say that in the present century their antiquity has been oundantly confirmed.

The Avesta is a liturgical collection of fragments from older texts, and is (as [. Darmesteter remarks) more like a prayer-book than a Bible. It consists of wo parts, of which the first (1) contains the Vendîdâd, the Visperâd, and the 'asna. The Vendîdâd (a corruption of *vidaêvô-dâtem* = "antidemoniac law") onsists of religious laws and legendary tales; the Visperâd, of litanies for ıcrifice; and the Yasna, of litanies also, and five hymns in an older dialect than ıe rest of the work. The second part (2) is the Small Avesta, a collection of ıort prayers.

Two questions arise: (*a*) When was the Avesta compiled? (*b*) What is the ·igin of the older texts which supplied the material?

(*a*) It is generally supposed that the Avesta was first collected under the Sassaids. But it is stated in a Pahlavi authority that the collection was begun under ıe Arsacids (having been ordered by King Valkash or Vologeses) and completed nder the Sassanid Shapûr II. in the fourth century (A.D. 309-380). If this is 'ue, we must modify the usual view of the revival of Mazdeism by Ardeshîr the rst Sassanid, and regard his religious movement as merely the thorough realiza on of an idea derived from the Parthian princes. M. Darmesteter concludes his iscussion of the question thus (Introduction to his translation of the Zend ·esta, p. xxxv.): "It can be fairly admitted, that even in the time and at the ourt of the Philhellenic Parthians a Zoroastrian movement may have originated, nd that there came a time when they perceived that a national religion is a part f national life. It was the merit of the Sassanids that they saw the drift of this lea which they had the good fortune to carry out." It would of course be vain) attempt to determine which of the four or five kings named Vologeses riginated the collection. The completion under Shapûr II. is an established act.

(*b*) As to the older texts from which the Avesta was put together, Darmesteter ncludes that "the original texts of the Avesta were not written by the Persians. . . They were written in Media by the priests of Ragha and Atropatene in the ınguage of Media, and they exhibit the ideas of the sacerdotal class under the ıchaemenian dynasty."

There is a Parsi tradition that of twenty-one original books the Vendîdâd is he sole remaining one. But Zend scholars seem uncertain as to how far this radition is to be accepted. For the original religion of Ahura-mazda, as it xisted under the Achaemenians, our sources are (1) the inscriptions of Darius nd his successors, and (2) Herodotus and other Greek writers.

Those who wish to know more of the Avesta and the Zoroastrian religion nay be sent to M. Darmesteter's translation of the Vendîdâd (vol. iv. of the 'Sacred Books of the East") and his admirable Introduction, to which I am ndebted for the summary in this note. This translation has superseded those of Spiegel and De Harlez; but it must be observed that the students of the sacred ooks of the Persians constantly disagree in a very marked way, in translation as vell as in interpretation.

15. THE ORIGIN OF THE GOTHS; AND THE GOTHIC HISTORY OF JORDANES—(P. 239 *sqq.*)

The earliest mention of the Goths of which we have any record occurred in the vork of Pytheas of Massilia, who lived towards the end of the fourth century B.C. nd is famous as the earliest explorer of the North. His good faith has been alled in question by some ancient writers, but the moderns take a more avourable view of his work, so far as it is known from the references of such vriters as Strabo and Pliny. (See Müllenhoff, Deutsche Alterthumskunde, I.) His notice of the Goths is cited by Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 2: *Pytheas Guttonius Germaniae genti accoli aestuarium Oceani Mentonomon nomine spatio stadiorum sex milia; ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum.* The name

Abalum and *Mentonomon* are mysterious; but there seems ground for inferring that in the fourth century B.C. the *Guttones* lived in the same regions on the shores of the Baltic which they occupied in the first century A.D. (Pliny, Nat. Hist. iv. 14; Tacitus, Germ. 43, Gotones). Nor is there any good ground for refusing to identify the *Gotones* or *Guttones* of the first century with the *Goth* of the third. (See Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vol. i. cap. i., to which I would refer for a full discussion, as well as to Dahn's Könige der Germanen.)

Our chief source for the early history of the Goths is the Getica (or de origine actibusque Getarum) of Jordanes (whom it was formerly usual to call Jornandes, a name which appears only in inferior Mss.). Jordanes (a Christian name suggesting the river Jordan) was a native of Lower Moesia, and lived in the sixth century in the reign of Justinian. It is not quite certain to what nationality he belonged; but it is less probable that he was a genuine Goth or even a Teuton than that he was of Alanic descent. A certain Candac had led a mixed body of barbarians, Scyri, Sadagarii and Alans (see Get. l. 265) into Lower Moesia and Scythia; they had settled in the land, assimilated themselves to the surrounding Goths, and adopted the Gothic name, more illustrious than their own. The grandfather of Jordanes had been a notary of Candac, and Jordanes himself was secretary of Candac's nephew Gunthigis. This connexion of the family of Jordanes with a family which was certainly not Gothic, combined with the name of his father Alanoviimuthes, leads us to conclude that Jordanes was an Alan;[1] and this was quite consistent with his being an ardent "Goth". The small Alanic settlement of Moesia merged itself in the Gothic people, just as the larger Alanic population of Spain merged itself in the Vandalic nation. Beginning life as a scribe, Jordanes ended it as a monk (Getica, l. 266), perhaps as a bishop; it has been proposed to identify him with a bishop of Croton who lived at the same time and bore the same name (Mansi, ix. 60).

Jordanes wrote his Getica in the year 551. It was unnecessary for him to say that he had no literary training (*agrammatus*); this fact is written large all over his work. He states that his book was the result of a three days' study of the Gothic History of Cassiodorius the learned minister of Theodoric. The fact is that the Getica is simply an abridgment of the larger work of Cassiodorius (in twelve books); and modern critics (Usener, Hodgkin) not unreasonably question the "three days" of Jordanes. Thus, when we are dealing with Jordanes, we are really, in most cases, dealing with Cassiodorius; and the spirit, the tendency of Cassiodorius is faithfully reflected in Jordanes. To praise the Gothic race, and especially the Amal line to which Theodoric belonged, was the aim of that monarch's minister; Jordanes writes in the same spirit and echoes the antipathy to the Vandals which was expressed by Cassiodorius. There are, however, also certain original elements in the Getica. There is a significant contrast between the knowledge of the geography of the eastern provinces of the Balkan peninsula and the ignorance of the rest of the empire, which are displayed in this treatise. The stress laid on the institution of Gothic *foederati* may be attributed rather to the Moesian subject of the empire than to the minister of the independent Ostrogothic kingdom.

One of the features of the lost work of Cassiodorius was the manufacture of an ancient history for the Goths by the false identification of that race with the Getae and with the Scythians. The former confusion was suggested by the resemblance of name, the latter by the geographical comprehensiveness of the term Scythia, which embraced all the peoples of the North before they appeared on the scene of history. These fanciful reconstructions are eagerly adopted by Jordanes.

It may be well doubted whether Jordanes consulted on his own account another writer on Gothic history, Ablavius (cp. Gibbon, chap. x. note 5), who is merely a name to us. He cites him with praise (iv. 28 and elsewhere); but

[1] There are internal confirmations of this conclusion,—signs of a special interest taken by Jordanes in the Alans; see Getica, xv. 83, xxiv. 126-7, xliii. 226. See Mommsen Procemium to his edition, p. x.

here is little doubt that the laudatory references are derived from Cassiodorius. On the other hand it may be supposed that Jordanes, living among Goths, counting himself as a Goth, had some independent knowledge of old Gothic legends and songs to which he refers as mentioned by Ablavius (*ib.*, quem ad modum et in priscis eorum carminibus pene storico ritu, &c.). The emigration of the Goths from Scandzia, the island of the far north, their coming to the land of *Oium*, and battle with the *Spali*, are not indeed historical, but are a genuine Gothic legend; and stand on quite a different footing from the Getic and Scythian discoveries of Cassiodorius.

The other work of Jordanes, a summary of Roman history (entitled de summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum, usually cited as Romana), written partly before, partly after, the Getica, does not concern us here. An account of the sources of both works will be found in Mommsen's exhaustive Prooemium to his splendid edition in the Monumenta Germaniæ historica (1882), from which for this brief notice I have selected a few leading points. The reader may also be referred to the clear summary and judicious discussion of Mr. Hodgkin in the introduction and appendix to the first chapter of his Italy and her Invaders, and to Mr. Acland's article "Jordanes" in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.

Some other points in connexion with Jordanes will call for notice when we come to his own time.

16. VISIGOTHS AND OSTROGOTHS—(P. 242)

We cannot say with certainty at what period the Gothic race was severed into the nations of East and West Goths. The question is well discussed by Mr. Hodgkin, in Italy and her Invaders, chap. i. Appendix.

The name Ostrogoth occurs first in the Life of Claudius Gothicus in the Historia Augusta (written about the beginning of the fourth century), and next in Claudian, in Eutrop. ii. 153 (at the end of the same century). Our first testimony to the existence of the Visigothic name is later. In the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of the Vesi in two places (Pan. in Avit. 456; Pan. in Major. 458). Is there any ground for inferring that the Ostrogothic name is the older? It looks rather as if at first (c. 300-400) the distinction was between Ostrogoths and Goths; and that the name Visigoth was a later appellation.

We must emphatically reject the view that Gruthungi and Thervingi were old names for Ostrogoths and Visigoths respectively and expressed the same distinction. Mr. Hodgkin has noticed the objections supplied by the passages in the Vita Claudii and Claudian; and they are decisive.

17. THE DEFEAT OF VALERIAN, AND THE DATE OF CYRIADES—(P. 270)

Valerian set out in 257, held a council of war in Byzantium at the beginning of 258 (Hist. Aug. xxvi. 13). Thence he proceeded to Cappadocia. The north coasts of Asia Minor were suffering at this time from the invasions of the Germans, and it has been conjectured that there may have been an understanding between the European and Asiatic enemies of the Empire (as sometimes in later ages; as once before in the days of Decebalus), and that Valerian aimed at preventing a junction of Persians and Goths. *Vict. Parthica* on coins in 259 A.D. point to a victory perhaps near Edessa. Where Valerian was captured is uncertain. Cedrenus says in Cæsarea (i. p. 454); the anonymous Continuator of Dion suggests the neighbourhood of Samosata. The date is uncertain too. There is no trace of Valerian after 260 A.D. Inscriptions and sculptures on the rocks of Nakshi Rustan have been supposed to commemorate the Persian victory.

Gibbon in his "probable series of events" has distinctly gone wrong. Two things are certain: (1) Sapor was twice at Antioch, and (2) Cyriades fell before Valerian. The first visit of the Persian monarch to Antioch was in the summer of 256, whither he was accompanied by Cyriades (also called Mariades, see

Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 192), whom he had set up in that city as a Persian vassal. Antioch was won back in the same year or in 257; Cyriades was torn to pieces by the inhabitants, and the Persians were massacred. See Ammian, xxiii. 5; Hist. Aug. xxiv. 2. The second visit of Sapor to Antioch was after the capture of Valerian. See Aur. Victor, Cæsar. 33, 3.

18. THE PRETENDERS IN THE REIGN OF GALLIENUS, KNOWN AS THE THIRTY TYRANTS—(P. 275)

Fati publici fuit, says Trebellius Pollio who recorded the deeds of the tyrants in the Augustan History, *ut Gallieni tempore quicunque potuit, ad imperium prosiliret.* Gibbon recognized that the significance of these shadow-emperors was only "collective"; they all vanished rapidly; the emperor's power always proved superior. Their simultaneous appearance only illustrates vividly the general disintegration of the Empire.

It may be well, however, to add a few details, chiefly references, to the succinct account of Gibbon. I take them in the order of his list.

(1) Cyriades. See p. 270, and Appendix 17.

(2) Macrianus. The generals Macrianus and Balista caused the two sons of the former, T. Fulvius Junius Macrianus and T. Fulvius Junius Quietus, to be proclaimed emperors (261 A.D.; see Hist. Aug. Vita Gall. 1, 2). It is a question whether Macrianus their father (he to whom Gibbon imputed the blame of Valerian's disaster) assumed the purple also. There can, I think, be no doubt that he did not. We have (*a*) the negative evidence that no coins which can be certainly ascribed to him and not to his son are forthcoming; (*b*) the story of his refusal in Hist. Aug. xxiv. 7-11; and (*c*) the positive statement of Zonaras, xii. 24. Against this we have to place the apparent statement in Hist. Aug. xxiii. 1, 2-4 (I say apparent, because the passage is mutilated), and the clear statement in xxiv. 12, 12, which is glaringly inconsistent with the immediately preceding narrative. Macrianus is described as refusing the empire on the ground of old age and bodily weakness, and casting the burden on his sons. Balista, who had offered him the empire, agrees; and then the narrative proceeds: "Macrianus promises (clearly in the name of his sons) a double donation to the soldiers and hurls threats against Gallienus; accordingly he was made emperor along with Macrianus and Quietus his two sons," as if this were the logical outcome of the proceedings. From this evidence there can I think be only one conclusion.

(3) Balista. He has even less claim than the elder Macrianus to a place among the tyrants; like Macrianus he was only a tyrant-maker. Hist. Aug. xxiv. 12, 4, and 18.

(4) Odenathus. The ground for placing Odenathus among the tyrants seems to be that he assumed the title of king (Hist. Aug. xxiv. 15, 2) and that he had great power in the East. But a tyrant means one who rebels against the true emperor and usurps the Imperial title. Odenathus never rebelled against Gallienus and never usurped the title Augustus (Σεβαστός) or the title Cæsar. He supported the interests of Gallienus in the East and overthrew the real tyranny which was set up by Macrianus. For his services Gallienus rewarded him by the title of αὐτοκράτωρ or *imperator*, an unusual title to confer, but not necessarily involving Imperial dignity. (This title is enough to account for the statement in Hist. Aug. xxiii. 12, 1.) As a king he held the same position that, for instance, Agrippa held under Claudius. An inscription of a statue which two of his generals erected in his honour in 271 A.D. has been preserved (de Vogüe, Syrie centrale, p. 28) and there he is entitled king of kings. This, as Schiller says (i. 838), should be decisive.

(5) Zenobia. What applies to Odenathus applies to Zenobia as far as the reign of Gallienus is concerned. She received the title Σεβαστή in Egypt, but not till after 271 and doubtless with the permission of Claudius.

(6) Postumus. (See note 86, p. 256.) He made his residence at Trier, was acknowledged in Spain and Britain, and seems to have taken effective measures

or the tranquillity and security of Gaul. In 262 he celebrated his *quinquennalia* Eckhel, vii. 438). His coinage is superior to that of the lawful emperors of the ime; it did not pass current in Italy, and the Imperial money was excluded from Gaul (Mommsen, Röm. Münzwesen, 815). It is important to observe that Postumus was faithful to the idea of Rome. He was not in any sense a uccessor of Sacrovir, Vindex and Classicus; he had no thought of an anti-Roman *imperium Galliarum*.

(7) Lollianus. This is the form of the name in our Mss. of his Life in the Historia Augusta (xxiv. 5); his true name, Cornelius Ulpianus Laelianus, is preserved on coins (Cohen, v. 60). In a military mutiny (268 A.D., in his ifth consulship) Postumus was slain and Laelianus elevated. The new tyrant narched against the Germans, who had taken advantage of this struggle (*subita rruptione Germanorum*) to invade the empire and destroy the forts which Postumus luring the year of his rule had erected on the frontier; but he was slain by his oldiers,—it is said, because he was too energetic, *quod in labore nimius esset* Hist. Aug. xxiv. 5). Victorinus, who succeeded him, had probably something to lo with his death.

(8) Victorinus. In 265 A.D. Gallienus sent Aureolus to assert his authority in Gaul against Postumus. In the course of the war, an Imperial commander M. Piauvonius Victorinus deserted to the tyrant, who welcomed him and created him Cæsar. Victorinus obtained supreme power after the death of Laelianus. He reigned but a few months; his death is noticed by Gibbon in chap. xi.

Victoria or Victorina. The mother of Victorinus (see chap. xi.). Her coins are condemned as spurious (Cohen, 5, 75).

(9) Marius. M. Aurelius Marius; Eckhel, vii. 454. According to Hist. Aug. xiv. 8. 1, he reigned only three days after the death of Victorinus. Perhaps he urvived Victorinus by three days, but there can be no doubt that he arose as a yrant, at an earlier date, perhaps immediately after the death of Postumus. If ie had reigned only three days, it is unlikely we should have his coins. Compare Schiller, i. 856.

(10) Tetricus. (See chap. xi.)

(11) Ingenuus. His tyranny was set up in Pannonia and Moesia in the same ear as that of Postumus in Gaul (258 A.D.). He was defeated by Aureolus at Mursa—the scene of the defeat of a more famous tyrant in later times—and lain, at his own request, by his shield-bearer.

(12) Regillianus. A Dacian, who held the post of *dux* of Illyricum; his true ame was Regalianus, preserved on coins and in one Ms. of the Historia Augusta. He had won victories against the Sarmatians, and his name, in its corrupt form, ent itself to the declension of *rex:* "rex, regis, regi, Regi-lianus" (Hist. Aug. xxiv. 10, 5). But his reign lasted only for a moment. His elevation was probably lue to disaffection produced by the hard measures adopted by Gallienus in Pannonia when he suppressed the revolt of Ingenuus.

(13) Aureolus. (See chap. xi.)

(14) Saturninus. Of him we know nothing. See Hist. Aug. xxiv. 23, and xxiii. 9, 1.

(15) Trebellianus. See Hist. Aug. xxiv. 26; beyond what is stated there we know nothing. *Palatium in arce Isauriae constituit.* He was slain by an Egyptian, brother of the man who slew Æmilianus, tyrant in Egypt, see below.

(16) Piso. It is probably a mistake to include Piso among the tyrants. He belonged to the party of Macrianus (see above), who in 261 sent him to Greece to overpower the governor Valens. But a curious thing happened. Piso, who had come in the name of a tyrant, supported the cause of the lawful emperor Gallienus (see Hist. Aug. xxiv. 21. 4), while Valens, who represented the cause of Gallienus, revolted, and became a tyrant himself. Both Piso and Valens were slain by their soldiers;—the news of Piso's death had reached Rome by the 25th June (Hist. Aug. *ib.* 3).

(17) Valens. See last note.

(18) Æmilianus. He threatened to starve the empire, which depended for corn on Egypt. There are no genuine coins of this tyrant.

(19) Celsus. Elevated by the proconsul of Africa and the *dux limitis Libyci*. Hist. Aug. xxiv. 29.

Of these nineteen, Macrianus, Balista, Odenathus, Zenobia, and Piso have no claim to be regarded as tyrants. But the places of Macrianus the father and Balista may be filled by Macrianus the son and Quietus. Thus the number nineteen is reduced to sixteen.

It is worth noting that Pollio, who, as Gibbon says, "expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number" of the thirty tyrants, and as we have seen includes some who were certainly not tyrants, should omit two names of rebels which are mentioned by Zosimus. In i. 38 (ed. Mendelssohn) this historian says: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ (Gallienus) Μέμορός τε τοῦ Μουρουσίου καὶ Αὐριόλου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ ἑτέρων πλειόνων. Aurelius we know; ἑτέρους πλείονας we know; but who were Memor and Antoninus? Are they mentioned by Pollio under other names or did they not reach the length of an Imperial title? Of Antoninus as far as I know we hear nowhere else, but of Memor we have a notice, in a fragment of the Anonymous Continuer of Dion Cassius (Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 193), frag. 4, where the mention of a Theodotus recalls him who put to death Æmilianus and makes us think of Egypt. (In the old Stephanian text of Zosimus Κέκροπος is read instead of Μέμορος; but the unknown Ms. used by Stephanus seems to have been worthless.)

19. ZENOBIA—(P. 302 *sqq.*)

In regard to Gibbon's account of the war of Aurelian with Zenobia, the following points are to be observed:—

(1) This war preceded the subjugation of Tetricus and Gaul.

(2) After her husband's death Zenobia took the title βασίλισσα, and while her son Wahballath succeeded to his father's position as *dux Romanorum* and Lord of Palmyra, she really ruled. The name Wahballath, meaning *dea dedit*, was rendered in Greek by Ἀθηνό-δωρος.

(3) The story told by Gibbon from Hist. Aug. xxiii. 13, that Zenobia defeated a Roman army (under one Heraclian) is suspicious (see Schiller, i. 859, note 1) for we find her on good terms with the Roman government immediately after, and she recovers Egypt, which was under the usurper Probatus, for Claudius, who was too much occupied with the Gothic danger to proceed himself against the tyrant. Her son Wahballath governed in Egypt as the representative of Claudius, and the circumstance that he was officially named βασιλεύς does not imply that he was a rebel.

(4) Aurelian on his accession 270 A.D. recognized Wahballath as vir consularis Romanorum Imperator dux Romanorum; he appeared beside Aurelian on coins and his mother assumed the title Augusta.

(5) Wahballath began to issue coins without the head of Aurelian and assumed the title Augustus. This seems to have been a consequence of an estrangement from the Emperor; but we do not know the immediate circumstances. The position which the Palmyrene family occupied was obviously inconsistent with the unity of the Empire.

(6) The following stages may be marked in the course of the war: (*a*) Probus establishes the authority of Aurelian in Egypt, and the forces of Zenobia fail at Chalcedon; (*b*) Aurelian takes Ancyra and Tyana, and passes into Syria; (*c*) Zenobia's army is driven from Antioch, and (*d*) defeated at Emesa; (*e*) the surrender of Palmyra (early in 272); (*f*) its final destruction (spring 273).

(7) Von Sallet, who has thrown much light on this episode in his work Die Fürsten von Palmyra, thinks that the catastrophe of Palmyra was accomplished before the end of 271. But there are serious objections to his chronology. See Schiller, i. 857-864.

20. CORRECTOR ITALIÆ—(P. 312)

As Gibbon notices, two statements are made in the Historia Augusta, as to the honourable provision which Aurelian made for Tetricus. In the Life of

Tetricus (xxiv. 24, 5) we read: correctorem *totius Italiæ* fecit, id est, Campaniae, Samni, Lucaniæ, Brittiorum [Bruttii], Apuliæ, Calabriæ, Etruriæ atque Umbriæ, Piceni et Flaminiæ omnisque annonariæ regionis; but in the Life of Aurelian (xxvi. 39, 1) Tetricum triumphatum correctorem *Lucaniæ* fecit (so Aurel. Victor. &c.). Both statements cannot be true, and Mommsen (Ephem. epig. i. 140) has proved that the first is to be accepted and the second rejected.

We find the idea of a governor of Italy in the famous advice to Augustus which Dion Cassius (52, 21) puts in the mouth of Maecenas. It is suggested that Italy beyond a circuit of a hundred miles from Rome should be governed like the provinces. But as early as 214 we find C. Suetrius Sabinus, a consular, as *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiæ* (C. I. L. x. 5398) and at a later period Pomponius Bassus ἐπανορθωτὴς πάσης Ἰταλίας. See further Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, and Staatsrecht, ii. 1086.

Thus we find that correctors of all Italy were occasionally appointed, during the third century. Therefore, Mommsen argues convincingly (and it is a good instance of the application of a principle of historical criticism), the notice that Tetricus was *corrector Italiæ* is the true one. For a later writer to whom correctors of Lucania were perfectly familiar would never have changed a *corrector Lucaniæ* into a *corrector Italiæ*.

21. PROBUS AND THE LIMES GERMANICUS—(P. 331)

The statement of Gibbon that Probus "constructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened it by towers at convenient distances" is not warranted by the evidence, which consists entirely of two remarks in his Life in the Hist. Aug.:—

(1) c. 13. contra urbes Romanas et castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites collocavit.

(2) c. 14. sed visum est id non posse fieri nisi si limes Romanus extenderetur et fieret Germania tota provincia. (*id* refers to the command of Probus, that the German dependent tribes should not fight themselves, but, when attacked, seek the aid of the Roman army.)

It will be observed that the only statement of fact is in the first passage, from which we learn that Probus constructed and garrisoned some forts on soil which was then barbarian. The second passage states no fact, but ventilates a, perhaps wild, hypothesis.

It is also to be noticed that the actual Wall, constructed long before the time of Probus, was not a regular wall of hewn stone, and that its length between the points that Gibbon roughly marks was more than 300 (not "near 200") miles.

It may be added that the limes (both the trans-Rhenane and the trans-Danubian) was probably due chiefly to Domitian and Hadrian.

There is a considerable literature on the Imperial limes; but all previous works will be superseded by "Der Obergermanischraetische Limes des Römerreichs," edited by O. von Sarwey and F. Hettner, and published under the auspices of the Reichs-Limes-Kommission. This work is appearing in parts.

22. GERMAN CAMPAIGNS OF DIOCLETIAN, MAXIMIAN AND CONSTANTIUS (A.D. 285-299)—(P. 361 *sqq.*)

(1) There was a campaign in spring 285, against German invaders of the Danubian regions, in consequence of which Diocletian assumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*. Cp. Corp. Insc. Lat. vi. 1116.

(2) In 286 the Alamanni (who, pushed by the Burgundians, had left their old abodes on the Main and established themselves along the banks of the Rhine, within the *limes*, from Mainz to Lake Constance) and Burgundians invaded Gaul. Maximian was at Mainz, in June (Frag. Vat. 271). The Heruls and Chaibones also approached the frontier, but their host was destroyed by Maximian, who

allowed plague and famine to work havoc among the Alamannic invaders. Se Mamertinus, Pan. Max. v. and Genethl. Max. 17.

(3) At the beginning of 287 marauding expeditions had to be repelled an Maximian won back some territory beyond the Rhine. Mamertinus, Pan. Max. 6, 10.

(4) 291; war with the Franks, of whom large numbers were settled in lands of the Nervii and round Trier. Cp. Incert. Pan. Constant. Cæs. 21, Mamert. Genethl. Max. 7.

(5) 293, summer; Constantius, having taken Gesoriacum, invades the land of the Franks, and, returning victorious, settles a large number as *coloni* in Gaul. It has been conjectured (Schiller, ii. 132) that the regions of the Lower Meuse and Rhine were now once more incorporated in the Empire as the province of Germania Secunda, which is mentioned in the List of provinces found at Verona (see Introduction, p. li.)

(6) After the recovery of Britain, Constantius busied himself with the fortification of the Rhine frontier. In 298 the victories of Langres and Windisch (Vindonissa) were won over the Alamanni.

(7) In 299 Constantius invaded the land of the Alamanni; Incert. Pan. Constantio Cæs. 2, 3.

For the determination of the chronology Mommsen's study in the Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy, 1860, is invaluable.

23. DIOCLETIAN'S TARIFF OF MAXIMUM PRICES—(P. 377)

The most celebrated work of Diocletian in the field of political economy was the edict (referred to by Lactantius in De Mort. persecutorum, 7; partial copies of it have been discovered since Gibbon wrote, in the form of inscriptions) fixing maximum prices for provisions and wages, 301 A.D. See Corp. Insc. Lat. iii. 801 *sqq.* and *ib.* Suppl. p. 1910 *sqq.* It had been found that, notwithstanding plenteous harvests, prices and wages went up. The soldiers especially suffered, and, unable to purchase their provisions from their pay, were obliged to draw upon their savings. It is probable that the law was not universal, but applied only to those provinces which were ruled directly by Diocletian; it is also probable that it was enforced only for a few years. For a full discussion see Mommsen's paper in the Berichte der könsächsischen Ges. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. klasse, 1851. The text is published in a convenient form by Mommsen, with notes by Blümner, 1893.

The monetary reforms of Diocletian, though they were not permanent, have some interest in connexion with this edict. He coined a new aureus of 60 to a pound of gold; he restored the denarius of silver; and introduced some new copper coins. The relative value of silver to gold seems to have been determined at 14·27 to 1. See Finlay, Hist. of Greece, vol. 1, App. 1.

THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LIMITED

5874 054

ACME
BOOKBINDING CO., INC.

SEP 6 1985

100 CAMBRIDGE STREET
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

DATE DUE

DEC 2 6 2000
JAN 0 2 2007
APR 0 3 2011
SEP 1 0 2013
FEB 1 0 2015

DEMCO, INC. 38-2931